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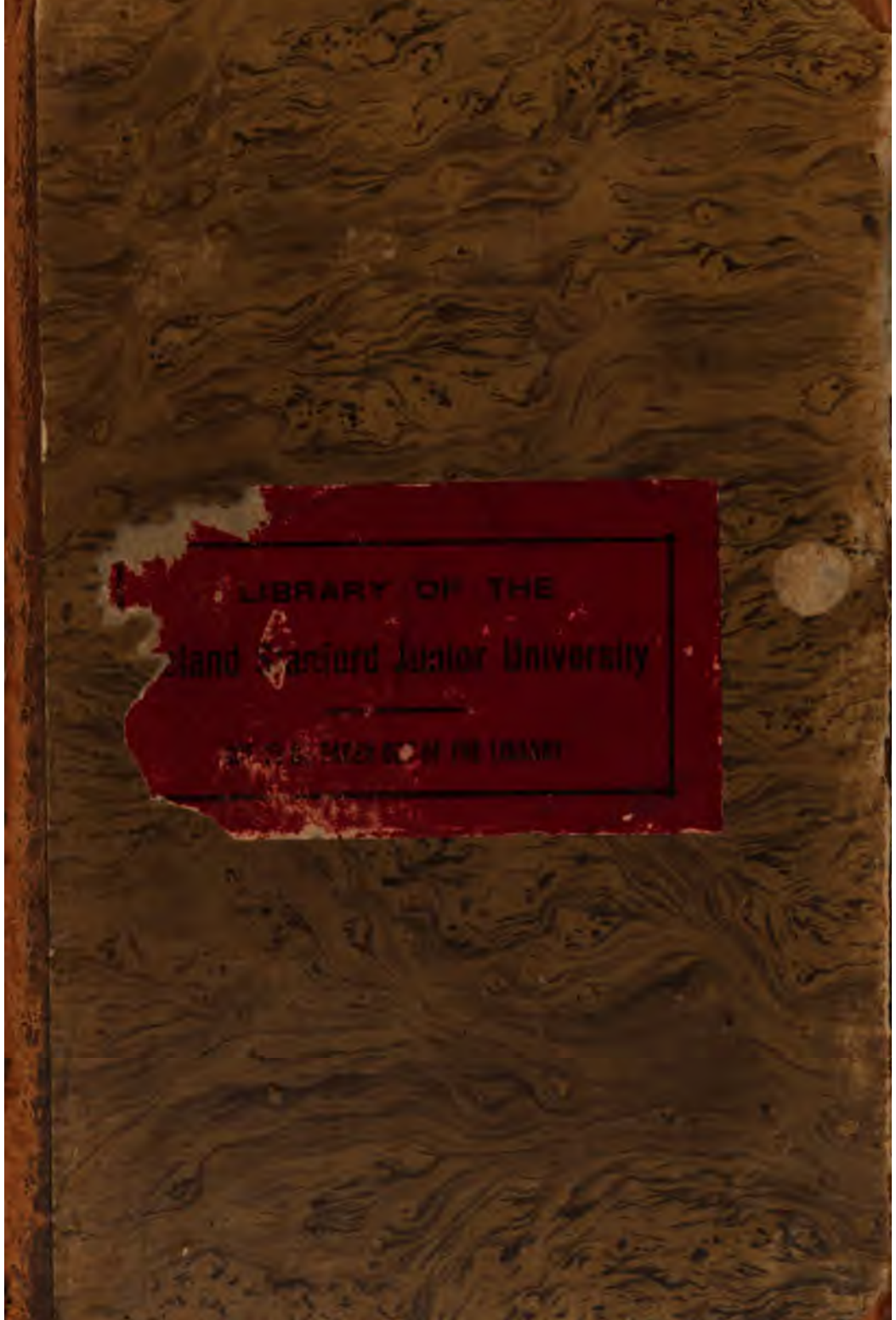
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IN committing this Work to the judgement of the Public, the Editors have but little to obſerve.

It will be eaſily perceived, that it forms no part of their object, to take notice of every production that iſſues from the Preſs: and that they wiſh their Journal to be diſtinguiſhed, rather for the ſelection, than for the number, of its articles.

Of the books that are daily preſented to the world, a very large proportion is evidently deſtined to obſcurity, by the inſignificance of their ſubjects, or the defects of their execution; and it ſeems unreaſonable to expect that the Public ſhould be intereſted by any account of performances, which have never attracted any ſhare of its attention. A review of ſuch productions, like the biography of private individuals, could afford gratification only to the partiality of friends, or the malignity of enemies.---The very loweſt order of publications are rejected, accordingly, by moſt of the literary journals of which the Public is already in poſſeſſion. But the Conductors of the EDINBURGH REVIEW propoſe to carry this principle of ſelection a good deal farther; to decline any attempt at exhibiting a complete view of modern literature; and to confine their notice, in a great degree, to works that either have attained, or deſerve, a certain portion of celebrity.

As the value of a publication, conducted upon this principle, will not depend very materially upon the earlineſs of its intelligence, they have been induced to prefer a quarterly, to a monthly period of publication, that they may always have before them a greater variety for ſelection, and be occaſionally guided in their choice by the tendencies of public opinion.

In a Review which is publiſhed at ſo long intervals, it would be improper to continue any article from one Number to another; and, for this reaſon, as well as for the full diſcuſſion of important ſubjects, it may, ſometimes, be found neceſſary to extend theſe articles to a greater length, than is uſual in works of this nature. Even with theſe allowances, perhaps the reader may think, that ſome apology is neceſſary for the length of a few articles in the preſent Number.---If he cannot find an excuſe for them, in the extraordinary intereſt of the ſubjects, his candour will probably lead him to impute this defect to that inexperience, which ſubjects the beginning of all ſuch undertakings to ſo many other diſadvantages.

October 1802.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1802.

ART. I. *De L'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, aux Francs-Maçons, et aux Illuminés, sur la Revolution de France.* Par J. J. Mounier. Tubingen. pp. 245.

M. MOUNIER, "a man of talents and of virtue," according to the great anti-revolutionary writer of this country, the antagoniſt of Mirabeau, and the popular preſident of the firſt National Aſſembly, is well entitled to be heard upon the cauſes of the French revolution. He was not only a witneſs, but an actor, in thoſe ſcenes, of the origin of which he is treating; and muſt therefore have felt in himſelf, or obſerved in others, the influence of every principle that really contributed to their production. His teſtimony, it may alſo be obſerved, is now given, after ten years of exile, may be preſumed to have detached him from the factions of his country, and made him independent of the gratitude or reſentment of its rulers.

With all theſe claims to our attention, M. Mounier cannot, however, expect that his authority ſhould be taken for deciſive upon ſo vaſt and complicated a queſtion. In an affair of this nature, it is not enough to have had a good opportunity for obſervation. Where ſo many intereſts are concerned, and ſo many motives put in action, a man cannot always give an account of every thing he ſees, or even of every thing he has contributed to do. His aſſociates may have acted upon principles very different from his; and he may have been the dupe of his opponents, even while he was moſt zealous in his reſiſtance. It will be remembered, too, that M. Mounier, after co-operating in a revolution that was to conſummate the felicity of his country, was obliged to leave it to the mercy of an unprincipled faction; and it may perhaps be conjectured, that he who was diſappointed in the iſſue of theſe tranſactions, has alſo been miſtaken as to their cauſe. M. Mounier, finally, is a man of letters, and is entitled to feel for philoſophers ſome of the partialities of a brother. In denying that they had any ſhare in the French revolution, he vindicates them from a charge that ſounds heavy in the ears of mankind; and

judges wiſely, that it is ſafer to plead not guilty to the fact, than to the intention.

M. Mounier, however, is not one of thoſe, whom the horrors of the revolution have terrified into an abjuration of the principles of liberty. He claſſes the bigots of deſpotiſm with the apoſtles of inſurrection, and adheres ſteadily to thoſe notions of regulated freedom which could not ſatisfy the revolutionary ardour of his countrymen. His book is written, upon the whole, in a ſtyle of great candour and moderation; and though it will not probably convert thoſe who have faith in an antiſocial conſpiracy, muſt be allowed, upon all hands, to contain much acute reaſoning, and many judicious remarks.

The work, as is indicated in the title-page, is divided into three parts, in which the charge of revolutionary agency is ſeparately conſidered, as it applies to the Philoſophers, to the Free-Maſons, and to the Illuminati of Germany. The firſt of theſe is by much the largeſt, and contains nearly the whole of the author's reaſonings and opinions upon the real cauſes of the revolution. We ſhall endeavour to lay before our readers a conciſe view of his doctrines upon this ſubject.

It is the clear and decided opinion of M. Mounier, that the revolution in France was brought about, neither directly, by the combination and conſpiracy of its philoſophers, nor indirectly, by the influence of their writings. It was brought about, he is perſuaded, by the ordinary cauſes of political change; by the inſubordination of the Parliaments, and the diſorders of the finance; and by the new and extraordinary remedies that the Sovereign and his miniſters thought fit to apply to theſe diſorders.

The refractory and ambitious ſpirit of the Parliaments had been a ſource of vexation to the Court of France for more than half a century before the name of Democracy was heard of in that kingdom. The members of theſe tribunals were always among the privileged orders; and the rights of the people formed no part of their ſubjects of contention with the Crown. They were ſuppreſſed under Lewis XV, and reſtored by his ſucceſſor, before there was a man in France who had imagined the poſſibility of a popular revolution. The finances, on the other hand, had been in diſorder for little leſs than a century. Since the time of Cardinal Fleuri, there had been a regular deficiency in the produce of the taxes, and a debt that was conſtantly increaſing. From the year 1778 to the year 1784, the exigencies of the war with England had increaſed this debt by a ſum of 1250 millions of livres; and when M. Neckar went out of office, the produce of the taxes was incapable of defraying the intereſt. The Parliaments, in the mean time, refuſed to regiſter the edicts for new impoſts; and it became evident, that the Government muſt become

come bankrupt, if the privileged orders were not ſubjected to a more effectual contribution. As they conſtituted all the Parliaments, however, it was in vain to hope for the co-operation of theſe bodies; and with a view to over-rule them, or at leaſt to diſpenſe with their authority, the *Notables* were aſſembled in 1787. In ſpite of all the pains that had been taken to enſure the ſucceſs of this experiment, it failed. M. de Calonne was diſmiſſed; and M. de Brienne, who ſucceeded him, undertook to compel the Parliaments to regiſter the Royal edicts in ſpite of their reſiſtance. The conteſt had now become a matter of popular intereſt and attention; and as the taxes, and the pretenſions of the nobleſſe to immunity, were extremely diſagreeable to the body of the people, the demand that was ſuddenly made by the Parliament of Paris for the convocation of the States-General, was ſeconded by the voice of the whole nation. The States-General had not been aſſembled ſince the year 1614. The *Tiers Etat* was at that time in the completeſt ſubjection to the Crown and the Nobility; and as the produce of the Royal domain was at any rate ſufficient for the ordinary expences of Government, their temper and diſpoſition was but of little national importance. In the year 1788, every thing was different; and the miniſtry were ſufficiently aware, that if the States were once aſſembled, there was an end to the ancient adminiſtration of Government in the country. They reſiſted the demands of the people, therefore, as long as they poſſibly could. The convocation of the States-General, in the mean time, was the demand and the petition of every order of men in France: The clergy, the nobility, the capital, the parliaments, and even a conſiderable proportion of thoſe who were about the perſon of the Sovereign, concurred in thinking it indiſpenſable to their ſalvation. The army followed their example; reſiſtance became impoſſible; the miniſtry was diſmiſſed; and orders were given for aſſembling the ancient repreſentatives of the nation.

A revolution was thus brought about, ſays M. Mounier, in which philoſophy had not the ſlighteſt operation, and by which the ancient monarchy and ariſtocracy muſt neceſſarily have received ſome limitation. It was not yet apparent that they were both to be entirely overthrown. Perhaps there was not an individual in the country that looked forward to the eſtabliſhment of a republic. The events that followed were not neceſſary conſequences of thoſe that had gone before; but they were produced by cauſes of the ſame deſcription, and owed their origin, alike, to circumſtances that had no connexion with the ſpeculations of philoſophers.

The chief cauſe of the failure of this grand experiment, and of the firſt diſorders that accompanied the revolution, was, according to M. Mounier, the diſſenſion that naturally aroſe among

the different orders that had thus been called to deliberate, and the fluctuating and unſteady policy of the Court, in its endeavours to overawe or to reconcile them. As the principal object of this convocation, on the part of the Government, was to relieve the finances, by diminiſhing the exemptions of the privileged Orders, it would have rendered the whole ſcheme ineffectual, to have given ſuch a form to the Aſſembly as would have ſecured to theſe Orders the abſolute command of its deliberations. M. Neckar, therefore, and a great part of the King's council, were diſpoſed to liſten to the applications that were made from all parts of the kingdom for a *double repreſentation* of the Commons. The Parliaments, and moſt of the Nobility, were againſt it. Their oppoſition, however, was diſregarded; the double repreſentation was granted; and another queſtion, of ſtill greater importance, preſented itſelf for the conſideration of the Government.

By the ancient conſtitution of the States-General, the three different orders of Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, aſſembled in ſeparate chambers, and took each of them their reſolutions apart. The Third Eſtate was ſure to be outvoted, therefore, in every queſtion where the intereſt of the privileged orders was concerned; and the additional number of their repreſentatives would not have ſecured them from inſignificance, if this plan of deliberation had been adhered to. The ſame circumſtances, therefore, that, by raiſing their conſideration, and increaſing their importance in the community, had entitled them to obtain a double repreſentation, ſeemed obviouſly to require, that the ancient form of convocation ſhould be abandoned, and that their voice ſhould not be left entirely without authority in the great Aſſembly of the nation. Notwithſtanding the incalculable importance of adjuſting this matter by ſome vigorous and immediate reſolution, M. Mounier aſſures us, that the deputies were allowed to repair to Verſailles, and the Aſſembly of the States to be opened, before the King's miniſters had come to any determination on the ſubject. It was known, at the ſame time, that part of the deputies had been poſitively inſtructed by their conſtituents to contend for the ancient conſtitution of the States; while others had been directed to agree to nothing but the re-union of the Three Orders in one deliberative aſſembly.

The Chancellor de Barentin, in opening the ſeſſion, congratulated the Third Eſtate upon the double repreſentation they had ſo happily obtained, expreſſed his wiſhes for the agreement of the Three Orders to a joint deliberation, and ended—by recommending it to them to begin by deliberating apart! M. Neckar held the ſame irreſolute and inconſiſtent language; and each party conceived that the adminiſtration would decide ultimately in its favour.—This ſtate of uncertainty only exaſperated their prejudices, and foment-

ed

ed their mutual animoſity. The miniſtry wavered and temporized. M. Neckar at laſt propoſed that they ſhould deliberate together, at leaſt upon the queſtion of their future organization. The expedient was probably futile; but it was not put to the teſt of experiment. After it had been approved of in counſel, it was ſuddenly retracted by the influence of a party immediately about the perſon of the King, and a peremptory order iſſued for the ſeparation and independence of the Three Orders of repreſentatives. To prepare for the promulgation of this edict, a guard was appointed, to exclude the repreſentatives of the Third Eſtate from the uſual place of their meeting. They believed that the council had determined on their diſſolution: They adjourned to a tenniscourt in the neighbourhood; and, in the enthuſiaſm of alarm, took the celebrated oath, never to ſeparate till a legal conſtitution had been eſtabliſhed. M. Mounier acknowledges that this oath was fraught with danger to the prerogatives of royalty; but he denies that it was taken in an aſſembly of republicans; and juſtifies it, upon the ground of the emergency and alarm by which it was ſuggeſted. The councils of the King wanted that firmneſs that had been ſhewn by the repreſentatives of the people; the re-union of the Orders was decreed; and the King commanded the privileged deputies to deliberate along with thoſe of the Tiers Etat.

In all theſe tranſactions (ſays M. Mounier), the philoſophers had no participation; they were the reſult of contending intereſts, and the conſequences of a political conjuncture, to which no parallel could be found in the hiſtory of the world; they were the fruits, in a particular manner, of that improvidence and preſumption, that neglected the ſigns of the times, and diſdained to provide for events which it choſe to conſider as impoſſible. A revolution, however, was already accompliſhed; and it might have terminated happily at this point, had it not been for freſh imprudencies of which the Government was guilty.

In ſpite of the diſſenſions by which they had been preceded, the firſt meetings of the National Aſſembly gave the greateſt indications of returning harmony and order. The friends of monarchy, and the advocates for moderation, conſtituted the great majority, both in that aſſembly and in the nation. The ariſtocratical counſellors, however, by whom the King was ſurrounded in ſecret, deſtroyed this fair proſpect of tranquillity; they perſuaded him to try the effects of terror; they ſurrounded the metropolis with armies; they diſmiſſed the popular miniſters with inſult, and replaced them by the avowed advocates of the prerogative. The populace, full of indignation and apprehenſion at the military array with which they were ſurrounded, roſe in a tumultuous manner, and demoliſhed the Baſtile; a great part of the troops declared for the popular ſide of the queſtion; the people flew to

arms in every part of the country; and the King was once more obliged to ſubmit. The triumph which the lower orders had now obtained, and the dangers they had eſcaped, inflamed their preſumption and their prejudices: the nobility and the higher clergy became the objects of their jealouſy and averſion. Men were found in the Aſſembly, who were capable of employing thoſe terrible paſſions as the inſtruments of their own elevation, and of purchaſing a dangerous popularity, by the indiſcriminate perſecution of the ariſtocracy. Though theſe incendiaries did not at firſt exceed the number of 80, in an aſſembly of 800, their audacity, their activity, the terror excited by their aſſociates among the rabble, and the diſunion of thoſe by whoſe co-operation they ſhould have been oppoſed, gave them a fatal aſcendency in the capital, and enabled them, at length, to ſubject every part of the government to their will. Then followed the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October; the King's flight to Varennes; and the eſtabliſhment of the republic in bloodſhed and injuſtice.

Such, according to this author, was the true courſe and progreſs of the revolution, and ſuch the cauſes to which it ought to be aſcribed. The ſpeculative writings of philoſophers had as little to do with it as the lodges of Free-Maſonry. The firſt ſteps were taken by men who deteſted the philoſophers as infidels, or deſpiſed them as viſionaries; the laſt, by men to whom all philoſophy was unknown, and who pretended to uſe no finer inſtruments of perſuaſion than the purſe and the dagger.

This account is certainly entitled to the praiſe of great clearneſs and ſimplicity, and cannot be denied to have a foundation in truth; but it appears to us to be deficient in profundity and extent, and to leave the revolution, in a great meaſure, to be accounted for, after all theſe cauſes have been enumerated and recognized. The finances of a nation may be diſordered, we conceive, or its repreſentatives aſſembled, without ſubverting its conſtitution. The different orders of the State may diſagree, and grow angry in ſupport of their reſpective pretenſions, without tearing the frame of ſociety to pieces, and obliterating every veſtige of ancient regulation. The circumſtances enumerated by M. Mounier, ſeem to us to be only the occaſions, and immediate ſymptoms of diſorder, and not the efficient and ultimate cauſes. To produce the effects that we have witneſſed, there muſt have been a revolutionary ſpirit fermenting in the minds of the people, which took advantage of thoſe occurrences, and converted them into engines for its own diffuſion and increaſe. M. Mounier, in ſhort, has given us rather an hiſtory of the revolution, than an account of its cauſes; he has ſtated events as depending upon one another, which actually proceeded from one common principle; and thought he was explaining the origin of a diſorder, when he was only

only inveſtigating the circumſtances that had determined its eruption to one particular member.

He has thus accounted for the revolution, it ſeems to us, in no other way than an hiſtorian would account for an invaſion, by deſcribing the route of the aſſailing army, enumerating the ſtations they occupied, the defiles that were abandoned to them, and the bridges they broke up in their rear; while he neglected to inform us in what places the invaders had been aſſembled, by whom they had been trained and enliſted, and how they had been ſupplied with arms, and intelligence, and audacity. He has ſtated, as the firſt cauſes of the revolution, circumſtances that really proved it to be begun; and has gone no farther back than to the earlieſt of its apparent effects: He has miſtaken the cataracts that broke the ſtream, for the fountains from which it roſe; and contented himſelf with referring the fruit to the bloſſom, without taking any account of the germination of the ſeed, or the ſubterraneous windings of the root.

It is in many caſes, we will confeſs, a matter of great difficulty to diſtinguiſh between the prediſpoſing and the occaſional cauſes of a complicated political event, or to determine in how far thoſe circumſtances that have *facilitated* its production, were really indiſpenſable to its exiſtence. In the queſtion of which we are now treating, however, there does not appear to be any ſuch nicety. M. Mounier maintains, that the revolution was occaſioned entirely by the financial embarraſſments of France, by the convocation of the States-General, and the irreſolution of the royal councils. The queſtion, therefore, is not, whether the revolution could have been accompliſhed without theſe occurrences; but whether theſe are ſufficient to account for it of themſelves; and whether they leave nothing to be imputed to the influence of the preachers of liberty, and the writings of republican philoſophers.

Now, upon this queſtion, we profeſs to entertain an opinion not leſs decided than that of M. Mounier, though it happens to be diametrically oppoſite. Had there been no previous tendency to a revolution in France, the Government might have declared a bankruptcy, without endangering the foundations of the Throne; and the people would have remained quiet and ſubmiſſive ſpectators of the quarrels between the miniſters and the Parliaments, and of the convocation and diſſolution of the States-General themſelves. This, indeed, is expreſsly the ſentiment of M. Mounier himſelf, (p. 29.); and it is juſtified by all preceding experience. But if events might have happened in 1690, without endangering the monarchy, that were found ſufficient to ſubvert it in 1790, it is natural to inquire, from what this difference has proceeded? All parties, it is believed, will agree in the anſwer—It proceeded from

the change that had taken place in the condition and ſentiments of the people; from the progreſs of commercial opulence; from the diffuſion of information, and the prevalence of political diſcuſſion. Now, it ſeems difficult to deny, that the philoſophers were inſtrumental in bringing about this change; that they had attracted the public attention to the abuſes of government, and ſpread very widely among the people, the ſentiment of their grievances and their rights. M. Mounier himſelf informs us, that, for ſome time *before* the revolution, the French nation "had been enamoured of the idea of liberty, without underſtanding very well what it meant, and without being conſcious that they were ſo ſoon to have an opportunity of attaining it. When that opportunity offered itſelf," he adds, "it was ſeized with an enthuſiaſtic eagerneſs that paralyſed all the nerves of the Sovereign." He acknowledges alſo, that the deputies of the Tiers Etat were enabled to diſobey the royal mandate for their ſeparation, and to triumph in that diſobedience, only becauſe the *public opinion* was ſo decidedly in their favour, that nobody could be found who would undertake to diſperſe them by violence.

Now, if it be true, that for upwards of twenty years before this period, this love of liberty had been inculcated with much zeal and little prudence, in many eloquent and popular publications, and that the names and the maxims of thoſe writers were very much in the mouths of thoſe who patronized the ſubverſion of royalty in that country, is it not reaſonable to preſume, that ſome part of this enthuſiaſm for liberty, and ſome part of that popular favour for thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be its champions, by means of which it is allowed that the revolution was accompliſhed, may be attributed to the influence of thoſe publications?

We do not wiſh to puſh this argument far; we are conſcious that many other cauſes contributed to excite, in the minds of the people, thoſe ideas of independence and reform by which the revolution was effected. The conſtant example, and increaſing intimacy with England—the contagion caught in America—and, above all, the advances that had been made in opulence and information, by thoſe claſſes of the people to whom the exemptions and pretenſions of the privileged orders were moſt obnoxious—all co-operated to produce a ſpirit of diſcontent and innovation, and to increaſe their diſlike and impatience of the defects and abuſes of their government. In conſidering a queſtion of this kind, it ſhould never be forgotten, that it had many defects, and was liable to manifold abuſes: But, for this very reaſon, the writers who aggravated theſe defects, and held out theſe abuſes to deteſtation, were the more likely to make an impreſſion. To ſay that they made none, and that all the zeal that was teſtified in

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France againſt deſpotiſm, and in favour of liberty, was the natural and ſpontaneous reſult of reflection and feeling in the minds of thoſe whom it actuated, is to make an aſſertion which does not ſound probable, and certainly has not been proved. That writings capable of exciting it, exiſted, and were read, ſeems not to be conteſted upon any hand: It is ſomewhat paradoxical to contend, that they had yet no ſhare in its excitation. If Moliere could render the faculty of medicine ridiculous by a few farces, in an age much leſs addicted to literature; if Voltaire could, by the mere force of writing, advance the intereſts of infidelity, in oppoſition to all the orthodox learning of Europe; is it to be imagined, that no effect would be produced by the greateſt talents in the world, employed upon a theme the moſt popular and ſeductive?

M. Mounier has aſked, if we think that men require to be taught the ſelf-evident doctrine of their rights, and their means of redreſs; if the Roman inſurgents were led by philoſophers, when they ſeceded to Mons Sacer; or, if the Swiſs and the Dutch aſſerted their liberties upon the ſuggeſtion of democratical authors? We would anſwer, that, in ſmall ſtates, and barbarous ages, there are abuſes ſo groſs, as to be abſolutely intolerable, and ſo qualified, as to become perſonal to every member of the community; that orators ſupply the place of writers in thoſe early ages; and that we only deny the influence of the latter, where we are aſſured of their non-exiſtence. Becauſe a veſſel may be carried along by the current, ſhall we deny that her progreſs is aſſiſted by the breeze?

We are perſuaded, therefore, that the writings of thoſe popular philoſophers who have contended for political freedom, had ſome ſhare in bringing about the revolution in France; how great, or how inconſiderable a ſhare, we are not qualified to determine, and hold it indeed impoſſible to aſcertain. There are no *data* from which we can eſtimate the relative force of ſuch an influence; nor does language afford us any terms that are fitted to expreſs its proportions. We muſt be ſatisfied with holding that it exiſted, and that thoſe who deny its operation altogether, are almoſt as much miſtaken as thoſe who make it account for every thing.

But though we conceive that philoſophy is thus, in ſome degree, reſponſible for the French revolution, we are far from charging her with the guilt that this name implies. The writers to whom we allude, may have produced effects very different from what they intended, and very different even from what their works might ſeem calculated to produce. An approved medicine may have occaſioned convulſions and death; and the flame

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that was meant to enlighten, may have ſpread into conflagration and ruin.

M. Mounier, throughout his book, has attended too little to this diſtinction. He has denied, for the philoſophers, all participation in the fact; and has had but little intereſt, therefore, to juſtify them on the ſcore of intention. It is a ſubject, however, which deſetves a little conſideration.

That there were defects and abuſes, and ſome of theſe very groſs too, in the old ſyſtem of government in France, we preſume will ſcarcely be denied; that it was lawful to wiſh for their removal, will probably be as readily admitted; and that the peaceful influence of philoſophy, while confined to this object, was laudably and properly exerted, ſeems to follow as a neceſſary concluſion. It would not be eaſy, therefore, to blame thoſe writers who have confined themſelves to a diſpaſſionate and candid ſtatement of the advantages of a better inſtitution; and it muſt ſeem hard to involve in the guilt of Rebeſpierre and the Jacobins, thoſe perſons in France who aimed at nothing more than the abolition of abſurd privileges, and the limitation of arbitrary power. Monteſquieu, Turgot, and Raynal, were probably, in ſome degree, diſſatisfied with the government of their country, and would have rejoiced in the proſpect of a reform; but it can only be the delirium of party-prejudice, that would ſuſpect them of wiſhing for the downfal of royalty, and for the proſcriptions and equality of a reign of terror. It would be treating their accuſers too much like men in their ſenſes, to juſtify ſuch men any farther as to the purity of their intentions; yet it is poſſible that they may have been inſtrumental in the revolution, and that their writings may have begun that motion, which terminated in ungovernable violence. We will not go over the common-place arguments that may be ſtated to convict them of imprudence. Every ſtep that is taken towards the deſtruction of prejudice, is attended with the danger of an oppoſite exceſs: But it is no leſs clearly our duty to advance againſt prejudices; and they deſerve the higheſt praiſe, who unite the greateſt ſteadineſs with the greateſt precaution. At the time when the writings we are ſpeaking of were publiſhed, there was not a man in Europe who could diſcern in them the ſeeds of future danger. So far from denouncing them as the harbingers of regicide and confuſion, the public received them as hoſtages and guides to ſecurity. It was long thought that their effects were inadequate to their merits: Nothing but the event could have inſtructed us that it was too powerful for our tranquillity. To ſuch men, the reproach of improvidence can be made, only becauſe their foreſight was not prophetic; and thoſe alone are entitled to call them imprudent, who could have predicted the

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tempeſt in the calm, and foretold thoſe conſequences by which the whole world has ſince been aſtoniſhed.

If it be true, therefore, that writers of this deſcription have facilitated and promoted the revolution, it is a truth which ſhould detract but little, either from their merit, or their reputation. Their deſigns were pure and honourable; and the natural tendency and promiſe of their labours, was exalted and fair. They failed, by a fatality which they were not bound to foreſee; and a concurrence of events, againſt which it was impoſſible for them to provide, turned that to miſchief, which was planned out by wiſdom for good. We do not tax the builder with imprudence, becauſe the fortreſs which he erected for our protection is thrown down by an earthquake on our heads.

There is another ſet of writers, however, for whom it will not be ſo eaſy to find an apology, who, inſtead of ſober reaſoning, and practical obſervation, have intruded upon the public with every ſpecies of extravagance and abſurdity. The preſumptuous theories, and audacious maxims of Roſſeau, Mably, Condorcet, &c. had a neceſſary tendency to do harm. They unſettled all the foundations of political duty, and taught the citizens of every eſtabliſhed government, that they were enſlaved, and had the power of being free. M. Mounier has too much moderation himſelf, to approve of the doctrines of theſe reformers; but he aſſures us, that inſtead of promoting the revolution, it was the revolution that raiſed them into celebrity; that they roſe into reputation, after it became neceſſary to quote them as apologiſts or authorities; but that, before that time, their ſpeculations were looked upon as brilliant abſurdities, that no more deſerved a ſerious confutation, than the Polity of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.—With all our reſpect for M. Mounier, we have ſome difficulty in believing this aſſertion. Roſſeau, in particular, was univerſally read and admired, long before he was exalted into the Revolutionary Pantheon; and his political ſagacity muſt have had ſome ſerious admirers, when he was himſelf invited to legiſlate for an exiſting community. Whatever influence he had, however, was unqueſtionably pernicious; and though ſome apology may be found for him in the enthuſiaſm of his diſordered imagination, he is chargeable with the higheſt preſumption, and the moſt blameable imprudence. Of ſome of the other writers who have inculcated the ſame doctrines, we muſt ſpeak rather in charity than in juſtice, if we ſay nothing more ſevere.

M. Mounier expreſſes himſelf with much judgement and propriety upon the ſubject of religion; its neceſſity to a ſound morality, and its tendency to promote rational liberty, and to preſerve good order. He is of opinion, however, that there is no natural connexion between irreligion and democracy, and thinks that

that the infidel writers of this age have not to anſwer for its political enormities. He obſerves, that it was during the devouteſt ages of the Church, that Italy was covered with republics, and that Switzerland aſſerted her independence; that the revolted States of America were compoſed of the moſt religious people of the world; and that the liberty and equality which brought Charles the Firſt to the block, were generated among fanatics and puritans.

Our limits will not allow us to enter fully into the conſideration of this very important queſtion. We ſhall take the liberty to make but two remarks upon the opinion we have juſt quoted.—The one is, that the exiſtence of inſurrections in a religious age, is no proof of the inefficacy of religion to promote a rational ſubmiſſion to authority:—a check may be very ſtrong, without being altogether inſurmountable; and diſorders may ariſe in ſpite of religion, without diſcrediting its tendency to ſuppreſs them. It ſurely would be no good ground for denying that intoxication made men quarrelſome, to enumerate the inſtances in which people had quarrelled when they were ſober.—The other remark is, that inſtances taken from the conduct of enthuſiaſts and bigots, have no fair application to the preſent queſtion. Fanaticiſm and irreligion approach very nearly to each other, in their effects on the moral conduct. He who thinks himſelf a favourite with the Deity, is apt to be as careleſs about his behaviour, as he who does not believe at all in his exiſtence: both think themſelves alike entitled to diſpenſe with the vulgar rules of morality; and both are alike deſtitute of the curb and the guidance of a ſober and rational religion. Submiſſion to lawful authority is indiſputably the maxim of Chriſtianity; and they who deſtroy our faith in that religion, take away one ſecurity for our ſubmiſſion, and facilitate the ſubverſion of governments. This is a great truth, the authority of which is not impaired by the rebellions that prieſts have inſtigated, or the diſorders that fanatics have raiſed.

After having detained our readers ſo long with the inveſtigation of M. Mounier's own theory of the revolution, we can ſcarcely undertake to follow him through all his remarks on the theories of others. He treats, with much ſcorn and ridicule, the idea of accounting for this great event, by the ſuppoſition of an actual conſpiracy of philoſophers and ſpeculative men; and, upon this ſubject, we conceive that his ſtatement is correct and ſatisfactory. There never were any conſiderable number of literary men in France, we are perſuaded, who wiſhed for the ſubverſion of royalty; and the few that entertained that ſentiment, expreſſed it openly in their writings, and do not appear to have taken any extraordinary pains, either to diffuſe, or to ſet it in action. In attempting to prove this pretended conſpiracy of the philoſophers

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againſt the Throne, we conceive that the Abbé Baruel has completely failed; and are certain, that his zeal has carried him into exceſſes, which no liberal man will juſtify. We ſhall ſay nothing of the declarations of that miſerable hypochondriac (Le Roi), who is ſaid to have revealed the ſecret of the Committee which met at Baron Holbach's: But when an obſcure writer denounces Monteſquieu as a conſpirator, and loads with every epithet of reproach the pure and reſpectable names of Turgot, Maleſherbes, and Neckar, the public will know what to think of his charity and his cauſe. It required certainly nothing leſs than the acuteneſs of the *odium theologicum*, to diſcover in Neckar's book on the importance of religious opinions, a proof of the *atheiſm* of the writer; and it would require a faith, that had ſuperſeded both charity and judgement, to believe that this virtuous miniſter "excited a famine, to drive the people to revolt; and then ruined the finances, to force them on to rebellion." Our readers will ſee, with pleaſure, the refutation of theſe calumnies in this publication of M. Mounier. We regret that our limits do not permit us to enter at all into the detail of his obſervations.

We agree, then, upon the whole, with M. Mounier, that the revolution was produced by apparent and natural cauſes; that there is no room for pretending to *diſcoveries* upon ſuch a ſubject; and that the conſpiracies, and ſecret combinations, which ſome writers have affected to diſcloſe, have had no exiſtence, but in their own imaginations. In the year 1786, there probably was not a man in France, who entertained the idea of overthrowing the throne of the Bourbons; and the party that ſhook it firſt, had evidently no connexion with that which laid it in ruins. It would not be eaſy to ſay, then, which party was the agent of this conſpiracy of philoſophers; and they who fought againſt each other, could not well be pupils of the ſame ſchool, nor acting from the ſame code of inſtruction. If the Parliaments acted in ſubordination to this anti-monarchical conſpiracy, the leaders of the firſt National Aſſembly muſt have acted againſt it. If Fayette was its emiſſary, Orleans muſt have been its foe. The conſpirators who ſupported Briſſot, could not have contributed to the ſucceſſes of Robeſpierre; and the devices by which Robeſpierre was ſucceſsful, cannot account for the triumphs of Bonaparte. The idea, in ſhort, of a conſpiracy, regularly concerted, and ſucceſsfully carried on by men calling themſelves philoſophers, for the eſtabliſhment of a republic, appears to us to be moſt viſionary and extravagant. Such a ſuppoſition has, no doubt, a fine dramatic effect, and gives an air of theatrical intereſt to the hiſtory; but, in the great tragedy of real life, there are no ſuch fantaſtic plots, or ſimple cataſtrophes. Events are always produced by the co-operation of complicated cauſes; and the theories that would

would refer them to extraordinary and myſterious agents, may infallibly be rejected as erroneous.

We differ from M. Mounier, on the other hand, in believing, that though the philoſophers did not concert or organize the revolution in their councils of conſpiracy, they yet contributed, in ſome degree, to its production, by the influence of their writings; the greater part without conſciouſneſs or deſign, and a few through a dangerous zeal for liberty, or an exceſſive thirſt for diſtinction.

We have now concluded all that we meant to ſay upon the firſt part of M. Mounier's publication, or that in which he treats of the philoſophers; and the length to which our obſervations have extended, muſt confine, within very narrow limits, our remarks on the remaining two parts.

On the ſubject of Free-Maſonry, he treats, we think, with merited contempt, the reveries and viſions of the Abbé Baruel, as to the crimes of the Templars, and the doctrine of Manes. He adopts the opinion of Profeſſor Robiſon, as to the origin of this inſtitution; and enumerates ſeveral of the oppoſite interpretations that have been given of the ſymbolical repreſentations it employs. He denies that the ſecret of free-maſonry conſiſts in liberty and equality; and reaſons, with great acuteneſs, upon the abſurdity of ſuppoſing, that the real import of this ſecret ſhould have been unknown to its inventors. The Abbé Baruel, he ſays, maintains that this doctrine was reſerved for the higher orders, and was not taught in England at all: yet he ſeems to allow, that it was from England that the reſt of Europe have derived this inſtitution; and he ſays, that five out of ſix of the free-maſons in France, had been initiated into this dangerous doctrine. Now, it is ſtrange, that the inſtructors of all the reſt ſhould have been ignorant of the purport of their doctrine; and it is no leſs ſtrange, that a doctrine, imparted only to the higher degrees, and with-held from the apprentices, companions, and maſters, ſhould have been made known to five-ſixths of the whole free-maſons in France. He admits, that certain individuals may, about the beginning of the revolution, have taken advantage of the ſecrecy and ſecurity of their lodges, to propagate ſeditious doctrines; but he denies that this was the object of the inſtitution, or that the practice was prevalent to any dangerous degree. Orleans, he admits, was Grand-Maſter of the French lodges; but he owed that ſituation to his diſtinguiſhed birth, and ſucceeded the Prince of Conti. He vindicates ſeveral individuals from the imputation of impiety and diſaffection, brought againſt them by Baruel; and ſpeaks highly of the devotion and morality of many members of the Martiniſte, and other moſt reſpected lodges: At the ſame time, he aſſures his readers, that he is not himſelf either a Free-maſon or a Martiniſte; and complains a little of Profeſſor Robiſon, for having repreſented

preſented him as ſuch. He allows, that all ſecret ſocieties are capable of becoming dangerous; and that it is the duty of Government to aſcertain what are their doctrines and proceedings; but he alledges, that thoſe of the free-maſons have always been puerile and innocent: He obſerves, that they are ſtill patronized by the friends of government and religion, in every nation of Europe, and reckon among their members, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed princes, prelates, and ſtateſmen, that the age can boaſt of.

It ſeems to us to be impoſſible to refuſe our aſſent to theſe general concluſions: Yet our author has, perhaps, treated too ſlightly the abuſes which this inſtitution underwent in France, during the firſt days of the revolution. The ſecrecy of their meetings and proceedings were certainly very favourable to the propagation of dangerous doctrines, and the concoction of wicked deſigns. It is highly natural to ſuppoſe that advantage would be taken of this circumſtance, by thoſe who were then caballing for power. The advantage, however, we certainly believe, was neither indiſpenſable to their ſucceſs, nor of importance to their progreſs. To refer the revolution to ſuch a cauſe, is like referring the progreſs of a victorious army, to their having occupied a ſmall eminence in their approach; it might cover their array for a moment, but could never be the means of their conqueſt. The Jacobin club never aſſembled under the diſguiſe of a maſon-lodge, nor any of its affiliated ſocieties; nor is any thing, indeed, more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe that men ſhould be converted into democrates in a crowd, by the help of mummery, and ſymbols, and enigmas.

The laſt part of M. Mounier's work is employed upon the illuminated orders of Germany. Moſt of our readers have, probably, looked into the publications, in which the views and doctrines of this famous ſociety have lately been denounced to the public. The critical time at which theſe writings appeared in this country, gave them an intereſt, which the ſubject could never have commanded at any other; and people are ſtill ſhuddering, in Britain, at a diſcovery which has been forgotten in Germany for more than a dozen of years. A great part of M. Mounier's obſervations upon this ſubject, are directed to elucidate the real views and objects of Weiſhaupt and his followers. He admits that their practices were illegal, and that their ſuppreſſion was right: But the leſſons taught in the lower degrees, he conceives to have been innocent; and the deſign of procuring all offices for men of talents, more impracticable than rebellious. The number of princes, nobles, magiſtrates, &c. that were initiated, and are recorded as converts, he takes to be a deciſive proof of the political ſafety of the doctrines they made public; and the non-exiſtence of any inſurrection, or tendency to inſurrection, either in Bavaria or in

in any part of the empire, he aſſumes, with reaſon, as a deciſive argument againſt the poſſibility of their being the inſtigators of the French revolution. We have not leiſure to follow him through all the obſervations he makes upon this ſubject: It is more to the purpoſe, to conſider what he ſays as to the direct charge of their having contributed to bring about the French revolution.

Upon this charge, he obſerves, in the firſt place, that the doctrine of the Illuminati, as it appears in their original papers, is eſſentially different from that of the Jacobin leaders of the revolution: The former were for guiding the exiſting governments by ſecret and pacific influence, and were ambitious to enrol potentates and nobles among their members; the latter were for ſubverting every thing, and waged open war with all that was diſtinguiſhed by birth or by office. The followers of Weiſhaupt profeſſed to deteſt all violence, and to depend upon time and patience for the conſummation of their wiſhes. The Jacobins preached, every where, *the ſacred duty of inſurrection;* and valued themſelves upon regenerating a kingdom in a year. The German ſpeculatiſts terminated their views, in the ultimate diſappearance of *every* ſpecies of political inſtitution, and the *kingſhip* of every father of a family. The French empiric pretended to regard the happineſs of the individual, as dependent upon the perfection of the conſtitution under which he was to live. Each, accordingly, has acted in conformity to the principles it profeſſed. The Jacobins have filled all France with deſolation and terror. In the three hundred ſtates and principalities of Germany, the Illuminati have not been ſo much as accuſed of having excited the ſlighteſt diſturbance. Their chieftain has found an aſylum in the court of a Prince, too wiſe to be a dupe, and too virtuous to be an accomplice.

In the ſecond place, M. Mounier remarks, that the ſociety of Illuminati was ſuppreſſed in 1787; and the French revolution could not be ſaid to have begun till 1789.

In the third place, he obſerves, and it is an obſervation that ſeems of itſelf nearly deciſive of the queſtion, that the name of France is never once mentioned in all that maſs of papers that was ſeized in Bavaria; and that, though they contain the moſt complete liſts of their members, and the places of their meetings, there is not the name of a ſingle Frenchman to be found among the number. With the exception of a few Italians, the ſociety was compoſed altogether of the natives of Germany.

M. Baruel aſcribes the *illumination* of all France to the labours of Bode and De Buſch, who ſpent a few weeks in Paris in the year 1787. M. Mounier treats the idea of this ſudden converſion with the ridicule it appears to deſerve, and afterwards expreſſes himſelf in a more ſerious manner, in theſe words:

"I

" I lived, during the firſt days of the revolution, in the ſociety of many friends to true liberty, (and I hope, myſelf, to be reckoned among the number), and I am ready to declare, upon my oath, that I never had the ſlighteſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that the principles of any one of them were influenced, in the ſmalleſt degree, by the ſocieties of Free-Maſons, or of Illuminati. I alſo knew many at that time, whoſe conduct was leſs laudable, and who afterwards ſteered the veſſel of the State into the middle of ſhoals and dangers; but for them, alſo, I can make the ſame proteſtation."

When the character and opportunities of M. Mounier are attended to, this teſtimony muſt be allowed to poſſeſs very great authority.

He denies that the ſtory of Mirabeau's illumination is entitled to any credit. " The emiſſaries of Weiſhaupt would have attempted in vain," he ſays, " either to add to his information, to change his opinions, or to correct his vices." With regard to Prunelle De Lierre, whom Baruel accuſes of having attempted to ſeduce Camille Jordan into the ſect of Illuminati, and of having correſponded with him for that purpoſe, M. Mounier avers, that *he has it from Jordan himſelf*, that De Lierre never ſpoke to him on the ſubject of the Illuminati, never mentioned the name in his preſence, and never wrote to him a ſyllable upon the ſubject.

Upon the facts contained in theſe ſtatements, we are not qualified to decide; but the opinions expreſſed by the author meet in general with our approbation. The object of the Illuminated Orders was probably, in its own nature, unattainable; and they would have periſhed by their internal diſſenſions, before they could have given any diſturbance to the community. At the ſame time, their conſtitution was a ſyſtem of manifeſt uſurpation; and, independently of the doctrines they taught, their ſecret aſſociation alone made them a proper object of reprobation. We are perſuaded, at the ſame time, that their principles never ſpread beyond the precincts of Germany; and that they had no ſort of ſhare in producing the revolution in France. M. Baruel himſelf will not deny, that there is not a word in the papers of the ſect, that could ſo much as ſuggeſt that idea; and the circumſtances, by which he endeavours to ſupport it, prove nothing to an impartial mind, but his own zeal and credulity.

We cannot diſmiſs this work of M Mounier's, without bearing teſtimony, once more, to the candour and liberality which he has conſtantly preſerved in treating of a ſubject, that has, more than any other, exaſperated the prejudices of men. The time is coming, we hope, when this praiſe will confer leſs diſtinction; and when men, recovering from their apprehenſions, and cooling from their conteſts, ſhall begin to ſtudy the *moral* of that great tragedy, by which they have all been agitated, as actors or ſpectators.

M. Mounier's ſtyle is clear, conciſe, and energetic; he does not aim at pathetic eloquence, and never offends by that frothy declamation which has been ſo common among the politicians of his country. His arguments are ſometimes imperfectly expreſſed; and he frequently writes like a man, who deſpiſes the objections of his antagoniſts too much, to give them a good anſwer. As a ſhort ſpecimen of his manner of compoſition, we ſhall ſubjoin the following character of Mirabeau:

"The reſtleſs ambition of Mirabeau, and his inſatiable thirſt for celebrity, riches, and power, made him, at the ſame moment, the ſlave of every party in the State. I have ſeen him go from the nocturnal committees of the partizans of Orleans, to the meetings of the determined republicans; and from thoſe, again, to the cabinets of the King's miniſters. He was always willing, however, to have ſided with the latter; and, if they had granted him the terms he expected, he would have preferred the ſupport of Royalty to an alliance with men he deſpiſed. His principles are not to be judged of by the innumerable contradictions that occur in his ſpeeches and publications. In theſe, he never ſtudied to ſay ſo much what he thought, as what was moſt ſuitable to his intereſt at the exiſting criſis. To me he has frequently communicated his real opinions; and a man, certainly, I have never known, of an underſtanding more enlightened, of a more conſummate knowledge of politics, of a character more venal, or a heart more depraved. He ſold himſelf, in the end, ſeveral times over to the Court: But, before the purchaſe was completed, he had become unſerviceable for any thing but miſchief; and had ſo entangled himſelf with the demagogues and perturbators of the public peace, that he could not ſpeak reaſonably, without being accuſed of treachery to their cauſe."

Art. II. *Spital Sermon*, preached at Chriſt-Church upon Eaſter Tueſday, April 15. 1800. To which are added, Notes, by Samuel Parr, LL. D. Printed for J. Mawman, in the Poultry. 1801. Quarto. Cloſely printed. pp. 161.

Whoever has had the good fortune to ſee Dr Parr's wig, muſt have obſerved, that while it treſpaſſes a little on the orthodox magnitude of perukes in the interior parts, it ſcorns even Epiſcopal limits behind, and ſwells out into boundleſs convexity of frizz, the μεγα θαυμα of barbers, and the terror of the literary world. After the manner of his wig, the Doctor has conſtructed his ſermon, giving us a diſcourſe of no common length, and ſubjoining an immeaſurable maſs of notes, which appear to concern every learned thing, every learned man, and almoſt every unlearned man ſince the beginning of the world.

For

For his text, Dr Parr has chosen *Gal.* vi. 10. *As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good to all men, especially to those who are of the household of faith.* After a short preliminary comparison between the dangers of the selfish system, and the modern one of universal benevolence, he divides his sermon into two parts: In the first, examining how far, by the constitution of human nature, and the circumstances of human life, the principles of particular and universal benevolence are compatible: In the last, commenting on the nature of the charitable institution for which he is preaching.

The former part is levelled against the doctrines of Mr Godwin; and, here, Dr Parr exposes, very strongly and happily, the folly of making universal benevolence the *immediate motive* of our actions. As we consider this, though of no very difficult execution, to be by far the best part of the sermon, we shall very willingly make some extracts from it.

'To me it appears, that the modern advocates for universal philanthropy have fallen into the error charged upon those who are fascinated by a violent and extraordinary fondness for what a celebrated author calls "some moral species." Some men, it has been remarked, are hurried into romantic adventures, by their excessive admiration of fortitude. Others are actuated by a headstrong zeal, for disseminating the true religion. Hence, while the only properties, for which fortitude or beal can be esteemed, are scarcely discernible, from the enormous bulkiness to which they are swollen, the ends, to which alone they can be directed usefully, are overlooked or defeated; the public good is impaired, rather than increased; and the claims that other virtues equally obligatory have to our notice, are totally disregarded. Thus, too, when any dazzling phantoms of universal philanthropy have seized our attention, the objects that formerly engaged it shrink and fade. All considerations of kindred, friends, and countrymen, drop from the mind, during the struggles it makes to grasp the collective interests of the species; and when the association that attached us to them has been dissolved, the notions we have formed of their comparative insignificance will prevent them from recovering. I do not say any hold whatsoever, but that *strong* and *lasting* hold they once had, upon our conviction and our feelings. Universal benevolence, should it, from any strange combination of circumstances, ever become passionate, will, like every other passion, "justify itself:" and the importunity of its demands to obtain a hearing, will be proportionate to the weakness of its cause. But what are the consequences? A perpetual wrestling for victory between the refinements of sophistry, and the remonstrances of indignant nature—the agitations of secret distrust in opinions, which gain few or no proselytes, and feelings which excite little or no sympathy—the neglect of all the usual duties, by which social life is preserved or adorned; and in the pursuit of other duties

which are unuſual, and indeed imaginary, a ſucceſſion of airy projects, eager hopes, tumultuous efforts, and galling diſappointments, ſuch, in truth, as every wiſe man foreſaw, and a good man would rarely commiſerate.'

In a ſubſequent part of his ſermon, Dr Parr handles the ſame topic with equal ſucceſs.

'The ſtoics, it has been ſaid, were more ſucceſsful in weakening the tender affections, than in animating men to the ſtronger virtues of fortitude and ſelf-command; and poſſible it is, that the influence of our modern reformers may be greater, in furniſhing their diſciples with pleas for the neglect of their ordinary duties, than in ſtimulating their endeavours for the performance of thoſe which are extraordinary, and perhaps ideal. If, indeed, the repreſentations we have lately heard of univerſal philanthropy, ſerved only to amuſe the fancy of thoſe who approve of them, and to communicate that pleaſure which ariſes from contemplating the magnitude and grandeur of a favourite ſubject, we might be tempted to ſmile at them as groundleſs and harmleſs. But they tend to debaſe the dignity, and to weaken the efficacy of thoſe particular affections, for which we have daily and hourly occaſion in the events of real life. They tempt us to ſubſtitute the eaſe of ſpeculation, and the pride of dogmatiſm, for the toil of practice. To a claſs of artificial and oſtentatious ſentiments, they give the moſt dangerous triumph over the genuine and ſalutary dictates of nature. They delude and inflame our minds with phariſaical notions of ſuperior wiſdom and ſuperior virtue; and, what is the worſt of all, they may be uſed as "a cloke to us" for inſenſibility, where other men feel; and for negligence, where other men act with *viſible* and *uſeful*, though *limited* effect.'

In attempting to ſhow the connexion between particular and univerſal benevolence, Dr Parr does not appear to us to have taken a clear and ſatisfactory view of the ſubject. Nature impels us both to good and bad actions; and, even in the former, gives us no meaſure by which we may prevent them from degenerating into exceſs. Rapine and revenge are not leſs natural than parental and filial affection; which latter claſs of feelings may themſelves be a ſource of crimes, if they overpower (as they frequently do) the ſenſe of juſtice. It is not, therefore, a ſufficient juſtification of our actions, that they are natural. We muſt ſeek, from our reaſon, ſome principle which will enable us to determine what impulſes of nature we are to obey, and what we are to reſiſt: ſuch is that of general utility, or, what is the ſame thing, of univerſal good; a principle which ſanctifies and limits the more particular affections. The duty of a ſon to a parent, or a parent to a ſon, is not an ultimate principle of morals, but depends on the principle of univerſal good, and is only praiſeworthy, becauſe it is found to promote it. At the ſame time, our ſpheres of action and intelligence are ſo confined,

that

that it is better, in a great majority of inſtances, to ſuffer our conduct to be guided by thoſe affections which have been long ſanctioned by the approbation of mankind, than to enter into a proceſs of reaſoning, and inveſtigate the relation which every trifling event might bear to the general intereſts of the world. In his principle of univerſal benevolence, Mr Godwin is unqueſtionably right. That it is the grand principle on which all morals reſt—that it is the corrective for the exceſs of all particular affections, we believe to be undeniable: and he is only erroneous in excluding the particular affections; becauſe, in ſo doing, he deprives us of our moſt powerful means of promoting his own principle of univerſal good; for it is as much as to ſay, that all the crew ought to have the *general* welfare of the ſhip ſo much at heart, that no ſailor ſhould ever pull any *particular* rope, or hand any *individual* ſail. By univerſal benevolence, we mean, and underſtand Dr Parr to mean, not a barren affection for the ſpecies, but a deſire to promote their real happineſs; and of this principle, he thus ſpeaks:

'I admit, and I approve of it, as an *emotion* of which general happineſs is the cauſe, but not as a paſſion, of which, according to the uſual order of human affairs, it could often be the object. I approve of it as a diſpoſition to wiſh, and, as opportunity may occur, to deſire and do good, rather than harm, to thoſe with whom we are quite unconnected.'

It would appear, from this kind of language, that a deſire of promoting the univerſal good, were a pardonable weakneſs, rather than a fundamental principle of ethics; that the particular affections were incapable of exceſs; and that they never wanted the corrective of a more generous and exalted feeling. In a ſubſequent part of his ſermon, Dr Parr atones a little for this overzealous depretiation of the principle of univerſal benevolence; but he nowhere ſtates the particular affections to derive their value and their limits from their ſubſervience to a more extenſive philanthropy. He does not ſhew us that they exiſt only as virtues, from their inſtrumentality in promoting the general good; and that, to preſerve their true character, they ſhould be frequently referred to that principle as their proper criterion.

In the latter part of his ſermon, Dr Parr combats the general objections of Mr Turgot to all charitable inſtitutions, with conſiderable vigour and ſucceſs. To ſay that an inſtitution is neceſſarily bad, becauſe it will not always be adminiſtered with the ſame zeal, proves a little too much; for it is an objection to political and religious, as well as to charitable inſtitutions; and, from a lively apprehenſion of the fluctuating characters of thoſe

who govern, would leave the world without any government at all. It is better there ſhould be an aſylum for the mad, and a hoſpital for the wounded, if they were to ſquander away 50 *per cent.* of their income, than that we ſhould be diſguſted with ſore limbs, and ſhocked by ſtraw-crowned monarchs in the ſtreets. All inſtitutions of this kind muſt ſuffer the riſk of being governed by more or leſs of probity and talents. The good which one active character effects, and the wiſe order which he eſtabliſhes, may outlive him for a long period; and we all hate each other's crimes, by which we gain nothing, ſo much, that, in proportion as public opinion acquires aſcendancy in any particular country, every public inſtitution becomes more and more guaranteed from abuſe.

Upon the whole, this ſermon is rather the production of what is called a ſenſible, than of a very acute man; of a man certainly more remarkable for his learning, than his originality. It refutes the very refutable poſitions of Mr Godwin, without placing the doctrine of benevolence in a clear light; and it almoſt leaves us to ſuppoſe, that the particular affections are themſelves ultimate principles of action, inſtead of convenient inſtruments of a more general principle.

The ſtyle is ſuch, as to give a general impreſſion of heavineſs to the whole ſermon. The Doctor is never ſimple and natural for a ſingle inſtant. Every thing ſmells of the rhetorician. He never appears to forget himſelf, or to be hurried by his ſubject into obvious language. Every expreſſion ſeems to be the reſult of artifice and intention; and as to the worthy dedicatees, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, unleſs the ſermon be *done into Engliſh by a perſon of honour*, they may perhaps be flattered by the Doctor's politeneſs, but they can never be much edified by his meaning. Dr Parr ſeems to think, that eloquence conſiſts not in an exuberance of beautiful images—not in ſimple and ſublime conceptions—not in the feelings of the paſſions; but in a ſtudious arrangement of *ſonorous, exotic, and ſeſquipedal* words: a very ancient error, which corrupts the ſtyle of young, and wearies the patience of ſenſible men. In ſome of his combinations of words, the Doctor is ſingularly unhappy. We have the *din of ſuperficial cavillers*, the *prancings of giddy oſtentation*, *fluttering vanity*, *hiſſing ſcorn*, *dank clod*, &c. &c. &c. The following intruſion of a technical word into a pathetic deſcription, renders the whole paſſage almoſt ludicrous.

'Within a few days, mute was the tongue that uttered theſe celeſtial ſounds, and the hand which ſigned your *indenture* lay cold and motionleſs in the dark and dreary chambers of death.'

In

In page 16, Dr Parr, in ſpeaking of the indentures of the hoſpital, a ſubject (as we ſhould have thought) little calculated for rhetorical panegyric, ſays of them—

'If the writer of whom I am ſpeaking, had peruſed, as I have, your indentures and your rules, he would have found in them ſerioufneſs without auſterity, earneſtneſs without extravagance, good ſenſe without the trickeries of art, good language without the trappings of rhetoric, and the firmneſs of conſcious worth, rather than the prancings of giddy oſtentation.'

The latter member of this eloge would not be wholly unintelligible, if applied to a ſpirited coach-horſe; but we have never yet witneſſed the phenomenon of a *prancing indenture*.

It is not our intention to follow Dr Parr through the copious and varied learning of his notes; in the peruſal of which, we have been as much delighted with the richneſs of his acquiſitions, the vigour of his underſtanding, and the genuine goodneſs of his heart, as we have been amuſed with his ludicrous ſelf-importance, and the miraculous ſimplicity of his character. We would rather recommend it to the Doctor, to publiſh an annual liſt of worthies, as a kind of ſtimulus to literary men; to be included in which, will unqueſtionably be conſidered as great an honour, as for a commoner to be elevated to the peerage. A line of Greek, a line of Latin, or no line at all, ſubſequent to each name, will diſtinguiſh, with ſufficient accuracy, the ſhades of merit, and the degree of immortality conferred.

Why ſhould Dr Parr confine this *eulogomania* to the literary characters of this iſland alone? In the univerſity of Benares, in the lettered kingdom of Ava, among the Mandarins at Pekin, there muſt, doubtleſs, be many men who have the eloquence of * Βάῤῥυος, the feeling of Ταιλωρος, and the judgement of Ὠκηρος; of whom Dr Parr might be happy to ſay, that they have profundity without obſcurity—perſpicuity without prolixity—ornament without glare—terſeneſs without barrenneſs—penetration without ſubtlety—comprehenſiveneſs without digreſſion—and a great number of other things without a great number of other things.

In ſpite of 32 pages of very cloſe printing, in defence of the Univerſity of Oxford, is it, or is it not true, that very many of its Profeſſors enjoy ample ſalaries, without reading any lectures at all? The character of particular Colleges will certainly vary with the character of their governors; but the univerſity of Oxford ſo far differs from Dr Parr, in the commendation he has beſtowed upon its ſtate of *public* education, that they have, ſince the publication of his book, we believe, and forty years after

* Πάντες μὲν σοφοὶ ἐγὼ δὲ Ὠκηρον μὲν σέβο. θαυμαζω δὲ Βάῤῥυον, καὶ φιλῶ Ταιλωρον. See Lucian in Vita Dæmonact. vol. ii. p. 394.——(Dr Parr's note.)

Mr Gibbon's reſidence, completely aboliſhed their very ludicrous and diſgraceful exerciſes for degrees, and have ſubſtituted in their place, a ſyſtem of exertion, and a ſcale of academical honours calculated (we are willing to hope) to produce the happieſt effects.

We were very ſorry, in reading Dr Parr's note on the Univerſities, to meet with the following paſſage:

'Ill would it become me, tamely and ſilently to acquieſce in the ſtrictures of this formidable accuſer, upon a ſeminary to which I owe many obligations, though I left it, as muſt not be diſſembled, before the uſual time, and, in truth, had been almoſt compelled to leave it, *not* by the want of a proper education, for I had arrived at the firſt place in the firſt form of Harrow School, when I was not quite fourteen—not by the want of uſeful tutors, for mine were eminently able, and to me had been uniformly kind—not by the want of ambition, for I had begun to look up ardently and anxiouſly to academical diſtinctions—not by the want of attachment to the place, for I regarded it then, as I continue to regard it now, with the fondeſt and moſt unfeigned affection—but by another want, which it were unneceſſary to name, and for the ſupply of which, after ſome heſitation, I determined to provide by patient toil and reſolute ſelf-denial, when I had not completed my twentieth year. I ceaſed, therefore, to reſide, with an aching heart: I looked back, with mingled feelings of regret and humiliation, to advantages of which I could no longer partake, and honours to which I could no longer aſpire.'

To thoſe who know the truly honourable and reſpectable character of Dr Parr, the vaſt extent of his learning, and the unadulterated benevolence of his nature, ſuch an account cannot but be very affecting, in ſpite of the bad taſte in which it is communicated. How painful to reflect, that a truly devout and attentive miniſter, a ſtrenuous defender of the church-eſtabliſhment, and by far the moſt learned man of his day, ſhould be permitted to languiſh on a little paltry curacy in Warwickſhire!

——Dii meliora, &c. &c. *

Art. III. *Thoughts occaſioned by the Peruſal of Dr Parr's Spital Sermon;* being a reply to the attacks of Dr Parr, Mr M'Intoſh, the Author of an Eſſay on Population, and others. By William Godwin. Taylor & Wilks, Chancery-Lane.

We were quite ſurpriſed at diſcovering ſo much good ſenſe and moderation in the firſt part of this pamphlet, in which Mr Godwin replies to Mr M'Intoſh and Dr Parr. The charge which

* Sir Francis Burdett has, ſince the writing of this article, preſented Dr Parr to a valuable rectory.

which he prefers againſt Mr M'Intoſh, of ſuddenly breaking up a long eſtabliſhed friendſhip, of holding him out to public execration, and whitewaſhing his own political reputation at the expence of his ancient comrade, is a charge out of our juriſdiction, as it is rather of a moral, than a literary nature, and, if true, affects Mr M'Intoſh more as a man, than as an author.

Mr Godwin repeats here his recantations of the principle, '*that general utility ſhould be made the immediate motive to our actions;*' but, at the ſame time, very fairly accuſes Dr Parr of neglecting to conſider the principle of univerſal benevolence as a *criterion*, though not a *motive* of action.

'There is a diſtinction to be introduced here, with which I am perſuaded Dr Parr is well acquainted, though, for ſome reaſon, he has choſen to paſs over one ſide of this diſtinction entirely in ſilence in his ſermon, between the motive from which a virtuous action is to ariſe, and the criterion by which it is to be determined to be virtuous. The motives of human actions are feelings, or paſſions, or habits. Without feeling, we cannot act at all; and without paſſion, we cannot act greatly. But, when we proceed to aſcertain whether our actions are entitled to the name of virtue, this can only be done by examining into their effects, by bringing them to a ſtandard, and comparing them with a criterion.'

In a ſubſequent part of his pamphlet, Mr Godwin ſets the doctrine of the particular and general affections in ſo clear and maſterly a light, and in a manner ſo very ſuperior to any thing we find in Dr Parr's ſermon on the ſame ſubject, that we have great pleaſure in laying the paſſage before our readers.

'For, after all, though I admit that the aſſiduities we employ for our children ought to be, and muſt be, the reſult of private and domeſtic affections, yet it is not theſe affections that determine them to be virtuous. They muſt, as has been already ſaid, be brought to a ſtandard, and tried by a criterion of virtue.

'This criterion has been above deſcribed, and it is not perhaps of the utmoſt importance whether we call it utility, or juſtice, or, more periphraſtically, the production of the greateſt general good, the greateſt public ſum of pleaſurable ſenſation. Call it by what name you pleaſe, it will ſtill be true, that this is the law by which our actions muſt be tried. I muſt be attentive to the welfare of my child, becauſe he is one in the great congregation of the family of the whole earth. I muſt be attentive to the welfare of my child, becauſe I can, in many portions of the never-ceaſing current of human life, be conferring pleaſure and benefit on him, when I cannot be directly employed in conferring benefit on others. I beſt underſtand his character and his wants; I poſſeſs a greater power of modelling his diſpoſition, and influencing his fortune; and, as was obſerved in Political Juſtice, (p. 132.), he is the individual, in the great "diſtribution of the claſs needing ſuperintendence and ſupply among the claſs capable of affording

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ing them," whom it falls to my lot to protect and cheriſh.—I do not require that, when a man is employed in benefiting his child, he ſhould conſtantly recollect the abſtract principle of utility; but I do maintain, that his actions, in proſecuting that benefit, are no further virtuous than in proportion as they ſquare with that principle.'

Aware of the very ſuperior manner in which Mr Godwin's complaint is now accuſtomed to be treated, we had great hopes, upon reading ſo far, that a radical cure had been effected; but we had no ſooner entered upon his remarks on population, than this pleaſing deluſion was diſpelled, and we were convinced it was a caſe for life. The great expedients which this philoſopher has in ſtore to counteract the bad effects of exceſſive population, (ſo ably pointed out by Mr Malthias), are, abortion and child-murder. In gratitude for theſe noble remedies of ſocial diſorder, may we take the liberty of ſuggeſting to Mr Godwin, the infinite importance of ſhaving and bliſtering the crown of his head, of keeping the *primæ viæ* open, and of ſtrictly purſuing an antiphlogiſtic regimen. By theſe means, we have ſometimes ſeen the underſtandings of great philoſophers wonderfully and rapidly improved.

ART. IV. *Aſiatic Reſearches:* or, Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the Hiſtory and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Aſia. Vol. VI. 1801.

AMIDST the acquiſitions which a few years have added to the ſtock of general information, the hiſtorian, the antiquary, the botaniſt, and the geographer, will acknowledge important obligations to the ardour of literary reſearch, excited in the centre of Aſia. From the banks of the Ganges, the exploring genius of Philoſophy has darted a rapid glance over the vaſt *terræ incognitæ*, which extended in every direction; the manners and cuſtoms of populous nations, whoſe names were only known before as occupying a place in our maps, have been perſpicuouſly deſcribed; the poſition of their cities, and courſes of their rivers, aſcertained and delineated. Mr Marſden's Hiſtory of Sumatra, preſents a comprehenſive view of one of the moſt conſiderable iſles of the Indian ocean; the Burman embaſſy has enabled Colonel Symes to afford an intereſting ſketch of a highly fertile country, inhabited by a race of enterpriſing warriors; and Captain Turner has pourtrayed, with much ability, the hardy, though unwarlike tribes, who cultivate the romantic mountains of Bhuttan, or tend their flocks on the ſterile plains of the loſty Tibet. It is, however, to the publications of the Society inſtituted at Calcutta by the late Sir William Jones, that the learned will chiefly look for accurate views of the paſt and preſent ſtate of the nations

tions which ſurround them. Some important and many curious facts already aſcertained, induce us to hope, that thoſe expectations will not ultimately be diſappointed. Amongſt the former, we may claſs the deduction, not derived from the fallacious ſources of a pliant etymology, but from a profound knowledge of moſt of the Aſiatic languages, that the Arabs, Hindus, and Tartars, conſtitute three diſtinct races, whoſe manners, hiſtory, languages, and dogmata, are peculiar and unconnected, and from whom all the other nations of Aſia may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have proceeded. In the identification of Chandra Gupta, king of Prachi, with the Sandrocottus of the Greeks, a fixed æra has been obtained, which muſt prove of the moſt important utility to thoſe who ſhall attempt in future to trace the obſcure hiſtory of ancient India. It is now aſcertained, that the religion of Buddha prevails over a range of country even more extenſive than that of Mohamed; counting among its votaries, all the Tartar tribes who have not embraced Iſlamiſm; the inhabitants of Tibet and Bhuttan, of Ava and its ſouthern dependencies; the greater part of the Chineſe nation, including the court, the people of Japan, of Ceylon, and probably of all the Indian iſles, where the inhabitants are ſtill polytheiſts. A variety of ingenious conjectures has been propoſed by Captain Wilford, and ſupported with much erudition; the antiquity of the aſtronomical obſervations of the Hindus has become a ſubject of intereſting diſcuſſion; and various tribes inhabiting the ſame country, but of different manners, idioms, and configuration, have been diſtinguiſhed and deſcribed. The volume before us is no leſs calculated, than thoſe which have preceded it, to repay the attention of the curious.

Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujein. *By* William Hunter, *Eſq.*

This ſenſible traveller accompanied the Reſident at the Court of the Mahratta chief, Madhugi Sindia, in the year 1792, to Oujein, the capital of his hereditary dominions, where he paſſed nearly a twelvemonth, and has furniſhed an inſtructive account of that city, and of two different routes from Agra to it. The firſt traverſed the country of the brave Bundelas, who have ſtill withſtood the encroachments of the Mahrattas. The celebrated fortreſs of Gualior merited a deſcription. The hill on which it ſtands is a mile and a half in length, in breadth only 300 yards, and its height, where greateſt, 342 feet. At the north end is a palace, and about the middle of the fort, two remarkable buildings of red ſtone, in the moſt ancient ſtyle of Hindu architecture. On the outſide, about half way up, are many cells, which contain the figures of men and animals, carved, in the ſame manner

ner as theſe excavations themſelves, out of the ſolid rock. A line of blue enamel, ſtill very freſh and brilliant, runs along all the eaſt ſide. From hence to Oujein, the country uſually preſented the appearance of induſtry and ſucceſsful culture. At Burwaſagar, the Mahratta Subadar amuſed himſelf with philoſophical experiments; he had got the plates of the Encyclopædia, neatly copied by artiſts of his own; and, at the age of ſixty, expreſſed great ſolicitude to obtain an inſtructor in the Engliſh language, to enable him to underſtand the text.

The city of Oujein (in Sanſcrit, Ujjaïni and Avanti) boaſts a high antiquity, and is conſidered as the firſt meridian by Hindu geographers and aſtronomers. By repeated obſervations, Mr Hunter aſcertained its longitude to be 75 deg. 51 min. E. and its latitude 23 deg. 2 min. 13 ſec. But the modern city lies about a mile ſouth of the ſpot; where, by digging to the depth of from fifteen to eighteen feet, the capital of Vicramaditya is found buried in the earth, with its walls entire, and pillars unbroken. The traditionary legend of the place, imputes its downfal to a ſhower of earth; and Mr Hunter remarks, that there are no traces of volcanic hills, nor ſcoriæ, in the vicinity. The entire ſtate of the walls militates againſt the ſuppoſition of an earthquake, as Mr Hunter obſerves: We can, however, impute the ruin of Ujjaïni only to this cauſe, operating with a gentler conculſion than uſually attends that tremendous phenomenon; for the black vegetable mould, under which it lies buried, ſcarcely admits of being blown in ſuch quantity. The preſent city is ſix miles in circumference, ſurrounded by a ſtone-wall, with round towers; the Sipara waſhes its ſouthern extremity, near which ſtands an obſervatory, built by the reſpectable Rajah of Ambher. The officers of government are almoſt the only Mahratta inhabitants of Oujein; the bulk of the people ſpeak a dialect little different from that of Agra; the Moſlems form a conſiderable portion of the population, and of their number a great part is compoſed of Iſhmaelite ſectaries.

Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy Iſlands, lying off Sumatra. *By* John Criſp, *Eſq.*

Theſe iſlands are ſituated about twenty-five leagues weſt of Sumatra; a ſtrait of two miles broad ſeparates the northern Poggy from the ſouth; and the whole appears in our maps under the appellation of Naſſau Iſland. The northern extremity lies in 2 deg. 18 min. S.; the ſouthern in 3 deg. 16 min. Like Sumatra, they conſiſt of ſteep mountains, covered with trees to their ſummits; amongſt which are a conſiderable variety bearing fruit. The inhabitants amount only to 1400; and when the abundance of food, and mildneſs of the climate, are conſidered, their reſidence

dence cannot date from a remote period. The sago-tree furnishes the principal articles of food—pork, fish, and the common dunghill fowl, their favourite nutriment. Notwithstanding their proximity to Sumatra, 'their language is totally different, and their customs and habits of life indicate a very distinct origin, and bear a striking resemblance to those of the inhabitants of the late discovered islands in the Pacific Ocean.' Their colour is a light brown; the custom of tattooing is universal; the chastity of their females before marriage is not held in estimation; and they have no form of religious worship, nor idea of a future state.

Observations on the Theory of Walls, wherein some particulars are investigated, which have not been considered by Writers on Fortification. By William Lambton, *Lieutenant in his Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot.*

Mr Lambton is of opinion, that the force necessary to sustain a certain mass of earth has been over-rated, from neglecting to consider the tenacity of the masonry in the line where the wall is supposed to break off. He exhibits a formula for obtaining what he imagines a juster measure; but, till his deductions be confirmed by experiments on masses of masonry constructed at different times, the saving of expence, time, and labour, will scarcely justify a deviation from the present practice.

On the Poison of Serpents. By W. Boag, *Esq.*

Fontana was satisfied, from the result of numerous experiments, that in the lunar caustic (nitrate of silver) he had discovered a specific remedy for the bite of serpents. The rationale of the cure is explained by Mr Boag, on the following hypotheses. The nature of the venom is the same in all serpents, and to be cured by the same means; it operates on the blood by abstracting the oxygen, on which its vitality depends; but this oxygen is supplied by the lunar caustic, since the nitric acid contains it in a loose form, and the silver has but little attraction for it. This theory, if supported by facts, seems sufficiently consistent; but all the animals bitten by a cobra de capello, the only snake used in Mr Boag's experiments, died, notwithstanding the application of the lunar caustic, unless where the venom had been previously exhausted by repeated incisions.

An Account of the Petroleum Wells in the Burman Dominions, extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Rangong, up the River Iravati to Amarapura. By Captain Hiram Cox, *Resident at Rangong.*

These wells were visited and described by Colonel Symes, on his voyage down the Iravati; Captain Cox has added some interesting

ſhaped like a tropezium. 'Theſe names are taken from certain trees, which are the ſacred inſignia of each particular iſland: Thus, becauſe the ſacred tree of the ſouthern iſland is Zabu, the iſland is named Zabudiva, or the iſland of the tree Zabu; diva, in the Pali language, ſignifying iſland.' This tree, Zabu, (ſays Dr Buchanan), is entirely the creature of fancy, there being no ſpecies of plant ſo called.

This aſſertion is altogether erroneous. Zabudiva is a corruption of the Jambudwipa of the Hindu geographers; the Jambu tree is the Eugenia Malaccenſis of Linnæus, and the Jamboſa domeſtica of Rumphius, who conſiders it as the moſt exquiſite of the tropical fruits, after the mangoſtin. But dwipa does not, in the above paſſage, ſignify an iſland, but a region inſulated by mountains. In the infancy of ſcience, to name countries from ſuch natural productions as were, or might be ſuppoſed, peculiar to each, ſeems, at leaſt, an obvious mode of nomenclature. It only remains for us to prove this Burman document to be a mutilated tranſcript of the Khetra Nirmana *.

'The inhabitants of the northern iſland,' ſays Sangermano, 'differ totally from thoſe of the others; for they neither practiſe agriculture, commerce, nor any other profeſſion. There grows in their iſland a tree, called Pedezabayn, on which, in place of fruit, hang precious garments of every kind: ſo that from theſe trees the inhabitants are ſupplied with all manner of

* It would have been eaſy, if our limits had admitted of it, to have multiplied the inſtances of coincidence between the Burman and the Sanſcrit document. But, if our readers conſider the ſingularity of the ideas, (a tree yielding veſture, perſons ſo ſimilar in their form as not to be diſtinguiſhable, and a bird removing the bodies of the dead), and that they occur in both caſes in the ſame order, this paſſage will probably be deemed as concluſive as a thouſand. They will alſo remark, that the leſs extravagant fictions of the Pauranica, are caricatured by the ruder Burman. He is not contented with the inhabitants of his iſland clothing themſelves in the leaves, but repreſents his tree as producing the dreſſes ready made; it is not the twins only who reſemble each other, but the whole nation are abſolutely undiſtinguiſhable. This comparative rudeneſs is alſo very remarkable in the following inſtance: As the Burman profeſſes to delineate the extent of countries, he begins by exhibiting the meaſures of ſpace, preciſely ſimilar to thoſe of the Brahmans, excepting that for the ſeeds of the papavera, the former have ſubſtituted *lice*; thus, '7 lice = 1 grain of rice,' inſtead of 7 poppy ſeeds = 1 barley corn. The two documents would, in all probability, have been exactly ſimilar, had not Sangermano contented himſelf with giving an *abſtract* of the Burman, inſtead of a tranſlation, and intermixed with it a variety of his own obſervations.

of clothing. Neither have the inhabitants of Unchegru any need to cultivate the ground; as the ſame padezabayn produces a certain excellent kind of rice, which has no huſk. Women, there, are not ſubject to the common ſexual infirmities, and bear their children without any pain. When the time comes, they bring them forth in the ſtreets, and there leave them. Thus, no one knows his own relations; as alſo, becauſe all the inhabitants are of the ſame form and colour. As ſoon as a perſon dies, the body is depoſited in a certain place, when very large birds, deſtined by Fate for that purpoſe, carry it away to another part of the iſland, and there devour it. Theſe iſlanders are very handſome, eſpecially the women, who excel in ſoftneſs, ſuppleneſs, and elegance of limbs.'

Let our readers compare the above paſſage with the following, which we tranſlate literally from the Khetra Nirmana:

'1. North of Meru, and ſouth of Mount Nila, (the Riphean mountains), lies the land of Curu, venerated by the pious.

'2. There, the trees bend with delicious fruits; there, a thouſand flowers diffuſe an exquiſite fragrance.

'3. From one tree, named Kharina, exudes a vegetable milk, ſweet as ambroſia: its leaves ſupply veſture, its fruits nouriſhment to the natives.

'4. The inhabitants are white and lovely; the women, fair as the nymphs of paradiſe; they uſually produce twins.

'5. Theſe twins grow together; their aſpects and qualities are ſimilar, and, like a pair of turtles, one cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the other.

'6. Robuſt and healthy, they live in continual enjoyment, free from care; and as their birth was contemporary, they both die at the ſame inſtant.

'7. The huge bird, Bharunda, of enormous ſtrength, lifts up the corpſe, and drops it in the river.'

We believe this collation will ſuffice to prove, that the Burman document is of Indian origin; though we are apt to ſuſpect, that the miſſionary has frequently failed in ſeizing the ſenſe of his original. But the Burman topography, which forms the ſecond treatiſe, would probably have furniſhed a ſtill more ample corroboration of this fact, had Sangermano furniſhed the Pali names of the 101 nations which are ſaid to inhabit Zabudiva. Inſtead of this, he only remarks, 'That of all the nations which are known really to inhabit the earth, we find none mentioned as a part of the 101, except the Chineſe, Siameſe, and the inhabitants of Javay, Pegu, Laos, Cuſſay, and Arakan.' The truth, however, we ſuſpect to be, that the Pali names of theſe countries alone, were known to the miſſionary; and that of the reſt, the Pali names only were known to the Rahans, whom he

conſulted. The only place ſpecified in his topography, is the Mount Himavan, (Imaus), its lakes and rivers.

The laſt treatiſe contains an account of the celeſtial beings, Nat, Rupa, and Arupa: all theſe are Sanſcrit appellations, and correſpond with various claſſes of Devata, with which the imagination of the Brahmans has peopled the air, earth, and waters. There is afterwards exhibited the ceremony of inſtallation into the order of Rahans, and an account of the tenets of Gotama, with thoſe of certain hereſiarchs, which previouſly prevailed in the world. To theſe, however, we cannot advert, without omitting the diſcuſſion of various hypotheſes, not a little ſingular, advanced by Dr Buchanan, in the courſe of his diſquiſition. Theſe are as follows—

The religion of Gotama, or Buddha, as actually prevalent in Ava, was that of all India, till about the ſecond century before Chriſt. At that period, the Brahmans firſt introduced themſelves and their rites into that country. They were originally from Egypt; and left it probably on account of the perſecution of the Egyptian prieſts by Cambyſes, mentioned by Herodotus. On their arrival, by their ſuperior knowledge, they gradually excluded the Rahans from every part of India, and ſubſtituted their own dogmas, though they artfully retained the principal facts known to their predeceſſors, of Indian hiſtory and ſcience. But their ſway has proved highly detrimental and injurious to the country; and, to conceal their foreign origin, and the novelty of their doctrine, they have carefully deſtroyed all the monuments of antiquity, ſubſtituting ſpurious productions of their own invention.

The above ſummary compriſes, we believe, all the material parts of our author's ſyſtem. But, by what important diſcoveries, profound inveſtigation, and ingenious logic, is he prepared to prove, that the high antiquity attributed by ancient and modern writers to the Hindu ſyſtem, is all a deluſion, and that, from Megaſthenes to Sir William Jones, the truth has been impervious to all but himſelf?—We ſhall endeavour to do juſtice to his arguments.

When the Emperor Acber conquered Caſmir, he was preſented with a hiſtory of that country, of which an abridged tranſlation has been preſerved by Abul Fazil. It mentions, that 'when Caſmir was freed from an inundation, Caſſyapa brought the Brahmans to inhabit the new land.' After a time, they elected a king, named Ouengund, who was contemporary with Criſna (the 8th incarnation of the deity). 'From Ouengund to Cotadevi, the laſt native ruler, this hiſtory reckons 159 princes; and Cotadevi was ſucceeded by a Mohamedan prince, Shamſeddin, in the year 1342.' Now, in eaſtern dynaſties, where

where oppreſſion *always* paves the way for revolt, and ſucceſſion is not clearly defined, ten years is as much as ſhould be allowed for a reign; and Ouengund and Criſna will be placed in the year before Chriſt 248. Now, the Brahmans of Caſſyapa could not be the ſect of prieſts, becauſe they cultivated the earth. This is confirmed by the account given of Rajah Jenneh (it ſhould be Janaca), the 45th prince from Ouengund, 'who eſtabliſhed, in his reign, the Brahmeny rites.' His ſucceſſor, Jelouk, 'tolerated the doctrine of Buddha;' and it was not till the year 342, 'that the Brahmans got the better of the followers of Buddha, and burned down their temples.'

We muſt, in the firſt place, remark, that Caſſyapa, himſelf a Brahman, is unqueſtionably underſtood by Abul Fazil to have introduced the Brahman prieſts into Caſmir, whom he mentions, not as the cultivators of the earth, but becauſe it was they who elected a king. So far is ten years for a reign from being the true average of an eaſtern dynaſty, that the family of Timur, before the empire of Hinduſtan fell into confuſion, furniſh 35 years for a reign; and even now, notwithſtanding the reigns of a few months which ſucceeded, 23 years is the average furniſhed by the reigning dynaſty, in times of great turbulence and diſtraction. But we find that Abul Fazil ſtates 168, not 151 princes, to have reigned between Ouengund and Cotadevi: Allowing 20 years to a reign, we ſhall find Ouengund to have reigned 2018 years before Chriſt; which is preciſely the æra at which Sir William Jones (whoſe aſſertions always derive new force from inveſtigation) places his contemporary Criſna. A more unaccountable error afterwards occurs; for, ſo far from Rajah Janaca 'eſtabliſhing the Brahmeny rites,' as Dr Buchanan aſſerts, his ſucceſſor abjured theſe rites, and introduced thoſe of Buddha. We tranſlate the paſſage from Abul Fazil—'When the regal authority devolved on the couſin of Rajah Janaca, (the Rajah himſelf is not once mentioned, excepting in the chronological liſt), he threw off the rites of the Brahmans, and adopted the religion of Jina (Buddha), to whom he remained conſtantly attached.' The hiſtorian proceeds to mention, that this hereſy was ſtill more widely diffuſed in the reign of his ſucceſſor Jelouk *. His words ſeem to imply, that Buddha was then living;

* As the comparative antiquity of the Brahmanical and Samanian ſuperſtitions, is a point of ſingular importance to Indian hiſtory; and as Dr Buchanan has afforded, perhaps, the moſt ſtriking inſtance, in the hiſtory of literature, of an author being cited to prove a fact, exactly the converſe of what he really aſſerts; we will here inſert a literal tranſlation

ing; which is alſo conſentaneous with the opinion of Sir William Jones. Had Dr Buchanan conſulted Arrian, he would have ſeen, that the Brahmans, with their diviſion of caſts, had exiſted, from time immemorial, in the days of Alexander; and that the opinion then prevalent was, that Criſna (whom the Greeks named the Indian Hercules, and mention his being worſhipped at Mathura Deorum, where Criſna is ſtill worſhipped) appeared upon earth 4500 years before the reign of Sandrocottus, or Chandra Gupta: An exaggerated ſtatement, but ſufficient to prove the high antiquity aſſigned to the Hindu ſyſtem, ſo early as the days of the Macedonian conqueror.

It cannot be diſputed, that the religion of Buddha obtained, about the period of the Chriſtian æra, an extenſive aſcendency throughout Hinduſtan; and it is equally true, that it is now almoſt extirpated, in all probability, by the exertions of the Brahmans. The Egyptian origin of the latter is not ſupported by a ſhadow of proof, and reſts on the knowledge they have diſcovered of the courſe of the Nile, according to the ingenious hypotheſis of Captain Wilford; which is, however, the converſe of our author's. That learned ſpeculatiſt ſuppoſes emigrations from

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tion of all the paſſages in the Caſmirian hiſtory, which relate to the ſubject under diſcuſſion.

'1. When the water which covered the valley of Caſmir, had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, Caſſyapa, a ſaint of great reputation, brought a colony of Brahmans to it: When the population became numerous, it appeared neceſſary to chooſe a ruler; and the wiſe and experienced, aſſembling for that purpoſe, ſelected the moſt diſtinguiſhed for that ſtation.

'2. Again: When the regal authority devolved on Aſoca, the uncle's ſon of Rajah Janaca, he threw off the religion of the Brahmans, and adopted that of Jina, remaining conſtantly attached to him. His ſon, Rajah Jeluc, is reſpected as a juſt prince: he conquered the adjacent country as far as the ſea; he procured from Canoj, then the principal city of Hinduſtan, ſeven learned Brahmans, whom he appointed to the chief offices of his kingdom. The Hindus relate ſeveral wonderful adventures of this monarch. In his reign, the religion of Buddha continued to acquire an aſcendency.

'3. In the reign of Rajah Nerka, the worſhip of Buddha was proſcribed, and his temples levelled with the ground.' Dr Buchanan, it will be obſerved, places this event *in anno Domini* 340; yet many generations after, the hiſtorian mentions that Caſmir was conquered by Vicramaditya, who indiſputably reigned in the century before our Saviour: a deciſive proof of the total fallacy of his calculation, and of the juſtice of our remarks.

from India to Egypt; Dr Buchanan, the contrary. That the Brahmans have deſtroyed their early records, is an aſſertion which certainly required ſome evidence, though none is offered. Whether their ſway has been favourable or prejudicial to the countries it influenced, muſt be judged of by their ſituation previouſly to the Mohamedan invaſion. Now, all the Moſlem writers, who treat of the conqueſt; ſpeak, in terms of the higheſt admiration, of the immenſe population, riches, and good order, which Hinduſtan exhibited under its native rulers. If Dr Buchanan had referred to their deſcription of Canoge, or, in more recent times, to that of Vijanagara, whilſt governed by a Hindu prince, he would probably have ſeen cauſe to regret the gentle ſway, and lenient maxims, of thoſe whom he treats with ſuch unmerited harſhneſs.

An obſervation of Sir William Jones, had our author deemed it worthy of his attention, might have ſpared him the trouble he has taken to ridicule the ſcience of the Brahmans—'We muſt never confound,' ſays that modeſt and cautious inquirer, 'the ſyſtem of the Jyautiſhicas, or mathematical aſtronomers, with that of the Pauranicas, or poetical fabuliſts; for, to ſuch a confuſion alone muſt we impute the many miſtakes of Europeans on the ſubject of Indian ſcience.' Yet, Dr Buchanan reaſons, throughout, on the wild imaginations of Hindu poets, as if they were meant to convey a profound ſyſtem of philoſophy; and his arguments are as cogent, as if it were attempted to prove, from the Orlando Furioſo, that the modern Italians ſuppoſed the operations of nature ſubject to the controul of necromancers and fairies.

We have already devoted to this diſquiſition a larger proportion of our attention than its merits might appear to require; but we cannot leave Dr Buchanan, without remarking, that Sangermano, in enumerating Rahu as an eighth planet, which might be taken for the *Georgium ſidus*, and thus ſtrip Herſchel of his honours, has led him into a miſtake. Rahu is the name of the nodes, or points, formed by the interſections of the ecliptic and the moon's orbit, which the Pauranicas figure as a mighty dragon, attempting to ſwallow the ſun and moon, and thus the cauſe of eclipſes.

Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar. By Captain Thomas Hardwicke.

Between the foreſts of Rohilcund and the ſnow-covered ridges of the lofty Himala (Imaus), extend various ranges of mountains, interſected by the courſe of the Ganges. A ſterile tract of uneven country furniſhes a ſcanty ſubſiſtence to the Hindu mountaineers. Here lies the kingdom of Srinagara, ſecluded from

the reſt of the world by almoſt inacceſſible barriers; the river Alacnandra, before it joins the Ganges, waſhes the capital, ſeated in a plain two miles in extent, and probably the largeſt in the kingdom. The revenues of the Rajah only amount to 50,000*l.*; of which he pays a moiety, as tribute, to the ſovereign of Gorca. Mines of copper, lead, and iron, are wrought by his ſubjects; and gold is found in the ſands of ſeveral rivers. This itinerary is valuable to the geographer, and the botaniſt; but we expected to derive more particular information concerning the Indian ſpikenard (Valerian Jatamanſi), from the country in which it was ſuppoſed indigenous. This petty principality dates its origin 1978 years before Chriſt, and has been exempted, by its poverty, from the yoke of foreign invaders.

Deſcription of the Caves, or Excavations, on the mountain about a mile to the eaſtward of the town of Ellore.

Sir Charles Malet has here furniſhed a minute, though ſomewhat perplexed, deſcription of one of the moſt ſtupendous monuments of times of remote antiquity, ſtill extant on the ſurface of the earth: An immenſe mountain, almoſt entirely excavated into large halls, ſpacious ſaloons, and lofty temples, ſupported by pillars of elegant workmanſhip, and ornamented by emblematical ſculptures of wonderful beauty and endleſs variety. The ſolidity of its materials ſeems to mock the revolutions of ſtates and empires, and to be deſtined to convey, to the remoteſt poſterity, a memorial of the induſtry and ingenuity of primeval times. Obeliſks, pyramids, and ſphinxes, conſtitute a part of the decorations; and the mythological hiſtory of the Hindus furniſhes the ſubjects of the ſculptures. The work is attributed by them to the five ſons of Pandu, who lived, according to Sir William Jones, about 2000 years before Chriſt. When the ingenious artiſt Mr Wales, who has been employed in deſigning theſe excavations, ſhall have favoured the world with the plans and inſcriptions of theſe ſingular remains, there is little doubt of aſcertaining their origin and uſe. Sir Charles, from his being unacquainted with Sanſcrit, his indiſpoſition at the time he viewed them, and the ignorance of his Cicerone, has furniſhed a deſcription better calculated to excite, than to gratify curioſity. The excavations at Thebes, in Egypt, appear to be analogous in their purpoſes and execution.

Remarks on ſome Antiquities on the Weſt and South Coaſts of Ceylon.

Theſe papers, furniſhed by Captain M'Kenzie and Mr Harington, ſupply ſome important confirmations of the received (and, we will venture to affirm, the true) opinion, concerning the relative antiquity of the religion of the Brahmans, and the worſhip

worſhip of Buddha. The former of theſe prevailed in Ceylon, till it was ſupplanted by the latter, introduced in the 6th century before Chriſt. Of the firſt fact, we never entertained a doubt, ſince the iſland is covered with towns and villages, named after the Hindu deities; the ruins of whoſe temples are now ſeen ſurrounding modern edifices conſtructed to Buddha. Attached to the latter, is uſually ſeen a ſolid ſtructure, of a circular ſhape, ſurrounded by a terrace, in all reſpects ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed by Colonel Symes in the Burman dominions, where the ſame ſuperſtition is prevalent. Their analogy with the Egyptian pyramids, ſuggeſts a confirmation of one of Sir William Jones's hypotheſes, of which his untimely death prevented the elucidation. —*See Diſſertation on the antiquity of the Indian zodiac.*

On Mount Caucaſus. By Captain Francis Wilford.

Captain Wilford is a ſkilful geographer, and an excellent claſſical ſcholar. By birth a German, he has, ſince his reſidence in Bengal, to a knowledge of the ancient languages of Europe, added thoſe of India. His firſt communication to the Society, fixed demonſtratively the ſeat of Tagara, a celebrated emporium, according to Arrian and Ptolemy, at Deoghir, near the excavations deſcribed by Sir Charles Malet. The next attracted much more of the public attention, by endeavouring to eſtabliſh, that an early intercourſe had ſubſiſted between India and the countries watered by the Nile, and ſucceſſive emigrations having taken place from the former to the latter. The theory ſeemed too much founded on verbal etymologies; but theſe, with the coincidences derived from geography, hiſtory, and fable, conſtituted a maſs of evidence *, which it were difficult to reſiſt,

 whilſt

* *Note by the Reviewer.*—Much more might, doubtleſs, be produced, if requiſite. We met, a few days ago, with a paſſage of this nature, in the Sanſcrit hiſtory of Deva Nahuſa, or Dionyſius. The Pauranica mentions, that, after marching through various countries, he repaired to Ollaki, the city of Cuvera. The annotator adds, that by the city of Cuvera (the Indian Plutus), we muſt underſtand, mines of gold. On referring to the dictionary of Amara Singha, for the meaning of the word Ollaki, it was found to ſignify the city of Cuvera, and men with woolly hair. Mount Ollaki, between the Nile and the Red Sea, is thus deſcribed by the Arabian geographer: 'In the land of Baja, there are gold mines, particularly at a place called Ollaki: there are not, in any quarter of the world, ſuch gold mines as theſe. The inhabitants worſhip idols.' Ollaki has no ſignification whatever in Arabic; therefore, we preſume, none in the Abyſſinian. Its Sanſcrit meanings are ſingularly appoſite, and muſt prove, we think, deciſive, as to the place alluded to.

whilſt the fact to be proved was not improbable in itſelf. His ſubſequent communications exhibit the ſame powers of combination, the ſame erudition and ingenuity, but uſually ſuggeſt much wilder hypotheſes; ſo that, whilſt we admire the talents of the writer, we ſeldom feel diſpoſed to acquieſce in his concluſions. In this claſs we muſt rank his ſuppoſition, that the ſacred iſles of the Puránás, are thoſe of Great Britain and Ireland; an hypotheſis which would require the ſtrongeſt proofs, and has hitherto been ſupported only by the weakeſt. The paper before us is diſtinguiſhed by the ſame excellencies, and by ſimilar defects: it abounds in aſſertions deſtitute of proof, and in valuable, judicious, and curious remarks.

Mount Caucaſus derived its name from the Khaſa, a tribe whoſe deſcendants ſtill inhabit the ſame regions. The appellation extended from India to the ſhores of the Mediterranean, probably becauſe this extenſive range was inhabited by Khaſa: for we find the Coſſei amongſt the mountaineers of Perſia, Mount Caſius on the borders of Egypt, and another in Syria. Their original country is Caſhgar, to the north-eaſt of Cabul, ſituated in a delightful valley, and watered by a large river, which waſhes Chatraul, the capital city. This is ſtill the ſeat of a petty Mohamedan prince, who is now tributary to the Chineſe, together with the diſtricts near the ſources of the Oxus. An extenſive branch of Caucaſus was called, by the Greeks, Parapamiſus, obviouſly derived from Para Vami, the pure and excellent city of Vami, commonly called Bamiyan. It is ſituated on the road between Balkh and Cabul, and, like Thebes in Egypt, conſiſts of a vaſt number of apartments and receſſes, cut out of the rock, ſome of which, on account of their extraordinary dimenſions, are ſuppoſed to have been temples. Two coloſſal ſtatues, one eighty ells high, and the other only fifty, erect, and adhering to the mountain from which they are cut out, ſtill arreſt the attention of travellers. The Hindus and Buddhiſts have each a legend to account for them. The Moſlems affirm, they repreſent Caïumaras and his conſort; which means, ſays our author, Adam and Eve. Bamiyan is named Bahlica in the Puranas, and is frequently confounded with Balkh, by Perſian writers, who mean the former, when they ſpeak of the metropolis of the fire-worſhippers. This and the adjacent countries, are conſidered by the natives as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind. The foundation of Bamiyan is aſcribed to Shama, who appears to be Shem; and from hence Abraham is ſaid to have travelled to the weſt. A ſpot occurs alſo, anſwering minutely to the Moſaical deſcription of the terreſtrial paradiſe; for a ſmall brook, winding through the valley, falls into a lake, whence iſſue four navigable rivers. The land of Khavila, abounding in gold,

gold, is found in the diſtrict of Cabul. But although this idea be not countenanced by tradition, many circumſtances concur to prove, that it was in this vicinity, Swayambhuva, or Noah, debarked with his family from the ark. The region near Tukht Soliman, is the only country where the olive-tree is indigenous; and Noah was ſupplied with wine by the vines ſtill growing ſpontaneouſly between Bamiyan and the Indus. Aryavarta, or India, is probably the Araraut mentioned in ſcripture, whence the patriarchs journeyed (as they are ſaid) from the eaſt, to ſettle in Shinar. Parapamiſus is named Parnaſſus, by Dionyſius, Periegetes, Priſcian, and Avienus: This term originated in the Parnaſala, houſes of leaves, inhabited by the hermits who dwelt on this ſacred mountain. For Deva Cala Yavana (Deucalion) king of this country, when he repaired to Greece, after being expelled from his dominions by Criſna, transferred to the Grecian Parnaſſus, the name and worſhip celebrated on the Parnaſſus of India.

We have ſelected the more prominent hypotheſes propoſed by Captain Wilford in the courſe of his learned diſquiſition. Arrian affirms, that Caucaſus was a mountain of Scythia, widely diſtant from Parapamiſus. But, be this as it may, its name is, in our opinion, a corruption of Cuh-Caf; a mountain which, according to the Perſian romances, environs the habitable globe. The Khaſa are unqueſtionably a tribe of mountaineers, who inhabit a part of the range north-weſt of India; but we have ſeen no reaſon to believe they extended even to the Caſpian. The antiquity of Bamiyan, is proved by tradition, and by its remains, which atteſt the workmanſhip of primeval artiſts; but we are by no means ſatisfied that it is the Bahlica of the Puranas; nor that Balkh, the ancient Bactria, is not the metropolis of the Ignicoliſts, mentioned by the Moſlem hiſtorians. Our author, ſomewhat ludicrouſly, permits his readers to chooſe, whether they will ſuppoſe Sama, to whom its foundation is aſcribed by the Buddhiſts to be Shem, the ſon of Noah, or Sam, the famous hero of Perſia, grandfather of Ruſtum. Were there no other alternative, we ſhould declare for Sam, who was governor of Zabul for the king of Perſia, and certainly lived in the vicinity; though what analogy, excepting of name, can be traced between a Buddhiſt devotee, and a Perſian warrior, we are at a loſs to imagine. The flaming ſword which guards the approaches to Eden, has not, we apprehend, receded, nor permitted our author to penetrate to its ſite; and the bleak Mount of Araraut will retain its claim as the reſting-place of the ark, in ſpite of the vines and olives of Aryavarta. The legends reſpecting Parnaſſus and Deucalion, ſtand in a different predicament; for the hiſtorians of Alexander admit that he found

traces

traces of the exploits of the Grecian deities as far east as his arms had reached. But the discussion, however curious, would occupy a space inconsistent with our limits.

On the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta. By Mr J. Bentley.

Mr Bentley appears to be a mathematician of considerable industry and merit. In this disquisition, he has supplied some instructive observations on the principles of the Hindu astronomy, and on the manner in which their cycles were, or might have been formed. He has also exhibited useful formulæ, showing their application in discovering the actual position of the heavenly bodies.

His discussion relative to the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, involves points of the utmost importance; no less, indeed, than whether the whole of Sanscrit literature shall be considered as the spurious productions of a recent age, or genuine monuments of primeval times. We shall endeavour to do justice to his formidable attack on the Indian Gymnosophists.

The Surya Siddhanta is generally believed to be the most ancient astronomical treatise the Hindus have; and, according to their notions, was received by divine revelation 2,164,899 years ago: But the mean result of calculations, from ten different *data* afforded by that work, and, on its own principles, assuming the position of the heavenly bodies to have been accurately observed at the time it was written, gives only 731 years for the date of its composition, or the year of our Lord 1068*. But, independent of all calculations, an astronomical work, intituled the Bhasvati, was composed 700 years ago by Sotanund, who, according to Hindu accounts, was a pupil of Varáha Mihira: the commentary

* By exhibiting the mean result only, we have given Mr Bentley's argument an advantage to which it is not entitled. The individual results from each of the ten *data*, vary from 300 to 1100 years, for the age of the Surya Siddhanta. Hence, the only legitimate inference that can be deduced, is, either that the heavenly bodies were so inaccurately observed by the author, as to furnish no basis for calculation; or that the observations were made at a period prodigiously anterior to that assumed by Mr Bentley. The first alone is admissible, and in that we are disposed to acquiesce. But when it is recollected how many collations, researches, and ingenious conjectures, have been requisite to restore Greek and Roman writers to their pristine sense, some inquiry would be necessary respecting the manuscript used by Mr Bentley, and the certainty of his comprehending his text, which he interprets differently from his instructors. At present, Mr Bentley is involved in the following dilemma; either that the observations of the heavenly bodies contained in the Surya Siddhanta, are wholly erroneous; or that they were not made at the period he conjectures.

commentary on this treatiſe declares, that Varáha was the author of the Surya Siddhánta. 'Therefore, any Hindu work, in which the name of Varáha, or his ſyſtem, is mentioned, muſt evidently be modern; and this circumſtance alone totally deſtroys the pretended antiquity of many of the Puranas and other books, which, through the artifices of the Brahmanical tribe, have been hitherto deemed the moſt ancient in exiſtence.' Now, all the other aſtronomical works Mr Bentley has ſeen, adopt the ſyſtem given in the Surya Siddhanta by Vahára.—A work aſcribed to Paraſara, a philoſopher who is ſuppoſed to have lived before the Vedas were arranged in their preſent form, exhibits a ſtill more manifeſt proof of forgery; ſince one of the formulæ it exhibits, mentions the æra of Saca, which began *anno Domini* 78.

It would be eaſy to ſhow, that the circumſtances, ſo forcibly ſtated, by no means juſtify the ſweeping inference deduced by our author. Varáha Mihira was never conſidered as an ancient writer, and is ſuppoſed, by Sir William Jones, to have flouriſhed *anno Domini* 499. That he was the author of the Surya Siddhanta, reſts on the ſingle authority of the commentator on the Bhaſvati, a work which ſeems to have been compoſed in Siam; though we greatly wiſh Mr Bentley had imitated Sir William Jones on ſuch occaſions, by inſerting the original paſſage. But, on what authority does our author aſſume, that the calpa or cycle of Varáha is that of Varáha *Mihira*, the modern aſtronomer? We find the Hindu cycles always diſtinguiſhed by the names of different deities. There is the Devi Calpa, the Surya Calpa; the preſent is the Viſnu Calpa; and we entertain no doubt, that the Vahára Calpa derived that deſignation from the Vahára Avatára, or incarnation of Viſnu, in the form of a boar, as is the univerſal opinion of the natives. Now, the name of Vahára *Mihira* unqueſtionably does not occur in the Puránas, or in any work pretending to antiquity; and we have ſeen in what light we are to conſider the Varáha Calpa. The mention of the æra of Sácá, in a work attributed to Paráſara, is only deciſive againſt that paſſage; for we are ſatisfied that no work of great antiquity can exiſt, in a country where the art of printing is unknown, free from interpolations. The inſtitutes of Timur are now acknowledged to be genuine, and written under the direction of that conqueror, though they are found to contain an account of his own death. Some copyiſt of the Criſta Paráſara, was acquainted with an uſeful formula, which he injudiciouſly inſerted in what he conſidered its proper place. Did our limits permit, we could diſtinctly prove, from conſiderations unconnected with aſtronomy, that the high antiquity attributed to the Hindu records, is founded on evidence of a nature almoſt concluſive.

ART.

ART. V. *Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Perſia*, undertaken by order of the Government of France, during the firſt ſix years of the Republic. By G. A. Olivier, Member of the National Inſtitute, of the Society of Agriculture of the Department of the Seine, &c. &c. Illuſtrated by engravings, conſiſting of human figures, animals, plants, maps, plans, &c. &c. To which is prefixed, a map of Greece, of the Archipelago, and of a part of Aſia Minor. Vol. I. & II. Tranſlated from the French. Longman. 1801.

AMIDST the horrors of the revolutionary criſis in France, whilſt the Royal Family was confined in the Temple, and the armies of the Allied Powers ſtill hovered on the frontiers, the executive proviſional council found leiſure to draw up a ſchedule of inſtructions for Meſſrs Olivier and Bruguière, deputed to collect information relative to the intereſting countries enumerated in the title-page. 'Commerce, agriculture, natural hiſtory, general phyſics, geography, the medical art, and even our political relations with Turkey,' were the objects to which their attention was primarily directed.

M. Olivier, who alone lived to reviſit his native country, is a native of Provence, and was previouſly known to the literary world, by his 'Entomologie, ou, hiſtoire naturelle des inſectes,' by his 'Dictionnaire des inſectes, faiſant partie de l'Encyclopedie méthodique,' and by a variety of Mémoires on ſubjects of natural hiſtory and agriculture. The candour and ſimplicity of the ſtatements, which M. Olivier has exhibited as the reſult of his perſonal obſervations, confirms us in the opinion, that the oſtenſible motives, above aſſigned for his miſſion, were alſo the real ones; and we may reaſonably conclude, that the proviſional government would ſcarcely have ſelected a laborious entomologiſt, for purpoſes of more queſtionable tendency.

'I have,' ſays our author, 'in the following narrative, avoided all ſingular anecdotes, all humorous ſtories, more fit to amuſe than inſtruct. I was not willing to employ thoſe over-brilliant colours, which may be captivating for a moment, but the effect of which is tranſient. The ſight of a deſerted field covered with myrtles, or that of a garden confuſedly planted with date and orange trees, could never inflame my imagination; and I have frequently ſurveyed, without aſtoniſhment, truncated capitals, and ſcattered fragments of columns.'

From this paſſage, our readers will be enabled to appreciate the extent and ſpecies of the entertainment afforded by the French traveller; they will find important facts, and meagre deſcription; much political diſcuſſion, and little illuſtration of manners. The luxuriant ſcenery, which ſkirts the banks of the Thracian Boſphorus,

phorus, is certainly depicted with no very ſplendid colouring, in the pages of our author. To him, the city of Conſtantine is an irregular capital, with an excellent harbour; the hoary cliffs of Olympus, viewed in the diſtant horizon, are only high mountains, covered through great part of the year with ſnow; and the celebrated labyrinth of Crete, ſuggeſts the idea of a large ſtone quarry.

M. Olivier, and his colleague, embarked at Toulon, in the month of April 1793; and, after a paſſage of twenty-one days, reached the harbour of Conſtantinople. The elevated poſition of this city, 'the mixture of trees, houſes, and minarets, which it preſents; the entrance of the Boſphorus; the harbour and ſuburbs of Galata, Pera, and St Demitri; Scutari, and the verdant hills which lie behind; the Propontis, with its iſlands; farther on, Mount Olympus, covered with ſnow; everywhere, the variegated and fertile fields of Aſia and Europe;—all this aſſemblage exhibits different pictures, which captivate and aſtoniſh.' But theſe impreſſions are ſpeedily removed on entering the city, compoſed of narrow and ill-paved ſtreets, and filled with mean houſes, conſtructed of earth and wood. Its population he eſtimates at five hundred thouſand inhabitants, aſcertained by the diſtribution of corn monopolized by the Porte, and ſuppoſing that the men, women, and children, eat a pound and a half of flour per day. Though this allowance be ſufficiently ample, yet recent travellers do not admit ſo conſiderable a population: Mr Dallaway ſtates it at 400,000, incluſive of the ſuburbs of Galata, Pera, Topkana, and Scutari. We are diſpoſed, however, to believe our author correct; the quantity of corn daily diſtributed, is an aſcertained fact; the eſtimated conſumption of each individual, ſeems rather to err by exceſs; and if we take into conſideration the probability of conſiderable quantities being ſmuggled into the city, we can ſcarcely ſuppoſe its population to fall ſhort of his calculation.

The ſubſiſtence of this immenſe population is derived almoſt excluſively from the Grand Signior. 'Almoſt all the revenues of the royal treaſury,' ſays M. Olivier, 'are conſumed in Conſtantinople; here are placed all the national eſtabliſhments; and, in the provinces, there neither are armies, navy, arſenals, nor fortreſſes, kept up at his expence.' Theſe expreſſions, if literally underſtood, might lead to an important error; the provincial governors defray theſe expences, from the revenues of their reſpective provinces, and remit the ſurplus to the royal treaſury at Conſtantinople; but thoſe diſburſements are unqueſtionably derived from the ſame ſources which ſupply the expenditure of the capital. The wealth annually poured into Conſtantinople, and conſumed there, our author eſtimates at two hundred millions of livres: and to the preſence of the Sovereign, to the expence of his palace, and

and to the public eſtabliſhments, he attributes the whole of its great population.

'The richeſt private individuals of the empire do not come hither to ſpend their income in effeminacy and idleneſs; or diſſipate their fortunes in the hazards of play, in the pleaſures of love, or in the luxury of the table. The Agas, or lords, remain on their eſtates, in order to preſerve them, defend them, and make the moſt of them. The Pachas cannot quit their government, without an order of the Sovereign. The Molhas' (it ſhould be Mula), 'and the Cadis, exerciſe juſtice in the towns, whither they have received orders to repair: both the one and the other come to intrigue at Conſtantinople, only when they are diſplaced.'

The harbour preſents an ever-varying ſcene, from the arrival and departure of ſhips and large boats, and the continual movement of caiques, manned by two or three rowers. In its facility of acceſs; in that of its defence, by fortifying the entrance of the Boſphorus, and of the Helleſpont; in its capacity of containing a conſiderable navy; and in the removal of depoſitions, by the rotatory motion of the current, which keeps it perpetually clear; the harbour of Conſtantinople poſſeſſes ſtill more important advantages. 'We may, at this moment, carry the Turkiſh navy to twenty ſail of the line, one of which is a three-decker; to upwards of twenty frigates or ſloops, ſome of which are of 40 guns; and to various other ſmall veſſels.' Huſſain Pacha, who, from a confidential ſlave, had been raiſed by Selim to the office of High-admiral, ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf to add to the number: but whilſt the Turkiſh navy ſhall continue to be manned by Greeks, ignorant of navigation, and ill-affected to the cauſe in which they are engaged, their maritime power muſt be calculated from other *data* than the number of their veſſels.

From Conſtantinople, our author was tranſported in ten minutes acroſs the Boſphorus, and landed at Scutari, on the oppoſite ſhore. This town ſerves as an emporium, and a rendezvous to the caravans of Aſia; and its population, eſtimated at 60,000 inhabitants, was included in that of the capital. 'The burying-grounds of Scutari are the handſomeſt of the Ottoman empire, from their extent, the luxury of the tombs, and the height and cloſeneſs of the trees.' The Turks prefer being buried in Aſia, which they conſider as belonging to the true believers; while the land of Europe is expected again to revert one day into the poſſeſſion of the Infidels; a prediction, which, like moſt others, will doubtleſs accelerate its own accompliſhment. The cypreſs-trees, which ſhade the cemetery, extend to the ſite of Chalcedon, now faintly marked by ſome remains of walls, and a ſmall ſubterraneous temple. Notwithſtanding the extenſive gardens which,

which, in ſome places, cover the environs of Conſtantinople, the adjacent fields are ſurpriſingly neglected; and, from their ſterile aſpect, beſpeak rather a devaſtated country, than the vicinity of a populous city. A chain of ſchiſtoſe hills, very fertile, and covered with cypreſſes, oaks, lime-trees, cheſnut-trees, arbutuſes, myrtles, brooms, and vines, ſkirts the channel of the Boſphorus. The caſtles, erected on each ſhore to defend the paſſage, might, in our author's opinion, be diſmantled by a ſingle frigate. In the broadeſt part, only ſix miles from the Black Sea, ſtands the romantic village of Buyucdéré, chiefly inhabited by Europeans, Greeks, and Armenians;—to render it a reſidence perfectly agreeable, it were neceſſary, M. Olivier thinks, that the ambaſſadors of the Europeans ſhould be leſs fond of ceremony, and the women of the Greeks leſs attached to money.

Citizen Beauchamp, at the requeſt of the National Inſtitute, having recently ſurveyed the coaſts of the Black Sea, as far as Trebiſond—'It reſults,' ſays M. Olivier, 'from his obſervations, that the ſouth coaſt advances, in ſome places, above a degree more towards the north; that Capes Kerenpé and Indjé are nearly in the 42d degree; that the gulph of Samſon is much deeper, and that Trebiſond is five or ſix leagues more to the weſtward, than it is laid down on the charts.' This information would have been more valuable, had it been more particular; in fact, we find Karanpi (the ancient Carambis) actually occupying in our charts, the poſition here aſſigned to it; and our readers will, doubtleſs, be ſurpriſed to find the Amiſenus Sinus (called Amiſun by the Turks) converted, by the Citizen Beauchamp (for we cannot ſuppoſe it M. Olivier), into the gulph of *Samſon*.

From Buyucdéré to the Black Sea, lies a country very uneven, a little mountainous, at firſt volcanic, then ſchiſtoſe, uncultivated, covered with rock-roſes, arbutuſes, and broom. The coaſt riſes twenty toiſes, almoſt perpendicularly, for a great extent preſenting a mixture of clay and calcareous earth, in which a company of Armenian traders wrought a few veins of a vegetable ſubſtance, 'which have not yet entirely reached the ſtate of *charcoal.*' For this error, M. Olivier is manifeſtly indebted to his tranſlator; and we cannot doubt that he meant, that theſe vegetable remains have not reached the ſtate of coal.

In his medical capacity, M. Olivier had occaſion to enter the haram of a Turkiſh officer: We ſelect his deſcription of the interior of the dwelling.

'We were received in a handſome kioſk, a ſort of ſaloon open on the ſides, ornamented with paintings, gilding, and Arabic ſentences taken from the Koran. In the middle, were a jet d'eau, and a baſon of white marble: on one ſide was a view of the Boſphorus; and on the other, that

that of a beautiful garden, and of part of the Capidgi's houſe, built with much elegance. After the cuſtomary compliments, pipes and coffee were brought; and, after an hour's converſation, we went to the female patient. No ſervant followed us. The Capidgi made us croſs various apartments, the doors of which he himſelf opened and ſhut. We arrived at a hall rather ſpacious, ſurrounded, on three ſides, by a ſopha covered with a beautiful crimſon cloth, trimmed with gold fringe. On the floor were ſpread a fine Egyptian mat, and a few little Perſian carpets. The ſick woman was in the middle of the room, on a light mattreſs, ſurrounded by large cuſhions, on which ſhe was leaning, and attended by two young female ſlaves.'

In Turkey, the law permits three manners of cohabiting with women. Tournefort juſtly obſerved, that a man married the firſt, hired the ſecond, and purchaſed the third. M. Olivier, however, ſtates, ſomewhat inaccurately, that the ſecond of theſe modes 'is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *kapin:*' the word *cabin*, to which he alludes, ſignifies literally a jointure or dowry, and is one of the many Perſic terms incorporated with the mixed idiom of the Turks. In conſidering the conſequences of polygamy on *population*, our author determines it to be prejudicial; aſſuming, however, that the number of women is nearly equal to that of *men*. Were this *petitio principii* conceded, there could be no queſtion that polygamy were unfavourable to population; but we apprehend that, in the ſouthern climates of Aſia, the number of female births conſiderably preponderates; and, unleſs this circumſtance be attributed to polygamy as an effect, its influence on population muſt ſtill remain problematical.

On the 9th April 1798, our author accompanied the French legation, to ſee the filing off of a part of the army, which Sultan Selim was ſending againſt Paſwan Oglou.

'We ſaw paſs in ſucceſſion, companies of cavalry, of Delis, of Yaïms, of Timariots, of Selictars, and of Spahis, armed with a muſket, two piſtols, and a ſabre. After them came a company of horſemen, armed with lances: like thoſe who went firſt, they had their ſabre and piſtols. Each company was preceded by one or two colours, and followed by a great number of Sacas, or water-carriers. The horſes on which theſe Sacas' (it ſhould be Saki) 'were mounted, had two large leather bottles of water, for the wants of the company.

'What had rather a bad effect among this choſen troop was, that the muſkets were of different form and calibre; the horſemen were irregularly clothed; many among them were in rags and ill mounted, while ſome others were better dreſſed and better armed. The officers were diſtinguiſhed by the beauty of their horſes, by the richneſs of the trappings, and by the footmen who preceded them.'

'Oglou,

'Oglou, in Turkiſh, ſignifies ſon. The father was Ayam, or Notable of Widin.' [We muſt here remark, that the office of Ayan, enjoyed by the father of Paſwan Oglou, derived from an Arabic word ſignifying an eye, and not Ayam, as M. Olivier writes it, was that of Inſpector or Comptroller of the city, and certainly bore no reſemblance to the functions of a French Notable.] 'He was rich, and enjoyed great conſideration among his fellow-citizens. He commanded a troop of volunteers in the laſt war of the Turks againſt the Ruſſians and Germans. It is thought that his reputation, and, above all, his riches, induced the Grand Viſir, then Seraſkier of the army, to cauſe him to be apprehended, and his head to be cut off.' The conduct of Paſwan Oglou is attributed, by our author, to revenge; and political events concurred to facilitate his deſigns. The ſignal and ſucceſſive defeats of the Turkiſh armies, had called the attention of the Sultans Muſtafa III. and Abdul Hamid, to the improvement of their military eſtabliſhment; and various inſtitutions were formed with that intention. Selim III, on his acceſſion to the throne, ſtruck with the ſuperiority of European arms and tactics, determined to ſubſtitute a well-diſciplined army in the room of the mutinous and diſorderly bands which conſtituted the corps of Janizaries; but that body, though little formidable to an enemy, was ſtill too powerful to be attacked with impunity by their Sovereign. An attempt to preclude the increaſe of their number by new recruits, occaſioned an inſurrection in the Weſtern provinces: This revolt was ſuppreſſed everywhere but at Widin; where Paſwan Oglou, recently appointed Ayan, marched at the head of the inſurgents againſt the Pacha, cut him in pieces, and obliged him to abandon the town. This ſucceſs collected around him all the diſaffected Janizaries of the provinces; the proſpect of immunity from the new taxes, enliſted others under his banners; the Greeks were attracted by the abolition of diſtinctions, and by the motto of liberty and juſtice, which was ſeen, perhaps, only on his ſtandards. Seizing the imperial revenues, and levying contributions from the country, his force was already become ſo formidable, as to induce the Porte to grant him a pardon, and the reſtitution of his father's property: It was farther ſtipulated, that every thing ſhould remain at Widin on the ancient footing; that the new tax ſhould not be eſtabliſhed there; and that the Janizaries ſhould be maintained in their rights. It was eaſy to predict the conſequences of this diſgraceful compromiſe: The Pacha deputed to the government of Widin by the Porte, found his authority merely nominal; the influence and intrigues of Paſwan Oglou extended even to the Court; he ſolicited the government for himſelf, together with the dignity of Pacha of Three Tails; and, when he perceived his machina-

tions fruitleſs, raiſed again the ſtandard of revolt, drove away the Pacha, and recommenced his incurſions into the neighbouring provinces. Paſwan Oglou, according to M. Olivier, was only deterred by dread of the imperial Courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh, from ſeizing on the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, and erecting them into an independent principality. A leſs hazardous attempt, in our author's opinion, would have been, to march to Conſtantinople, and to ſeat himſelf on the Ottoman throne: He did neither; but contented himſelf with levying contributions, augmenting his forces, and preparing to reſiſt ſuch attacks as the Porte might meditate againſt him. 'Already had the Janizaries refuſed to march; already did the immenſe number of inhabitants of Conſtantinople hold out their arms to him, whom they conſidered as their deliverer, as the defender of their rights: The majority of the great were devoted to his intereſts; and the people, as is well known, always ſeduced by the preſtiges which ſurround the great man, ſecond his projects without inquiry, and promote, without miſtruſt, all his enterpriſes.' At length, the different Pachas of European Turkey were ordered to march againſt him with all their forces: The reſult of the campaign was favourable to Paſwan, who added Orſova, Siliſtria, Kerſova, and almoſt all the towns ſituated on the Danube, to thoſe which had previouſly acknowledged his authority. In 1798, all the Pachas of the empire were ordered to detach their quota of troops, for the reduction of this formidable rebel: The Janizaries ſtill perſiſted in their refuſal to march againſt a Muſſulman, whoſe only crime was to have aſſerted their privileges. A numerous army was, however, collected, the rear-guard of which M. Olivier had ſeen file off, and entruſted to the command of Huſſain Pacha, the High Admiral, whoſe perſonal courage and tried fidelity were ſuppoſed to ſupply the place of experience, in an arduous ſervice, to which he had been unaccuſtomed. The ſignal defeat of this commander, before the gates of Widin, completed the triumph, and has, for a time, conſolidated the power of Paſwan Oglou.

'As ſoon as Huſſain had retired, Paſwan recalled the ſoldiers that he had diſbanded; he a ſecond time made himſelf maſter of the places which he had evacuated, and again threatened the north of the empire. After various deliberations of the Council, the Porte determined to offer the rebel, whom it could not deſtroy, his pardon, the government of Widin, and the dignity of Pacha with Three Tails: And as, in theſe circumſtances,' ſays M. Olivier, 'deſpotiſm required a victim, the Prince of Wallachia was ſacrificed to the reſentment of Huſſain, and his head brought to Conſtantinople in Ventoſe, year 7 (1799.)

We were deſirous to lay before our readers the origin and progreſs of the powerful inſurgent, who ſtill threatens deſtruction to the Ottoman throne; but it is now time we ſhould complete

our

our ſurvey of Conſtantinople, and proſecute our reſearches among the Grecian iſles. That city enjoys the advantages of a mild temperature, a beautiful ſky, and very healthful climate. The north-north-eaſt wind, which is much the moſt prevalent, by blowing over the Black Sea, before it reaches the capital, tempers the heats of Summer, and mitigates the ſharpneſs of the Winter cold. 'It ſeldom freezes in open day, and the thermometer ſcarcely ever falls, during the night, more than two or three degrees below the freezing point.' At that period, the tandour ſupplies the want of grates and chimnies; it is a copper brazier, placed under a table, round which the company ſit; it appears to our author of Greek origin; we muſt remark, however, that the word is uſed, in Perſia, to ſignify an oven. To this dangerous mode of communicating heat, the frequent fires, which devaſtate the city, are, doubtleſs, imputable. A multitude of bears, and hungry dogs, infeſt the ſtreets; yet canine madneſs is totally unknown in the Eaſt. Our author here points out an analogy between that diſorder and the plague, neither of which, he thinks, can be ſpontaneouſly generated or communicated by the atmoſphere: A dog muſt be bitten, and a man muſt come into contact with peſtiferous perſons, or with ſome article they have touched, before they receive the infection. We are convinced, that the plague is moſt frequently, and moſt fatally, communicated by actual contact; but, in abſolutely denying the poſſibility of its ſpontaneous generation, M. Olivier appears to forget, that, both that diſeaſe, and canine madneſs, muſt have originated in that manner, in whatever mode they may now moſt frequently be communicated. Heat and cold are equally repugnant to this ſcourge of the fineſt climates: the ſharp Winters of Aſia Minor, and the intenſe heats of an Egyptian Summer, equally eradicate the ſeeds of this diſeaſe. Unction, our author conſiders as an uſeleſs remedy, but an important preſervative; and ſeems to believe, that butter-men, whoſe hands and garments are uſually impregnated with that ſubſtance, are ſcarcely ever attacked by the plague. Water-carriers are little ſubject to it; and perſons under a venereal treatment are alſo exempted from its influence. 'Nature indicates,' ſays our author, 'that the plague cannot be cured without the ſudden appearance, and the abundant ſuppuration of one or more buboes: all the efforts of the phyſician ſhould therefore tend to provoke, as quickly as poſſible, this ſuppuration, by the application of the actual cautery, or of a burning iron, to the place where the buboes begin to ſhew themſelves.' It ſeems to reſult from M. Olivier's inquiries, that this virus is analogous to that of the itch, of ſyphilis, of canine madneſs, and of all the diſorders which, in man, and in animals, are only contagious through immediate contact. In this caſe, it may be

poſſible to find, among the preparations of metals and ſemi-metals, if not a ſpecific, at leaſt an uſeful remedy.

The Coran is the civil, criminal, and religious code of the Moſlems; its interpreters, the Ulema, (properly, Elima, or the learned), compoſe the higheſt and moſt reſpectable body in the Turkiſh empire. At its head is the Mufti, or Shaikh-aliſlam, the ſupreme chief of the religion of Mohamed, whoſe decrees, or fatwa, M. Olivier calls fetfas. Two Cadileſkers, or military judges, are annually appointed for Europe and Aſia: the Iſtombul Effendi, or judge of Conſtantinople, is next in dignity. Mulas preſide in the courts of the moſt conſiderable cities; and in thoſe leſs populous, juſtice is adminiſtered, or bartered, by a Cadi. The univerſities of Conſtantinople, Burſa, and Adrianople, inſtruct thoſe deſtined for the law, in religious, civil, and criminal juriſprudence; and the office of Madaris, or Profeſſor, is itſelf an object of ambition, and a ſtep to higher preferment. The law-officers enjoy the important privilege of living ſecure from the extortions of the Pacha, and of tranſmitting their property to their heirs, without riſk of confiſcation. The eccleſiaſtical order may be ſaid to conſiſt of the Shaikh, who preaches in the moſques every Friday; of the Khatib, who recites the Khutba, atteſting the unity of God, the prophetic character of Mohamed, and praying for the proſperity of the Sultan, and ſucceſs of his arms againſt infidels; the Imam, who performs the uſual ſervice five times a-day; and of the Muezzin, who, from the top of the Minaret, ſummons pious Moſlems to prayers. All theſe terms, relative to law and religion, are of Arabic extraction, and have been ſometimes miſtaken, and oftener miſſpelt, by our author: But it were tedious to correct theſe minute defects, in a writer who appears never to have ſtudied the Oriental languages.

The offices of the State are denoted by terms derived from the Turkiſh language. The dignity of Pacha of Three Tails, confers the ſupreme delegated power over a whole province. The diſtinction of this order into Pachas of three and of two tails, has not been explained by M. Olivier; but we believe it will be found to originate in the dignity, or Munſub, conferred by royal grant, at the period of elevation to the government, by which the Munſubdar is conſtituted commander of ſo many horſe. If the number be triple that of the uſual Munſub, the officer becomes a Pacha of Three Tails. Though this whimſical appellation be left unexplained by all the writers whom we have conſulted, we rely, with ſome confidence, on the conjecture we have ventured to propoſe. A pachalic is divided, for military purpoſes, into certain diſtricts, called ſangiacs, or ſtandards. The janizaries, ſpahis, yaïms, and timariots of the diſtrict,

trict, are obliged, in case of war, to unite under the colours of a commander, called Sangiac-bey, and to wait the commands of the Pacha. When Greece was conquered by the arms of the Moslems, certain lands were granted to the officers and soldiers, without quit-rent, as a reward for their valour; others were erected into lordships, under the names of Yaïm and Timar, and granted for life, with the title of Aga, on condition of supplying a specified number of troops, when required.

There is room for an interesting disquisition which should trace the origin of the system, which appears to have extended with the Tartar conquests, almost from one end of Asia to the other; and which should illustrate the modification it underwent in the different countries, from the previous habits, or more complete subjection of the inhabitants. Thus we find, in Hindustan, subsequent to the Mogul conquest, the office of Subadar, analogous to that of Pacha, and, like it, distinguished by a titular Munsub of the greatest number of horse; the provincial Foujdar of India, represents the Sangiac-bey of Turkey. In the free lands, we recognize the Altumgha; the Yaïms and Timars supply the place of the Jaghirdar. This military system of the Tartar conquerors, was extremely foreign to the mild paternal government of the ancient Hindu princes; and we find the intelligent traveller, Abdul Rezac, who visited, as ambassador, the Court of Vijanagar, impute the great population and riches of that empire, to the army being paid from the Treasury, and having no connexion with the cultivators of the land. In fact, we find that the system was never so completely introduced into India, as to eject the landed proprietors from their estates, which seems to have happened in Turkey. The Jaghirdars were not, like the Yaïms, proprietors for life of a certain portion of land, but claim from the Zemindar, the revenue accruing from the latter to Government. We hope, the curious nature of the investigation will excuse the length of this digression, and plead our pardon, if we have pursued the parallel to an unwarrantable extent. The annual quit-rent, established by the Turks, 'amounts to a fifth of the produce for the Rayas, or Infidels,' and a seventh, only, for the lands held by Moslems. We must here remark, that the Arabic term, 'Raya,' is by no means synonimous with Infidel; it signifies husbandman, or cultivator; and, if it seem, almost exclusively, applied to Greeks, it is only because the Turks seldom descend to the labours of agriculture.

The Grand Vizir, or prime minister, is the chief executive officer of the State, and formerly presided in the Divan composed of six councillors. Selim III. has increased the number to twelve; and, according to Mr Dallaway, usually attends in person: But this alteration has not, hitherto, been productive

of the advantages which the Sultan probably had in view. Diſſenſions uſually prevail in the Divan; M. Olivier aſſerts, perfidy. But we cannot ſuppoſe, that the members of this council would think their perſonal aggrandiſement could be augmented, by promoting the deſigns of Paſwan Oglou, or the Court of Peterſburgh; and are inclined to add this allegation to the liſt of vulgar rumours.

Want of confidence in the Government, and of ſecurity to private property, produce, in Turkey, their uſual effects of depreſſing commerce, and raiſing the rate of intereſt: But M. Olivier candidly acknowledges, that diſhoneſty is not a Turkiſh vice; that their word may be relied on; and that, were they leſs oppreſſive towards the tributary ſubjects, they might be regarded as an eſtimable nation. Wool forms the principle article of export-trade from Conſtantinople; camel's hair, employed in the manufacture of hats; the hair of the Angora goat, cotton, buffaloes' hides and tongues, hares ſkins, Turkey leather, ſilk, wax, copper, and orpiment, complete the liſt of exports. 'The Angora goats have much affinity,' ſays our author, 'as to the fineneſs of their hair, to thoſe of Carman and Caſhmir. Both of them inhabit elevated places, cold in Winter, and very warm in Summer.' But the ſhawl-goat, to which our author alludes, is a native of Tibet, not of Caſhmir, and delights in a climate where the Angora goat would inevitably periſh. In conformity to his inſtructions, M. Olivier endeavoured to diſcover the proceſs uſed for dreſſing and dyeing the goats ſkins, known by the name of Morocco leather; but experienced a reſiſtance which he did not expect: and it muſt ſtill remain doubtful, whether it is to the quality of the ſkins, or the proceſs to which they are ſubjected, that we muſt attribute the beauty of the moroccos of the Levant.

M. Olivier and his aſſociates had now ſpent above eighteen months in Conſtantinople and its environs; yet the French envoy had received no inſtructions concerning them, nor authority to ſupply them with the means of proſecuting their journey. In the rapid ſucceſſion of parties in France, the object of their miſſion was forgotten with its projectors; and, receiving no anſwer to the different letters which they had addreſſed to their Government, our travellers reſolved to ſpend the Winter at the Dardanelles, or in the iſlands of Greece—'far,' ſays M. Olivier, 'from the agitations and intrigues which the various ſhades of political opinions had produced among the French, and of which we had, in ſpite of ourſelves, been witneſſes.' Neither the inclination, nor the inſtructions of our travellers, called their attention to the monuments of antiquity ſtill extant in the Grecian iſles; but M. Olivier's readers will be qualified to form a competent idea of their preſent ſtate, or to conjecture what they might become when emancipated.

emancipated from the Turkiſh yoke. The extent we have allowed to what we conſider as the moſt intereſting part of the volumes before us, precludes us from enlarging on what remains: We cannot, however, conclude, without taking a rapid ſurvey of the places viſited by our author previouſly to his arrival in Crete, where the ſecond volume (and we preſume no more has been tranſlated) terminates.

At the head of the gulf of Mundania, the village of Ghemlec occupies the ſite of the ancient Cius; its preſent population is about 2000 ſouls. The Turks have eſtabliſhed in the vicinity a dock-yard for the conſtruction of ſhips of the line: in 1794, an eighty-gun ſhip was on the ſtocks, and almoſt finiſhed. The oaks and pines of Olympus, and the neighbouring mountains, ſupply abundantly the requiſite materials. Here the cold was ſharply felt on the 12th December; and there fell five or ſix inches of ſnow, which brought a multitude of ſnipes and ducks into the woods and adjacent plains.

Marmora, which has obtained its name from its blue marble, and communicated it to the Propontis, is the ancient Proconneſus; twelve leagues in circuit, and, though mountainous, both populous and fertile: Their flocks of ſheep, cotton, with the produce of their vines and olive-trees, form the wealth of the inhabitants of Marmora. The entrance of the Helleſpont has Gallipoli and Lampſacus on its oppoſite ſhores; the former occupies a cape terminated by a light-houſe, and contains about 16,000 inhabitants. Lampſacus, formerly much more conſiderable, famous for its gardens, its vineyards, the delicious flavour of its wines, and the worſhip of Priapus, has fallen to the ſtate of a mean village. 'On the ruins of its temples has been erected a moſque; and the worſhip,' ſays M. Olivier, 'paid to the God, preſerver of the univerſe, is replaced by offerings to the Panaya.' The god of Lampſacus ſeems to have gained a votary in M. Olivier, who laments the fall of his temples with the tenderneſs of the Roman poet—

> 'Sic umbroſa tibi contingant tecta, Priape,
> Ne capiti ſoles, ne noceantque nives.'

The ſite of Abydos is ſtill marked by ruins: thoſe of the ancient Dardanus have diſappeared—*etiam periere ruinæ.* Between them, at the diſtance of three miles from the former, lies the caſtle and town of the Dardanelles, in which are reckoned 4000 inhabitants; it is ſeated in a fertile valley, waſhed by the Rhodius. 'Here, the orange-tree begins to grow in the open air.' From hence our author made an excurſion to the Troad; and bears ſtrong teſtimony to the accuracy of Homer's topography, and to its delineation by M. Le Chevalier. He does not, however,

ever, attempt to refute the objections ſo ingeniouſly urged by Mr Bryant. The Scamander no longer unites his waters with the Simois; but, after witneſſing the battles of gods and heroes, now condeſcends to turn a few mills, the property of a Turkiſh Pacha. If the ſite of the ancient Troy were that which M. Le Chevalier conjectures, between the Simois and the ſources of the Scamander, with its citadel conſtructed on the edge of a precipice, its natural ſtrength, aided by the valour and deſpair of its inhabitants, might, our author thinks, have enabled it to reſiſt, for ten years, a formidable army. If we recollect, however, Homer, in his twentieth book, places Troy at a diſtance in the plain. The whole territory of the Troad, including the ſecond caſtle of the Dardanelles, ſupports a population of 8000 inhabitants. The city founded by Alexander, ſtill offers the ruins of ancient monuments: Pococke, Wheeler, Chandler, Le Chevalier, and others, are always referred to by our author, when ſuch occur in his route. A league and a half from the coaſt, lies the ſmall iſland of Tenedos; its town contains 6000 inhabitants; and the culture of their vines ſupplies occupation, and wine of an excellent quality, to its natives, remarkable for their aſſumed gravity and intemperate feſtivity, when unawed by the vicinity of their Turkiſh maſters.

Two or three leagues diſtant from the coaſt of Aſia, lies the iſle of Leſbos, the birth-place of Sappho and of Theophraſtus: It ſtill poſſeſſes diſtinguiſhed muſicians; and in a young poet and performer of Molivo, our author could fancy he beheld a deſcendant of Arion, or of Terpander, who quelled a ſedition by the charms of his voice. Numerous volcanic mountains, ſeparated by plains of extreme fertility, interſect the iſle of Leſbos; the population of the whole iſland may be eſtimated at 40,000 inhabitants, of whom one half are Greeks. By a peculiar cuſtom, of great antiquity, the eldeſt daughter, here, ſucceeded to the whole property of both her parents, to the excluſion of ſons and younger daughters: this ſingular mode of ſucceſſion has recently undergone ſome modification in favour of the latter. The aleppo, and ſtone-pine, the arbutus, the andrachne, the lentiſk, the turpentine-tree, the myrtle, the agnus caſtus, and a variety of rock-roſes, cover the baſaltic mountains of Leſbos: 50,000 quintals of oil are annually exported to Conſtantinople; but its wine was found ſcarce and unpalatable.

Fortunately for the iſland of Scio, it has become the appanage of a Sultana, who protects the inhabitants from the extortions of provincial officers. Its extent, leſs conſiderable than Leſbos, is about 50 miles from north to ſouth. 'According to the regiſters of the Government, the population of Scio is to be eſtimated at 110,000 inhabitants. In the capital are reckoned 30,000; *viz.*

3500

3500 Turks, 1500 Greek Roman Catholics, 25,000 Greek ſchiſmatics. About 100 Jews may be added to this calculation.'

'After having croſſed,' ſays M. Olivier, 'a little arm of the ſea, I thought myſelf tranſported into another region, into another climate. I had ſeen the Greek bent under the yoke of the moſt frightful deſpotiſm: he was deceitful, rude, timid, ſuperſtitious, and poor. Here he enjoys a ſhadow of liberty: he is honeſt, civil, bold, induſtrious, witty, intelligent, and rich. Here I no longer find that mixture of pride and meanneſs which characteriſes the Greeks of Conſtantinople, and of a great part of the Levant; that timidity, that cowardice, which is occaſioned by perpetual fear; that bigotry, which prevents no crime. What diſtinguiſhes the inhabitants of Scio from the other Greeks, is a decided inclination towards commerce, a warm taſte for the arts, a keen deſire for enterpriſe: It is a ſprightly, pleaſant, epigrammatic wit; it is ſometimes a ſort of mad and burleſque gaiety, which has given riſe to the following proverb—" It is as uncommon to find a green horſe, as a prudent Sciot."

The beauty of the women exceeds what he has remarked elſewhere; but the uſe of coſmetics, and their love of gain, detract from the effect of their charms. Maſtic, obtained by inciſion from a variety of the lentiſk, is the moſt important production of Scio. The women are in the habit of maſticating this gum: 'that of the beſt quality is ſent to Conſtantinople for the palace of the Grand Signior; the ſecond quality is intended for Cairo, and paſſes into the harams of the Mamalucs.' Oranges, lemons, and citrons, are articles of conſiderable export. The expreſſed juice of the two latter, furniſhes a ſyrup in much requeſt; and the rinds, preſerved in ſugar or honey, are diſtributed all over the Levant. The eſſential oil of roſes, and dried figs, of an excellent quality, conclude the liſt of their exports.

The ſmall iſland of Tenos, now Tino, ranks next to Scio in its comforts, and in the induſtry of its inhabitants, whoſe numbers are ſtated at 15,800. The ſame cauſe accounts for the proſperity of both; here the inhabitants remit the amount of revenue at which they are aſſeſſed. No Turks reſide on the iſland; and the labours of their ſilk-worms enables them punctually to obſerve the conditions. Ninety miles from Tenos, lies the iſle of Andros, the appanage of a Sultana: Like the former, it is mountainous and lofty, though poſſeſſing more land fit for cultivation; its population is rated at 12,000 inhabitants, who export ſilk, oranges, and lemons, to Athens and the Morea. Twelve leagues diſtant, the ſmall iſland of Mycone, contains 4000 inhabitants, all mariners or cultivator. Near it lies the celebrated iſle of Delos, ſtill fixed, as when riveted by the voice of Neptune, in order to afford a ſhelter to the mother of Apollo and Diana. Yet everywhere ſchiſtoſe or granitical, it exhibits no trace

trace of volcano; 'nothing that can explain, by the laws of phyſics, the wonders which the Greeks have tranſmitted to us reſpecting it.' At this day, there no longer exiſts any thing but ruins and deſerted fields, on which ſeem to grow, with regret, a few ſorry plants, a few ſtunted ſhrubs. Rhenea, or the great Delos, is alſo uninhabited, though ſome portion of it is cultivated by the peaſants of Mycone. Naxos, now Naxia, was the birth-place of Bacchus; the gate and foundations of his temple are ſtill ſeen near the fountain of Ariadne; a ſtreamlet of pellucid water ſtill marks the place whence ſhe viewed, with deſpair, the ſhip which conveyed away her inconſtant hero. This iſland contains 10,000 inhabitants, and belongs chiefly to the deſcendants of noble Venetian families, whoſe contempt of agriculture is unhappily imitated by the other inhabitants of Naxos. Two thouſand wretched peaſants languiſh on the neighbouring iſle of Paros, ſubject to the fatal viſitation of the Turkiſh fleets. Our author is at a loſs to determine whether the grotto of Antiparos ſhould be conſidered as a marble quarry long excavated, or a vaſt natural cavity. The iſland of Nio, the ancient Jos, is forty miles in circuit; its baſe is everywhere ſchiſtoſe or granitical, and its numerous mountains moſtly calcareous; its population is eſtimated at 3700: but the tomb of Homer, who died here in paſſing from Samos to Athens, has left no veſtige remaining of its exiſtence. Cimolis, now Argentiera, from its doubtful poſſeſſion of a ſilver mine, is eighteen miles in circuit, conſiſting chiefly of volcanic mountains, and containing about 200 inhabitants. Porphyry of various colours, and in various ſtages of decompoſition, are found abundantly in Cimolis: The Cimolian earth, uſed by the ancients as fuller's earth, appears to have been porphyry, which had attained the laſt degree of decompoſition, and become friable, ſoft, and light. An unhealthy atmoſphere, infected by ſulphureous exhalations, has almoſt depopulated the once flouriſhing iſle of Melos, now Milo, ſixty miles in circuit, and containing only 500 inhabitants. Our travellers attempted to aſcend the volcanic mountain Calamo; but the fetid exhalations, heat, and inſtability of the ground, deterred them from perſiſting. A grotto in the iſland exhibits chryſtals of gypſum and plumoſe alum, in looſe filaments, united in bundles, from one to ten, twelve, or fifteen lines in length. The diſtance from Cimolis to Thera, is ſixteen leagues. 'Thera,' ſays Pliny, 'cum primum emerſit Calliſte dicta. Ex ea avulſa poſtea Therafia; atque inter duas enata mox Automate.' M. Olivier is convinced, that theſe three iſlands, at a remote epoch, muſt have formed but one, and that there has taken place a ſudden and violent depreſſion which has divided them. The coaſt, in ſome places nearly 100 toiſes in elevation, preſents itſelf like a perpendicular mountain, formed of

of various ſtrata, and of different banks of volcanic ſubſtance: fragments of baſaltes, with pumice-ſtones, and ſtrata of puzzolana, are found in this and the above mentioned iſlands. Three other iſlands, of poſterior formation, occupy a part of the interjacent ſpace. Hiera was dedicated to the infernal deities, becauſe it was ſeen to iſſue, all on fire, from the bottom of the ſea, according to Pliny, 130 years after the ſeparation of Thera from Therafia. In 1573, a freſh exploſion produced the little Caïrmeni: the eruption of the new Caïrmeni, ſubſequent to Thera being viſited by Tournefort, muſt have happened between 1707 and 1711. This, and Hiera, are each about a mile in length, and covered with blocks of baſaltes, pumice-ſtones, and puzzolana. From hence, our author proceeds to Crete, of which he has furniſhed an inſtructive and very detailed account, which concludes the volume.

L'on ne vaut jamais que ce qu'on veut valoir,' ſays ſome French author; and the writer who only aims at inſtructing, will ſeldom be found to amuſe. Yet the perſpicuous and candid account which M. Olivier exhibits of the actual ſtate of the Turkiſh empire, cannot fail to inſpire conſiderable intereſt. The throne, founded by Othman on the ruins of the Greek empire, and tranſmitted by him to his poſterity at the cloſe of the thirteenth century, ſeems, at the preſent moment, to totter to the baſe: yet the perſonal character of Selim III. is treated reſpectfully by writers of all denominations: a degree of energy, proportioned to the difficulty of the criſis, is, however, certainly wanting. The ferocity and martial habits of this race of Tartars, have not declined in the lap of luxury; but the diſcipline and tactics of their European neighbours are improved, whilſt theirs have continued ſtationary; and the ſucceſsful rebellion of a popular leader, founded on, and ſupported by the diſaffection of the Janizaries, affords to the diſtant Pachas a dangerous proof of the weakneſs of the Porte. The Turkiſh creſcent is on the wane; but, whether its diſappearance will be accelerated by foreign invaſion or internal rebellion, time alone can diſcover.

Art. VI. *Political Recollections relative to Egypt:* Containing Obſervations on its Government under the Mamalucs; its Geographical Poſition; its Intrinſic and Extrinſic Reſources; its relative Importance to England and France; and its Dangers to England in the Poſſeſſion of France; with a Narrative of the ever-memorable Britiſh Campaign in the Spring of 1801. By George Baldwin, Eſq. late his Majeſty's Conſul-General in Egypt, and attached to the Commander in Chief during the above glorious Campaign. 8vo. pp. 227. Cadell. 1801.

Were the ability requiſite for purſuing political inveſtigations, always commenſurate with the opportunities for proſecuting

ing them with advantage, the political recollections of Mr Baldwin would challenge no common intereſt. This gentleman has ſpent much of his life in the iſles of the Grecian Archipelago, viſited Syria, and, during ten years, (from 1786 to 1796), held the important ſituation of Conſul-General at Cairo. The effect of his recal, at the latter period, was ſuch, ſays Mr Baldwin, 'as to bereave me of my ſtrength, and of every faculty to attend to any earthly concern.' In this frame of mind, he was 'happily landed on the iſland of Patmos, in the grotto of the Revelation.' From thence he proceeded to Naples, and, at Sir Ralph Abercrombie's requeſt, accompanied the expedition againſt Egypt, of which he witneſſed the dawning ſucceſs. With ſuch opportunities of procuring accurate intelligence, the intereſting topics ſtated for diſcuſſion in the title-page, might be expected to receive conſiderable illuſtration from the pen of Mr Baldwin: But, whether it proceeds from a ſingular modification of modeſty, which, while it permits him to boaſt, in ſtrong terms, of the ſervices he performed, has ſuppreſſed every particle of information on the ſubjects he profeſſes to diſcuſs, we will not attempt to determine.

The apparent ſeverity of theſe ſtrictures may require a few extracts for their juſtification; fortunately, a few will ſuffice, and will coſt little trouble in the ſelection. 'Egypt,' ſays Mr Baldwin, 'communicates with the coaſts of Arabia Felix, of the gulfs of Perſia and Bengal, the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, Madagaſcar, and the Cape of Good Hope, in forty days.' What, with all thoſe countries, ſome near, and ſome very remote, preciſely in forty days! By ſuch obſervations, our author illuſtrates its geographical poſition. But the anomalous ſituation of the foreign militia, who, with the name of ſlaves, exerciſe and abuſe the functions of government in Egypt, has, doubtleſs, been traced and explained by the Engliſh Conſul-General. We inſert his brief account of the Mamalucs.

'The Mamalucs, a ſet of ſwine-herds, vagabonds, any thing; kidnapped in the mountains of Mingrelia, Circaſſia, Georgia, and brought young into Egypt; ſold, circumciſed, and trained to the career of glory; their road to honour, apoſtacy; their title to power, aſſaſſination, and contempt of death; no ſtability, no order, no character among them, but a conſtant thirſt and jealouſy of command.'

'An eſſay on the plague' occupies a conſiderable portion of this publication, in which Mr Baldwin ſpeaks with confidence of the efficacy of anointing the body with olive-oil, both as a means of preſervation and cure. This diſcovery he was led to, by a very ſingular proceſs of induction. 'What is the plague? A violent effervescence in the humours of the body. Then, what cauſes effervescence? All acids, mixed with another body called alkalis, will make a violent effervescence. Then, I conclude, the cauſe of the diſorder

diſorder called the plague muſt be an acid! The effect of acids is inflammation. The plague has this character. Flame delights in oils, and its neceſſary cauſe, its companion, its parent, can have no averſion from them.' Hence our author infers, 'that the peſtilential humour, which cauſeth the diſeaſe called the plague, is an acid, and that it will quit the human body to fly to the oil, which it prefers.' Gout, alſo, Mr Baldwin informs his readers, is occaſioned by an acid; he has relieved its moſt violent paroxyſms by dipping his foot in olive-oil; and is perſuaded, that the 'frothing and hiſſing it occaſioned, were the effects of the acid leaving the inflamed part, to coaleſce with the oil, and producing thereon, by its action, this evident fermentation.' Thoſe who might be inclined to doubt this fact, will probably be relieved from their ſcepticiſm by the following deciſive experiment: 'In a glaſs,' ſays Mr Baldwin, 'I put ſome pure olive-oil, and over it, on the glaſs, at the diſtance of half an inch at leaſt, I put a *lemon*, perfect, and almoſt mature. In a few hours, I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the acid of the lemon trickling down the glaſs, and mixing with the oil; and, in eight days, the lemon had almoſt exhauſted itſelf of every drop of its juice. I have always ſucceeded in this experiment.' This ſettles the affinity of acids and oils, of courſe, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner.

Our author ſtates the Greeks and Turks to have been ready to unite with the French in overturning their preſent government, and thinks the Sublime Porte utterly incapable of acquiring vigour ſufficient to reſiſt the firſt attack it may experience from without. On this account, he queſtions the policy of reſtoring Egypt to a Sovereign unable to defend it, whilſt it preſents an eaſy and rich prey to the cupidity of European ſtates. Mr Baldwin explains the facility with which the Emperor relinquiſhed ſo large a portion of Italy, ſubſequent to the battle of Marengo, by his hopes of acquiſition in the downfall of the Turkiſh power. Other poſitions, no leſs curious, might be ſelected for the amuſement of our readers; but we conceive our preceding obſervations will convey a competent idea of this performance.

ART. VII. *An Inquiry into the Cauſes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands, and Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland*, with Obſervations on the means to be employed for preventing it. By Alexander Irvine, Miniſter of Ranoch. 1802.

THE opportunities which this clergyman muſt poſſeſs of local information, induced us to expect inſtruction on a very intereſting topic in the political œconomy of Scotland. But the reverend author has preferred fine writing to inquiry; and his reader,

reader, who looks for facts, will in vain peruſe a tedious volume of eloquence, that may not be altogether agreeable to his taſte. For ourſelves, we muſt confeſs, that we could not help feeling ſome degree of impatience, while we dutifully laboured through his toilſome declamation. But, now that the taſk is over, we diſmiſs all irritation from our mind; we willingly forgive the honeſt deſire of giving delight, and of gaining fame; and we feel our tribute of praiſe due to that ardent patriotiſm which breathes throughout this compoſition. We cannot, without a little heſitation, adopt the expreſſions, or participate the wonder, of Mr Irvine, when he ſpeaks of emigration from the Highlands, as 'a ſingular phenomenon in the hiſtory of Britain, that ſo many citizens ſhould leave *the moſt favoured* province.' But we acknowledge the eloquence at leaſt of his remark, that, 'in a free-born mind of the Celtic caſt, there is *ſome quality* that glories to ſtruggle and overcome adverſity.' Natives of a lowland diſtrict, we muſt be excuſed, by the local properties of our own patriotiſm, if we venture to doubt, whether he would prove ſucceſsful in the iſſue of the following challenge: 'If you except Switzerland and the Valais, before the French revolution, I defy the moſt renowned kingdoms of Europe to adduce one province, that competes with the Highlands in point of *national felicity*.' We cannot, however, diſſemble our admiration of the pious ſimplicity and gratitude of the following paſſage:

'It is well known, that the Highlanders ſcattered through our fleets and armies, arreſt the admiration, and excite the aſtoniſhment of the world. Patient of hunger and fatigue, ready to obey, and as able to execute, they are ſelected for the moſt arduous and deſperate enterpriſes, and uniformly cover themſelves with glory, though not always crowned with victory. Who can read the hiſtory of the diſſenſions, regarding the ſucceſſion of the Queen of Hungary to the Imperial dignity—the war for the admiſſion of the French and Ruſſians into Germany—the conteſts for the independence of America—the defence of the Britiſh ſettlements in India—and the late ſtruggles with the French Republic—without *thanking Providence that he was born a Highlander?* Who can then learn, without regret, that thoſe, firſt in aſſault, and laſt in retreat, abandon their native country, and abandon its defence?' &c.

From the manner in which the ſubject is treated in this pamphlet, we have no proper opportunity of entering into any general remarks on the emigrations from Scotland. If it ſhould be preſented to us in a more manageable form, we ſhall ſeize the occaſion with pleaſure. The hiſtory of the Highland emigrations is intimately connected with that of the agricultural improvements of the iſland: and our intereſt is at preſent heightened, by the temporary

temporary effects that reſult from the recent ceſſation of hoſtilities. Theſe conſequences, indeed, are not confined to the Highlands. The general ſubject, conſidered as an article of political philoſophy, might be illuſtrated by preſent examples from every diſtrict of the country, and from every department of induſtry And the deſcription of that conduct, which an enlightened Government will purſue, with regard to emigration, would involve ſome of the moſt important principles of national policy, and ſome of the moſt ſacred privileges of mankind.

ART. VIII. *Thalaba, the Deſtroyer:* A Metrical Romance. By Robert Southey. 2 vols. 12mo. London.

POETRY has this much, at leaſt, in common with religion, that its ſtandards were fixed long ago, by certain inſpired writers, whoſe authority it is no longer lawful to call in queſtion; and that many profeſs to be entirely devoted to it, who have no *good works* to produce in ſupport of their pretenſions. The catholic poetical church, too, has worked but few miracles ſince the firſt ages of its eſtabliſhment; and has been more prolific, for a long time, of doctors than of ſaints: it has had it corruptions, and reformation alſo, and has given birth to an infinite variety of hereſies and errors, the followers of which have hated and perſecuted each other as cordially as other bigots.

The author who is now before us, belongs to a *ſect* of poets, that has eſtabliſhed itſelf in this country within theſe ten or twelve years, and is looked upon, we believe as one of its chief champions and apoſtles. The peculiar doctrines of this ſect, it would not, perhaps, be very eaſy to explain; but, that they are *diſſenters* from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtems in poetry and criticiſm, is admitted, and proved indeed, by the whole tenor of their compoſitions. Though they lay claim, we believe, to a creed and a revelation of their own, there can be little doubt, that their doctrines are of *German* origin, and have been derived from ſome of the great modern reformers in that country. Some of their leading principles, indeed, are probably of an earlier date, and ſeem to have been borrowed from the great apoſtle of Geneva. As Mr Southey is the firſt author, of this perſuaſion, that has yet been brought before us for judgement, we cannot diſcharge our inquiſitorial office conſcientiouſly, without premiſing a few words upon the nature and tendency of the tenets he has helped to promulgate.

The diſciples of this ſchool boaſt much of its originality, and ſeem to value themſelves very highly, for having broken looſe from the bondage of ancient authority, and re-aſſerted the independence of

of genius. Originality, however, we are perſuaded, is rarer than mere alteration; and a man may change a good maſter for a bad one, without finding himſelf at all nearer to independence. That our new poets have abandoned the old models, may certainly be admitted; but we have not been able to diſcover that they have yet created any models of their own; and are very much inclined to call in queſtion the worthineſs of thoſe to which they have transferred their admiration. The productions of this ſchool, we conceive, are ſo far from being entitled to the praiſe of originality, that they cannot be better characteriſed, than by an enumeration of the ſources from which their materials have been derived. The greateſt part of them, we apprehend, will be found to be compoſed of the following elements: 1. The antiſocial principles, and diſtempered ſenſibility of Rouſſeau—his diſcontent with the preſent conſtitution of ſociety—his paradoxical morality, and his perpetual hankerings after ſome unattainable ſtate of voluptuous virtue and perfection. 2. The ſimplicity and energy (*horreſco referens*) of Kotzebue and Schiller. 3. The homelineſs and harſhneſs of ſome of Cowper's language and verſification, interchanged occaſionally with the *innocence* of Ambroſe Philips, or the quaintneſs of Quarles and Dr Donne. From the diligent ſtudy of theſe few originals, we have no doubt that an entire art of poetry may be collected, by the aſſiſtance of which, the very *gentleſt* of our readers may ſoon be qualified to compoſe a poem as correctly verſified as Thalaba, and to deal out ſentiment and deſcription, with all the ſweetneſs of Lambe, and all the magnificence of Coleridge.

The authors of whom we are now ſpeaking, have, among them, unqueſtionably, a very conſiderable portion of poetical talent, and have, conſequently, been enabled to ſeduce many into an admiration of the falſe taſte (as it appears to us) in which moſt of theſe productions are compoſed. They conſtitute, at preſent, the moſt formidable conſpiracy that has lately been formed againſt ſound judgement in matters poetical; and are entitled to a larger ſhare of our cenſorial notice, than could be ſpared for an individual delinquent. We ſhall hope for the indulgence of our readers, therefore, in taking this opportunity to inquire a little more particularly into their merits, and to make a few remarks upon thoſe peculiarities which ſeem to be regarded by their admirers as the ſureſt proofs of their excellence.

Their moſt diſtinguiſhing ſymbol, is undoubtedly an affectation of great ſimplicity and familiarity of language. They diſdain to make uſe of the common poetical phraſeology, or to ennoble their diction by a ſelection of fine or dignified expreſſions. There would be too much *art* in this, for that great love of nature with which they are all of them inſpired; and their ſentiments,

ſentiments, they are determined ſhall be indebted, for their effect, to nothing but their intrinſic tenderneſs or elevation. There is ſomething very noble and conſcientious, we will confeſs, in this plan of compoſition; but the misfortune is, that there are paſſages in all poems that can neither be pathetic nor ſublime; and that, on theſe occaſions, a neglect of the eſtabliſhments of language is very apt to produce abſolute meanneſs and inſipidity. The language of paſſion, indeed, can ſcarcely be deficient in elevation; and when an author is wanting in that particular, he may commonly be preſumed to have failed in the truth, as well as in the dignity of his expreſſion. The caſe, however, is extremely different with the ſubordinate parts of a compoſition; with the narrative and deſcription, that are neceſſary to preſerve its connexion; and the explanation, that muſt frequently prepare us for the great ſcenes and ſplendid paſſages. In theſe, all the requiſite ideas may be conveyed, with ſufficient clearneſs, by the meaneſt and moſt negligent expreſſions; and, if magnificence or beauty is ever to be obſerved in them, it muſt have been introduced from ſome other motive than that of adapting the ſtyle to the ſubject. It is in ſuch paſſages, accordingly, that we are moſt frequently offended with low and inelegant expreſſions; and that the language, which was intended to be ſimple and natural, is found oftenеſt to degenerate into mere ſlovenlineſs and vulgarity. It is in vain, too, to expect that the meanneſs of thoſe parts may be redeemed by the excellence of others. A poet, who aims at all at ſublimity or pathos, is like an actor in a high tragic character, and muſt ſuſtain his dignity throughout, or become altogether ridiculous. We are apt enough to laugh at the mock-majeſty of thoſe whom we know to be but common mortals in private; and cannot permit Hamlet to make uſe of a ſingle provincial intonation, although it ſhould only be in his converſation with the grave-diggers.

The followers of ſimplicity are, therefore, at all times in danger of occaſional degradation; but the ſimplicity of this new ſchool ſeems intended to enſure it. *Their* ſimplicity does nor conſiſt, by any means, in the rejection of glaring or ſuperfluous ornament,—in the ſubſtitution of elegance to ſplendour,—or in that refinement of art which ſeeks concealment in its own perfection. It conſiſts, on the contrary, in a very great degree, in the poſitive and *bona fide* rejection of art altogether, and in the bold uſe of thoſe rude and negligent expreſſions, which would be baniſhed by a little diſcrimination. One of their own authors, indeed, has very ingenuouſly ſet forth, (in a kind of manifeſto, that preceded one of their moſt flagrant acts of hoſtility), that it was their capital object 'to adapt to the uſes of poetry, the ordinary language of converſation among the middling and lower orders of the people.'

What advantages are to be gained by the ſucceſs of this project we confeſs ourſelves unable to conjecture. The language of the higher and more cultivated orders may fairly be preſumed to be better than that of their inferiors: at any rate, it has all thoſe aſſociations in its favour, by means of which a ſtyle can ever appear beautiful or exalted, and is adapted to the purpoſes of poetry, by having been long conſecrated to its uſe. The language of the vulgar, on the other hand, has all the oppoſite aſſociations to contend with; and muſt ſeem unfit for poetry, (if there were no other reaſon), merely becauſe it has ſcarcely ever been employed in it. A great genius may indeed overcome theſe diſadvantages; but we ſcarcely conceive that he ſhould court them. We may excuſe a certain homelineſs of language in the productions of a ploughman or a milkwoman; but we cannot bring ourſelves to admire it in an author, who has had occaſion to indite odes to his college-bell, and inſcribe hymns to the Penates.

But the miſchief of this new ſyſtem, is not confined to the depravation of language only; it extends to the ſentiments and emotions, and leads to the debaſement of all thoſe feelings which poetry is deſigned to communicate. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that an author ſhould make uſe of the language of the vulgar, to expreſs the ſentiments of the refined. His profeſſed object, in employing that language, is to bring his compoſitions nearer to the true ſtandard of nature; and his intention to copy the ſentiments of the lower orders, is implied in his reſolution to make uſe of their ſtyle. Now, the different claſſes of ſociety have each of them a diſtinct character, as well as a ſeparate idiom; and the names of the various paſſions to which they are ſubject reſpectively, have a ſignification that varies eſſentially, according to the condition of the perſons to whom they are applied. The love, or grief, or indignation of an enlightened and refined character, is not only expreſſed in a different language, but is in itſelf a different emotion from the love, or grief, or anger of a clown, a tradeſman, or a market-wench. The things themſelves are radically and obviouſly diſtinct; and the repreſentation of them is calculated to convey a very different train of ſympathies and ſenſations to the mind. The queſtion, therefore, comes ſimply to be—Which of them is the moſt proper object for poetical imitation? It is needleſs for us to anſwer a queſtion, which the practice of all the world has long ago decided irrevocably. The poor and vulgar may intereſt us, in poetry, by their *ſituation*; but never, we apprehend, by any ſentiments that are peculiar to their condition, and ſtill leſs by any language that is characteriſtic of it. The truth is, that it is impoſſible to copy their diction or their ſentiments correctly, in a ſerious compoſition; and this, not merely

merely becauſe poverty makes men ridiculous, but becauſe juſt taſte and refined ſentiment are rarely to be met with among the uncultivated part of mankind; and a language fitted for their expreſſion, can ſtill more rarely form any part of their 'ordinary converſation.'

The low-bred heroes, and intereſting ruſtics of poetry, have no ſort of affinity to the real vulgar of this world; they are imaginary beings, whoſe characters and language are in contraſt with their ſituation; and pleaſe thoſe who can be pleaſed with them, by the marvellous, and not by the nature of ſuch a combination. In ſerious poetry, a man of the middling or lower order *muſt neceſſarily* lay aſide a great deal of his ordinary language; he muſt avoid errors in grammar and orthography; and ſteer clear of the cant of particular profeſſions, and of every impropriety that is ludicrous or diſguſting: nay, he muſt ſpeak in good verſe, and obſerve all the graces in proſody and collocation. After all this, it may not be very eaſy to ſay how we are to find him out to be a low man, or what marks can remain of the ordinary language of converſation in the inferior orders of ſociety. If there be any phraſes that are not uſed in good ſociety, they will appear as blemiſhes in the compoſition, no leſs palpably than errors in ſyntax or quantity; and if there be no ſuch phraſes, the ſtyle cannot be characteriſtic of that condition of life, the language of which it profeſſes to have adopted. All approximation to that langnage, in the ſame manner, implies a deviation from that purity and preciſion, which no one, we believe, ever violated ſpontaneouſly.

It has been argued, indeed, (for men will argue in ſupport of what they do not venture to practiſe), that as the middling and lower orders of ſociety conſtitute by far the greater part of mankind, ſo, their feelings and expreſſions ſhould intereſt more extenſively, and may be taken, more fairly than any other, for the ſtandards of what is natural and true. To this, it ſeems obvious to anſwer, that the arts that aim at exciting admiration and delight, do not take their models from what is ordinary, but from what is excellent; and that our intereſt in the repreſentation of any event, does not depend upon our familiarity with the original, but on its intrinſic importance, and the celebrity of the parties it concerns. The ſculptor employs his art in delineating the graces of Antinous or Apollo, and not in the repreſentation of thoſe ordinary forms that belong to the crowd of his admirers. When a chieftain periſhes in battle, his followers mourn more for him, than for thouſands of their equals that may have fallen around him.

After all, it muſt be admitted, that there is a claſs of perſons (we are afraid they cannot be called *readers*), to whom the re-

preſentation of vulgar manners, in vulgar language, will afford much entertainment. We are afraid, however, that the ingenious writers who ſupply the hawkers and ballad-ſingers, have very nearly monopolized that department, and are probably better qualified to hit the taſte of their cuſtomers, than Mr Southey, or any of his brethren, can yet pretend to be. To fit them for the higher taſk of original compoſition, it would not be amiſs if they were to undertake a tranſlation of Pope or Milton into the vulgar tongue, for the benefit of thoſe children of nature.

There is another diſagreeable effect of this affected ſimplicity, which, though of leſs importance than thoſe which have been already noticed, it may yet be worth while to mention: This is, the extreme difficulty of ſupporting the ſame low tone of expreſſion throughout, and the inequality that is conſequently introduced into the texture of the compoſition. To an author of reading and education, it is a ſtyle that muſt always be aſſumed and unnatural, and one from which he will be perpetually tempted to deviate. He will riſe, therefore, every now and then, above the level to which he has profeſſedly degraded himſelf; and make amends for that tranſgreſſion by a freſh effort of deſcenſion. His compoſition, in ſhort, will be like that of a perſon who is attempting to ſpeak in an obſolete or provincial dialect; he will betray himſelf by expreſſions of occaſional purity and elegance, and exert himſelf to efface that impreſſion, by paſſages of unnatural meanneſs or abſurdity.

In making theſe ſtrictures on the perverted taſte for ſimplicity, that ſeems to diſtinguiſh our modern ſchool of poetry, we have no particular alluſion to Mr Southey, or the production now before us: On the contrary, he appears to us to be leſs addicted to this fault than moſt of his fraternity; and if we were in want of examples to illuſtrate the preceding obſervations, we ſhould certainly look for them in the effuſions of that poet who commemorates, with ſo much effect, the chattering of Harry Gill's teeth, tells the tale of the one-eyed huntſman 'who had a cheek like a cherry,' and beautifully warns his ſtudious friend of the riſk he ran of 'growing double.'

At the ſame time, it is impoſſible to deny that the author of the 'Engliſh Eclogues' is liable to a ſimilar cenſure; and few perſons, we believe, will peruſe the following verſes (taken, almoſt at random, from the Thalaba) without acknowledging that he ſtill continues to deſerve it.

'At midnight Thalaba ſtarted up,
For he felt that the ring on his finger was moved.
He called on Allah aloud,
And he called on the Prophet's name.
Moath aroſe in alarm:
"What ails thee, Thalaba?" he cried,
"Is the Robber of night at hand?"

"Doſt

" Doſt thou not ſee," the youth exclaimed,
" A Spirit in the Tent?"
Moath looked round, and ſaid,
" The moon-beam ſhines in the Tent,
' I ſee thee ſtand in the light,
' And thy ſhadow is black on the ground."
Thalaba anſwered not.
" Spirit!" he cried, " what brings thee here?" &c.

' Woman.
Go not among the tombs, Old Man!
There is a madman there.

Old Man.
Will he harm me if I go?

Woman.
Not he, poor miſerable man!
But 'tis a wretched ſight to ſee
His utter wretchedneſs.
For all day long he lies on a grave,
And never is he ſeen to weep,
And never is he heard to groan,
Nor ever at the hour of prayer
Bends his knee, nor moves his lips.
I have taken him food for charity,
And never a word he ſpake;
But yet, ſo ghaſtly he looked,
That I have awakened at night,' &c.

Now, this ſtyle, we conceive, poſſeſſes no one character of excellence; it is feeble, low, and disjointed; without elegance, and without dignity; the offspring, we ſhould imagine, of mere indolence and neglect, or the unhappy fruit of a ſyſtem that would teach us to undervalue that vigilance and labour which ſuſtained the loftineſs of Milton, and gave energy and direction to the pointed and fine propriety of Pope.

The *ſtyle* of our modern poets, is that, no doubt, by which they are moſt eaſily diſtinguiſhed: but their genius has alſo an internal character; and the peculiarities of their taſte may be diſcovered, without the aſſiſtance of their diction. Next after great familiarity of language, there is nothing that appears to them ſo meritorious as perpetual exaggeration of thought. There muſt be nothing moderate, natural, or eaſy, about their ſentiments. There muſt be a ' qu'il mourut,' and a ' let there be light,' in every line; and all their characters muſt be in agonies and ecſtaſies, from their entrance to their exit. To thoſe who are acquainted with their productions, it is needleſs to ſpeak of the fatigue that is produced by this unceaſing ſummons to admiration, or of the compaſſion which is excited by the ſpectacle of theſe

eternal ſtrainings and diſtortions. Thoſe authors appear to forget, that a whole poem cannot be made up of ſtriking paſſages; and that the ſenſations produced by ſublimity, are never ſo powerful and entire, as when they are allowed to ſubſide and revive, in a flow and ſpontaneous ſucceſſion. It is delightful, now and then, to meet with a rugged mountain, or a roaring ſtream; but where there is no ſunny ſlope, nor ſhaded plain, to relieve them—where all is beetling cliff and yawning abyſs, and the landſcape preſents nothing on every ſide but prodigies and terrors—the head is apt to grow giddy, and the heart to languiſh for the repoſe and ſecurity of a leſs elevated region.

The effect even of genuine ſublimity, therefore, is impaired by the injudicious frequency of its exhibition, and the omiſſion of thoſe intervals and breathing-places, at which the mind ſhould be permitted to recover from its perturbation or aſtoniſhment: but, where it has been ſummoned upon a falſe alarm, and diſturbed in the orderly courſe of its attention, by an impotent attempt at elevation, the conſequences are ſtill more diſaſtrous. There is nothing ſo ridiculous (at leaſt for a poet) as to fail in great attempts. If the reader foreſaw the failure, he may receive ſome degree of miſchievous ſatisfaction from its punctual occurrence; if he did not, he will be vexed and diſappointed; and, in both caſes, he will very ſpeedily be diſguſted and fatigued. It would be going too far, certainly, to maintain, that our modern poets have never ſucceeded in their perſevering endeavours at elevation and emphaſis; but it is a melancholy fact, that their ſucceſſes bear but a ſmall proportion to their miſcarriages; and that the reader who has been promiſed an energetic ſentiment, or ſublime alluſion, muſt often be contented with a very miſerable ſubſtitute. Of the many contrivances they employ to give the appearance of uncommon force and animation to a very ordinary conception, the moſt uſual is, to warp it up in a veil of myſterious and unintelligible language, which flows paſt with ſo much ſolemnity, that it is difficult to believe it conveys nothing of any value. Another device for improving the effect of a cold idea, is, to embody it in a verſe of unuſual harſhneſs and aſperity. Compound words, too, of a portentous ſound and conformation, are very uſeful in giving an air of energy and originality; and a few lines of ſcripture, written out into verſe from the original proſe, have been found to have a very happy effect upon thoſe readers to whom they have the recommendation of novelty.

The qualities of ſtyle and imagery, however, form but a ſmall part of the characteriſtics by which a literary faction is to be diſtinguiſhed. The ſubject and object of their compoſitions, and the principles and opinions they are calculated to ſupport, conſtitute a far more important criterion, and one to which it is uſually altogether

altogether as eaſy to refer. Some poets are ſufficiently deſcribed as the flatterers of greatneſs and power, and others as the champions of independence. One ſet of writers is known by its antipathy to decency and religion; another, by its methodiſtical cant and intolerance. Our new ſchool of poetry has a moral character alſo; though it may not be poſſible, perhaps, to delineate it quite ſo conciſely.

A ſplenetic and idle diſcontent with the exiſting inſtitutions of ſociety, ſeems to be at the bottom of all their ſerious and peculiar ſentiments. Inſtead of contemplating the wonders and the pleaſures which civilization has created for mankind, they are perpetually brooding over the diſorders by which its progreſs has been attended. They are filled with horror and compaſſion at the ſight of poor men ſpending their blood in the quarrels of princes, and brutifying their ſublime capabilities in the drudgery of unremitting labour. For all ſorts of vice and profligacy in the lower orders of ſociety, they have the ſame virtuous horror, and the ſame tender compaſſion. While the exiſtence of theſe offences overpowers them with grief and confuſion, they never permit themſelves to feel the ſmalleſt indignation or diſlike towards the offenders. The preſent vicious conſtitution of ſociety alone is reſponſible for all theſe enormities: the poor ſinners are but the helpleſs victims or inſtruments of its diſorders, and could not poſſibly have avoided the errors into which they have been betrayed. Though they can bear with crimes, therefore, they cannot reconcile themſelves to puniſhments; and have an unconquerable antipathy to priſons, gibbets, and houſes of correction, as engines of oppreſſion, and inſtruments of atrocious injuſtice. While the plea of moral neceſſity is thus artfully brought forward to convert all the exceſſes of the poor into innocent misfortunes, no ſort of indulgence is ſhown to the offences of the powerful and rich. Their oppreſſions, and ſeductions, and debaucheries, are the theme of many an angry verſe; and the indignation and abhorrence of the reader is relentleſsly conjured up againſt thoſe perturbators of ſociety, and ſcourges of mankind.

It is not eaſy to ſay, whether the fundamental abſurdity of this doctrine, or the partiality of its application, be entitled to the ſevereſt reprehenſion. If men are driven to commit crimes, through a certain moral neceſſity; other men are compelled, by a ſimilar neceſſity, to hate and deſpiſe them for their commiſſion. The indignation of the ſufferer is at leaſt as natural as the guilt of him who makes him ſuffer; and the good order of ſociety would probably be as well preſerved, if our ſympathies were ſometimes called forth in behalf of the former. At all events, the ſame apology ought certainly to be admitted for the wealthy, as for the needy offender. They are ſubject alike to the over-ruling influ-

ence of neceſſity, and equally affected by the miſerable condition of ſociety. If it be natural for a poor man to murder and rob, in order to make himſelf comfortable, it is no leſs natural for a rich man to gormandize and domineer, in order to have the full uſe of his riches. Wealth is juſt as valid an excuſe for the one claſs of vices, as indigence is for the other. There are many other peculiarities of falſe ſentiment in the productions of this claſs of writers, that are ſufficiently deſerving of commemoration; but we have already exceeded our limits in giving theſe general *indi*cations of their character, and muſt now haſten back to the conſideration of the ſingular performance which has given occaſion to all this diſcuſſion.

The firſt thing that ſtrikes the reader of Thalaba, is the ſingular ſtructure of the verſification, which is a jumble of all the meaſures that are known in Engliſh poetry, (and a few more), without rhyme, and without any ſort of regularity in their arrangement. Blank odes have been known in this country about as long as Engliſh ſapphics and dactylics; and both have been conſidered, we believe, as a ſpecies of monſters, or exotics, that were not very likely to propagate, or thrive, in ſo unpropitious a climate. Mr Southey, however, has made a vigorous effort for their naturalization, and generouſly endangered his own reputation in their behalf. The melancholy fate of his Engliſh ſapphics, we believe, is but too generally known; and we can ſcarcely predict a more favourable iſſue to the preſent experiment. Every combination of different meaſures is apt to perplex and diſturb the reader who is not familiar with it; and we are never reconciled to a ſtanza of a new ſtructure, till we have accuſtomed our ear to it by two or three repetitions. This is the caſe, even where we have the aſſiſtance of rhyme to direct us in our ſearch after regularity, and where the definite form and appearance of a ſtanza aſſures us that regularity is to be found. Where both of theſe are wanting, it may be imagined that our condition will be ſtill more deplorable; and a compaſſionate author might even excuſe us, if we were unable to diſtinguiſh this kind of verſe from proſe. In reading verſe, in general, we are guided to the diſcovery of its melody, by a ſort of preconception of its cadence and compaſs; without which, it might often fail to be ſuggeſted by the mere articulation of the ſyllables. If there be any one, whoſe recollection does not furniſh him with evidence of this fact, he may put it to the teſt of experiment, by deſiring any of his illiterate acquaintances to read off ſome of Mr Southey's dactylics, or Sir Philip Sydney's hexameters. It is the ſame thing with the more unuſual meaſures of the ancient authors. We have never known any one who fell in, at the firſt trial, with the proper rythm and cadence of the *pervigilium Veneris*,

Veneris, or the choral lyrics of the Greek dramatiſts. The difficulty, however, is virtually the ſame, as to every new combination; and it is an unſurmountable difficulty, where ſuch new combinations are not repeated with any degree of uniformity, but are multiplied, through the whole compoſition, with an unbounded licence of variation. Such, however, is confeſſedly the caſe with the work before us; and it really ſeems unneceſſary to make any other remark on its verſification.

The author, however, entertains a different opinion of it. So far from apprehending that it may coſt his readers ſome trouble to convince themſelves that the greater part of the book is not mere proſe, written out into the form of verſe, he is perſuaded that its melody is more obvious and perceptible than that of our vulgar meaſures. 'One advantage,' ſays Mr Southey, 'this metre *aſſuredly* poſſeſſes; the dulleſt reader cannot diſtort it into diſcord: he may read it with a *proſe mouth*, but its flow and fall will ſtill be perceptible.' We are afraid, there are duller readers in the world than Mr Southey is aware of. We recommend the following paſſages for experiment.

" The Day of the Trial will come,
' When I ſhall underſtand how profitable
' It is to ſuffer now."

' Hodeirah groaned and cloſed his eyes,
As if in the night and the blindneſs of death
He would have hid himſelf.'

" Bleſſed art thou, young man,
' Bleſſed art thou, O Aſwad, for the deed!
' In the day of viſitation,
' In the fearful hour of judgement,
' God will remember thee!"

" It is the hour of prayer, . .
' My children, let us purify ourſelves,
' And praiſe the Lord our God!"
The boy the water brought;
After the law they purified themſelves,
And bent their faces to the earth in prayer.'

' Azure and yellow, like the beautiful fields
Of England, when amid the growing graſs
The blue-bell bends, the golden king-cup ſhines,
In the merry month of May!'

' But Thalaba took not the draught,
For rightly he knew had the Prophet forbidden
That beverage the mother of ſins.'

' The

' The blinded multitude
Adored the Sorcerer,
And bent the knee before him,
And ſhouted out his praiſe,
" Mighty art thou, the Beſtower of joy,
' The Lord of Paradiſe ! "

' Dizzy with the deafening ſtrokes,
In blind and interrupted courſe,
Poor beaſt, he ſtruggles on ;
And now the dogs are nigh !
How his heart pants ! you ſee
The panting of his heart ;
And tears like human tears
Roll down, along the big veins——— '

——————— ' they periſhed all,
All in that dreadful hour : but I was ſaved,
To remember and revenge. '

' Like the flowing of a ſummer-gale, he felt
Its ineffectual force ;
His countenance was not changed,
Nor a hair of his head was ſinged. '

" Aye ! look and triumph ! ' he exclaimed,
' This is the juſtice of thy God !
' A righteous God is he, to let
' His vengeance fall upon the innocent head !
' Curſe thee, curſe thee, Thalaba ! "

' With what a thirſt of joy
He ſhould breathe in the open gales of heaven ! '

' Vain are all ſpells ! the Deſtroyer
Treads the Domdaniel floor. '

" Thou haſt done well, my Servant !
' Aſk and receive thy reward ! "

Mr Southey muſt excuſe us for doubting, whether even a *poet's mouth* could turn theſe paſſages into good verſe ; and we are afraid, the greater part of his readers will participate in our ſcepticiſm.

The ſubject of this poem is almoſt as ill choſen as the diction ; and the conduct of the fable as diſorderly as the verſification. The corporation of magicians, that inhabit ' the Domdaniel caverns, under the roots of the ocean, ' had diſcovered, that a terrible *deſtroyer* was likely to riſe up againſt them from the ſeed of Hodeirah, a worthy Arab, with eight fine children. Immediately the murder of all thoſe innocents is reſolved on ; and a ſturdy aſſaſſin ſent with inſtructions to deſtroy the whole family (as

(as Mr Southey has it) 'root and branch.' The good man, accordingly, and ſeven of his children, are diſpatched; but a cloud comes over the mother and the remaining child; and the poem opens with the picture of the widow and her orphan wandering, by night, over the deſarts of Arabia. The old lady, indeed, might as well have fallen under the dagger of the Domdanielite; for ſhe dies, without doing any thing for her child, in the end of the firſt book; and little Thalaba is left crying in the wilderneſs. Here he is picked up by a good old Arab, who takes him home, and educates him like a pious Muſſulman; and he and the old man's daughter fall in love with each other, according to the invariable cuſtom in all ſuch caſes. The magicians, in the mean time, are hunting him over the face of the whole earth; and one of them gets near enough to draw his dagger to ſtab him, when a providential *ſimoom* lays him dead on the ſand. From the dead ſorcerer's finger, Thalaba takes a ring, inſcribed with ſome unintelligible characters, which he is enabled to interpret by the help of ſome other unintelligible characters that he finds on the forehead of a locuſt; and ſoon after takes advantage of an eclipſe of the ſun, to ſet out on his expedition againſt his father's murderers, whom he underſtands (we do not very well know how) he has been commiſſioned to exterminate. Though they are thus ſeeking him, and he ſeeking them, it is amazing what difficulty they find in meeting: they do meet, however, every now and then, and many ſore evils does the Deſtroyer ſuffer at their hands. By faith and fortitude, however, and the occaſional aſſiſtance of the magic implements he ſtrips them of, he is enabled to baffle and elude their malice, till he is conducted, at laſt, to the Domdaniel cavern, where he finds them aſſembled, and pulls down the roof of it upon their heads and his own; periſhing, like Samſon, in the final deſtruction of his enemies.

From this little ſketch of the ſtory, our readers will eaſily perceive, that it conſiſts altogether of the moſt wild and extravagant fictions, and openly ſets nature and probability at defiance. In its action, it is not an imitation of any thing; and excludes all rational criticiſm, as to the choice and ſucceſſion of its incidents. Tales of this ſort may amuſe children, and intereſt, for a moment, by the prodigies they exhibit, and the multitude of events they bring together: but the intereſt expires with the novelty; and attention is frequently exhauſted, even before curioſity has been gratified. The pleaſure afforded by performances of this ſort, is very much akin to that which may be derived from the exhibition of a harlequin farce; where, inſtead of juſt imitations of nature and human character, we are entertained with the transformation of cauliflowers and beer-barrels, the apparition

parition of ghoſts and devils, and all the other magic of the wooden ſword. Thoſe who can prefer this eternal ſorcery, to the juſt and modeſt repreſentation of human actions and paſſions, will probably take more delight in walking among the holly griffins, and yew ſphinxes of the city-gardener, than in ranging among the groves and lawns which have been laid out by a hand that feared to violate nature, as much as it aſpired to embelliſh her; and diſdained the eaſy art of ſtartling by novelties, and ſurpriſing by impropriety.

Supernatural beings, though eaſily enough raiſed, are known to be very troubleſome in the management, and have frequently occaſioned much perplexity to poets and other perſons who have been raſh enough to call for their aſſiſtance. It is no very eaſy matter to preſerve conſiſtency in the diſpoſal of powers, with the limits of which we are ſo far from being familiar; and when it is neceſſary to repreſent our ſpiritual perſons as ignorant, or ſuffering, we are very apt to forget the knowledge and the powers with which we had formerly inveſted them. The ancient poets had ſeveral unlucky rencounters of this ſort with Deſtiny and the other deities; and Milton himſelf is not a *little* hampered with the material and immaterial qualities of his angels. Enchanters and witches may, at firſt ſight, appear more manageable; but Mr Southey has had difficulty enough with them; and cannot be ſaid, after all, to have kept his fable quite clear and intelligible. The ſtars had ſaid, that the Deſtroyer might be cut off in that hour when his father and brethren were aſſaſſinated; yet he is ſaved by a ſpecial interpoſition of Heaven. Heaven itſelf, however, had deſtined him to extirpate the votaries of Eblis; and yet, long before this work is done, a ſpecial meſſage is ſent to him, declaring, that, if he chooſes, the death-angel is ready to take him away inſtead of the ſorcerer's daughter. In the beginning of the ſtory, too, the magicians are quite at a loſs where to look for him; and Abdaldar only diſcovers him by accident, after a long ſearch; yet, no ſooner does he leave the old Arab's tent, than Lobaba comes up to him, diſguiſed, and prepared for his deſtruction. The witches have alſo a decoy ready for him in the deſart; yet he ſups with Okba's daughter, without any of the ſorcerers being aware of it; and afterwards proceeds to conſult the ſimorg, without meeting with any obſtacle or moleſtation. The ſimoom kills Abdaldar, too, in ſpite of that ring which afterwards protects Thalaba from lightning, and violence, and magic. The Deſtroyer's arrow then falls blunted from Lobaba's breaſt, who is knocked down, however, by a ſhower of ſand of his own raiſing; and this ſame arrow, which could make no impreſſion on the ſorcerer, kills the magic bird of Aloadin, and pierces the rebel-

lious

lious *ſpirit* that guarded the Domdaniel door. The whole infernal band, indeed, is very feebly and heavily pourtrayed. They are a ſet of ſtupid, undignified, miſerable wretches, quarrelling with each other, and trembling in the proſpect of inevitable deſtruction. None of them even appears to have obtained the price of their ſelf-ſacrifice in worldly honours and advancement, except Mohareb; and he, though aſſured by deſtiny that there was one death-blow appointed for him and Thalaba, is yet repreſented, in the concluding ſcene, as engaged with him in furious combat, and aiming many a deadly blow at that life on which his own was dependent. If the innocent characters in this poem were not delineated with more truth and feeling, the notoriety of the author would ſcarcely have induced us to beſtow ſo much time on its examination.

Though the tiſſue of adventures through which Thalaba is conducted in the courſe of this production, be ſufficiently various and extraordinary, we muſt not ſet down any part of the incidents to the credit of the author's invention. He has taken great pains, indeed, to guard againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition; and has been as ſcrupulouſly correct in the citation of his authorities, as if he were the compiler of a true hiſtory, and thought his reputation would be ruined by the imputation of a ſingle fiction. There is not a prodigy, accordingly, or a deſcription, for which he does not fairly produce his vouchers, and generally lays before his readers the whole original paſſage from which his imitation has been taken. In this way, it turns out, that the book is entirely compoſed of ſcraps, borrowed from the oriental tale-books, and travels into the Mahometan countries, ſeaſoned up for the Engliſh reader with ſome fragments of our own ballads, and ſhreds of our older ſermons. The compoſition and harmony of the work, accordingly, is much like the pattern of that patch-work drapery that is ſometimes to be met with in the manſions of the induſtrious, where a blue tree overſhadows a ſhell-fiſh, and a gigantic butterfly ſeems ready to ſwallow up Palemon and Lavinia. The author has the merit merely of cutting out each of his figures from the piece where its inventor had placed it, and ſtitching them down together in theſe judicious combinations.

It is impoſſible to peruſe this poem, with the notes, without feeling that it is the fruit of much reading, undertaken for the expreis purpoſe of fabricating ſome ſuch performance. The author has ſet out with a reſolution to make an oriental ſtory, and a determination to find the materials of it in the books to which he had acceſs. Every incident, therefore, and deſcription,—every ſuperſtitious uſage, or ſingular tradition, that appeared to him ſuſceptible of poetical embelliſhment, or capable of pictureſque repreſentation, he has ſet down for this purpoſe, and adopted ſuch

a fable and plan of compoſition, as might enable him to work up all his materials, and interweave every one of his quotations, without any *extraordinary* violation of unity or order. When he had filled his common-place book, he began to write; and his poem is little elſe than his common-place book verified.

It may eaſily be imagined, that a poem conſtructed upon ſuch a plan, muſt be full of cumbrous and miſplaced deſcription, and overloaded with a crowd of incidents, equally unmeaning and ill aſſorted. The tedious account of the palace of Shedad, in the firſt book—the deſcription of the Summer and Winter occupations of the Arabs, in the third—the ill-told ſtory of Haruth and Maruth—the greater part of the occurrences in the iſland of Mohareb—the paradiſe of Aloadin, &c. &c.—are all inſtances of diſproportioned and injudicious ornaments, which never could have preſented themſelves to an author who wrote from the ſuggeſtions of his own fancy; and have evidently been introduced, from the author's unwillingneſs to relinquiſh the correſponding paſſages in D'Herbelot, Sale, Volney, &c. which appeared to him to have great capabilities for poetry.

This imitation, or admiration of Oriental imagery, however, does not bring ſo much ſuſpicion on his taſte, as the affection he betrays for ſome of his domeſtic models. The former has, for the moſt part, the recommendation of novelty; and there is always a certain pleaſure in contemplating the *coſtume* of a diſtant nation, and the luxuriant landſcape of an Aſiatic climate. We cannot find the ſame apology, however, for Mr Southey's partiality to the drawling vulgarity of ſome of our old Engliſh ditties. Here is what he has been pleaſed to preſent to his readers (in a note), as 'one of the moſt beautiful of our old ballads, ſo full of beauty.' The heroine is an old *mare* belonging to John Poulter.

'At length old age came on her
And ſhe grew faint and poor,
Her maſter he fell out with her,
And turned her out of door,
Saying, 'If thou wilt not labour,
I prithee go thy way,—
And never let me ſee thy face
Until thy dying day.'

Theſe words ſhe took unkind,
And on her way ſhe went,
For to fulfil her maſter's will
Always was her intent.
The hills were very high,
The vallies very bare.
The Summer it was hot and dry,—
It ſtarved Old Poulter's mare.'

There

There are three ſtanzas more; but we ſhall only add the laſt. Old Poulter repents, and ſends his man, Will, to bring the mare back. Will, at firſt, cannot find her; but, as he is thinking of giving up the ſearch,

'He went a little farther
And turned his head aſide,
And juſt by goodman Whitfield's gate,
Oh there the mare he ſpied.
He aſked her how ſhe did, . .
She ſtared him in the face,
Then down ſhe laid her head again,—
She was in wretched caſe.'

Theſe three laſt lines, Mr Southey ſeriouſly conſiders as the *ne plus ultra* of purity and pathos.

The text certainly is not, by any means, ſo bad as might have been expected from ſuch a note; though there are ſome paſſages, in which a patriotic zeal for neglected Engliſh authors has made him copy their ſtyle a little too faithfully. Could the great maſter of *Namby Pamby* have liſped out his repetitions in blank verſe, with more amiable ſimplicity than in the following paſſage? The author is deſcribing a certain ſpring, that, he ſays, 'toſſed and heaved ſtrangely up and down.

'And yet the depths were clear,
And yet no ripple wrinkled o'er
The face of that fair Well.

And on that Well ſo ſtrange and fair
A little boat there lay,
Without an oar, without a ſail;
One only ſeat it had, one ſeat
As if for only Thalaba.
And at the helm a Damſel ſtood
A Damſel bright and bold of eye,
Yet did a maiden-modeſty
Adorn her fearleſs brow.
She ſeemed ſorrowful, but ſure
More beautiful for ſorrow.'

From the extracts and obſervations which we have hitherto preſented to our readers, it will be natural for them to conclude, that our opinion of this poem is very decidedly unfavourable; and that we are not diſpoſed to allow it any ſort of merit. This, however, is by no means the caſe. We think it written, indeed, in a very vicious taſte, and liable, upon the whole, to very formidable objections: But it would not be doing juſtice to the genius of the author, if we were not to add, that it contains paſſages of very ſingular beauty and force, and diſplays a richneſs of poetical

poetical conception, that would do honour to more faultleſs compoſitions. There is little of human character in the poem, indeed; becauſe Thalaba is a ſolitary wanderer from the ſolitary tent of his protector: But the home-group, in which his infancy was ſpent, is pleaſingly delineated; and there is ſomething irreſiſtibly intereſting in the innocent love, and misfortunes, and fate of his Oneiza. The cataſtrophe of her ſtory is given, it appears to us, with great ſpirit and effect, though the beauties are of that queſtionable kind, that treſpaſs on the border of impropriety, and partake more of the character of dramatic, than of narrative poetry. After delivering her from the polluted paradiſe of Aloadin, he prevails on her to marry him before his miſſion is accompliſhed. She conſents with great reluctance; and the marriage-feaſt, with its proceſſions, ſongs, and ceremonies, is deſcribed in ſome joyous ſtanzas. The book ends with theſe verſes:

'And now the marriage-feaſt is ſpread,
And from the finiſhed banquet now
The wedding gueſts are gone.

Who comes from the bridal-chamber?
It is Azrael, the Angel of Death.'

The next book opens with Thalaba lying diſtracted upon her grave, in the neighbourhood of which he had wandered, till 'the ſun, and the wind, and the rain, had ruſted his raven locks;' and there he is found by the father of his bride, and viſited by her ghoſt, and ſoothed and encouraged to proceed upon his holy enterprize. He ſets out on his lonely way, and is entertained the firſt night by a venerable derviſe: As they are ſitting at meal, a *bridal proceſſion* paſſes by, with dance, and ſong, and merriment. The old derviſe bleſſes them as they paſs; but Thalaba looked on, 'and breathed a low deep groan, and hid his face.' Theſe incidents are ſkilfully imagined, and are narrated in a very impreſſive manner.

Though the *witchery* ſcenes are in general but poorly executed, and poſſeſs little novelty to thoſe who have read the Arabian Nights Entertainments, there is, occaſionally, ſome fine deſcription, and ſtriking combination. We do not remember any poem, indeed, that preſents, throughout, a greater number of lively images, or would afford ſo many ſubjects for the pencil.

The introductory lines have a certain ſolemn and compoſed beauty:

'How beautiful is night!
A dewy freſhneſs fills the ſilent air;
No miſt obſcures, no little cloud
Breaks the whole ſerene of heaven:

In

In full-orbed glory the majeſtic moon
Rolls thro' the dark blue depths.
Beneath her ſteady ray
The deſert circle ſpreads,
Like the round ocean, girdled with the ſky.
How beautiful is night!'

There are many fine ſketches of tropical ſcenery in the deſcription of Aloadin's paradiſe. The following verſes breathe the true ſpirit of Oriental poetry:

'And oh! what odours the voluptuous vale
Scatters from jaſmine bowers,
From yon roſe wilderneſs,
From cluſtered henna, and from orange groves
That with ſuch perfumes fill the breeze,
As Peris to their Sifter bear,
When from the ſummit of ſome lofty tree
She hangs, encaged, the captive of the Dives.
They from their pinions ſhake
The ſweetneſs of celeſtial flowers;
And as her enemies impure
From that impervious poiſon far away
Fly groaning with the torment, ſhe the while
Inhales her fragrant food.
Such odours flowed upon the world,
When at Mohammed's nuptials, word
Went forth in heaven to roll
The everlaſting gates of Paradiſe
Back on their living hinges, that its gales
Might viſit all below: the general bliſs
Thrilled every boſom, and the family
Of man, for once, partook one common joy.'

The picture of Maimuna ſitting by a fire in a ſolitary cavern, and ſinging 'a low, ſweet, unintelligible ſong,' as ſhe ſpun, reminds us of the appearance of Calypſo in the Odyſſey.

———τὴν δ' ἐνδοθι τέτμεν ἐοῦσαν.
Πῦρ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν μέγα κάετο, τηλόθι δ' ὀδμὴ
Κέδρου τ' εὐκεάτοιο, θύου τ' ἀνὰ νῆσον ὀδώδει,
Δαιομένων· ἡ δ' ἔνδον ἀοιδιάουσ' ὀπὶ καλῇ,
Ἶσον ἐπαιχμῶσα, χρυσείῃ κερκίδ' ὑφαίνεν.

Maimuna's figure is very ſtriking, too, when ſhe goes up to read the ſtars.

'Lo! on the terrace of the topmoſt tower
She ſtands; her darkening eyes,
Her fine face raiſed to heaven,
Her white hair flowing like the ſilver ſtreams
That ſtreak the northern night.'

The little epiſode of Laila is one of the moſt pleaſing paſſages in the whole poem; though it is quite in the ſtyle of a fairy tale, and borders on dullineſs throughout. In the midſt of a deſart of ſnow, Thalaba deſcries a diſtant light, and finds, on his approach, that it proceeds from

> 'a little lowly dwelling-place,
> Amid a garden, whoſe delightful air
> Felt mild and fragrant, as the evening wind
> Paſſing in Summer o'er the coffee-groves
> Of Yemen, and its bleſſed bowers of balm.
> A Fount of Fire that in the centre played,
> Rolled all around its wondrous rivulets,
> And fed the garden with the heat of life.'

He enters, and finds a damſel ſleeping, who afterwards informs him that ſhe was placed there by her father, who 'ſaw a danger in her horoſcope,' and hid her in that ſolitude.

> 'he made this dwelling, and the grove,
> And yonder fountain-fire; and every morn
> He viſits me, and takes the ſnow, and moulds
> Women and men, like thee; and breathes into them
> Motion, and life, and ſenſe,.. but to the touch
> They are chilling cold, and ever when night cloſes
> They melt away again, and leave me here
> Alone and ſad.'

She then tells him, that her father had alſo conſtructed a guardian of the garden; which, when he aſks to ſee,

> 'She took him by the hand,
> And through the porch they paſt.
> Over the garden and the grove
> The fountain ſtreams of fire
> Poured a broad light like noon;
> A broad unnatural light,
> That made the Roſe's bluſh of beauty pale,
> And dimmed the rich Geranium's ſcarlet blaze.
> The various verdure of the grove
> Now wore one undiſtinguiſhable grey,
> Chequered with blacker ſhade.'

The Guardian was a brazen figure, graſping a thunderbolt. As ſoon as Thalaba appeared,

> 'The charmed image knew Hodeirah's ſon,
> And hurled the lightning at the dreaded foe.'

His

His ring ſaves him; but the Old Magician comes and tells the Deſtroyer, that he muſt either kill that innocent maid, or die himſelf.

'Around her father's neck
Still Laila's hands were claſped.
Her face was turned to Thalaba,
A broad light floated o'er its marble paleneſs,
As the wind waved the fountain fire.
Her large dilated eye, in horror raiſed,
Watched his every movement.'

Thalaba refuſes to ſtain his hands in the blood of innocence. The Magician, exulting, draws his dagger.

'All was accompliſhed. Laila ruſhed between
To ſave the ſaviour Youth.
She met the blow and ſunk into his arms,
And Azrael from the hands of Thalaba
Received her parting ſoul.'

There is ſome very fine poetry in the two concluding books, from which we would willingly make ſome extracts, if we had not already extended this article to an unuſual length, and given ſuch a ſpecimen of the merits and defects of this performance, as will probably be ſufficient to determine the judgement of our readers.

All the productions of this author, it appears to us, bear very diſtinctly the impreſſion of an amiable mind, a cultivated fancy, and a perverted taſte. His genius ſeems naturally to delight in the repreſentation of domeſtic virtues and pleaſures, and the brilliant delineation of external nature. In both theſe departments, he is frequently very ſucceſsful, but he ſeems to want vigour for the loftier flights of poetry. He is often puerile, diffuſe, and artificial, and ſeems to have but little acquaintance with thoſe chaſter and ſeverer graces, by whom the epic muſe would be moſt ſuitably attended. His faults are always aggravated, and often created, by his partiality for the peculiar manner of that new ſchool of poetry, of which he is a faithful diſciple, and to the glory of which he has ſacrificed greater talents and acquiſitions, than can be boaſted of by any of his aſſociates.

ART. IX. *Diſcourſes on Various Subjects.* By Thomas Rennel, D. D. Maſter of the Temple. Rivington, London.

WE have no modern ſermons in the Engliſh language that can be conſidered as very eloquent. The merits of Blair (by far

the moſt popular writer of ſermons within the laſt century) are plain good ſenſe, a happy application of ſcriptural quotation, and a clear harmonious ſtyle, richly tinged with ſcriptural language. He generally leaves his readers pleaſed with his judgement, and his juſt obſervations on human conduct—without ever riſing ſo high as to touch the great paſſions, or kindle any enthuſiaſm in favour of virtue. For eloquence, we muſt aſcend as high as the days of Barrow and Jeremy Taylor: And even there, while we are delighted with their energy, their copiouſneſs, and their fancy, we are in danger of being ſuffocated by a redundance which abhors all diſcrimination, which compares till it perplexes, and illuſtrates till it confounds.

To the *Oaſes* of Tillotſon, Sherlock, and Atterbury, we muſt wade through many a barren page, in which the weary Chriſtian can deſcry nothing all around him, but a dreary expanſe of trite ſentiments, and languid words.

The great object of modern ſermons, is to hazard nothing: Their characteriſtic is decent debility; which alike guards their authors from ludicrous errors, and precludes them from ſtriking beauties. Every man of ſenſe, in taking up an Engliſh ſermon, expects to find it a tedious eſſay, full of common-place morality; and if the fulfilment of ſuch expectations be meritorious, the clergy have certainly the merit of not diappointing their readers. Yet it is curious to conſider, how a body of men ſo well educated, and ſo magnificently endowed as the Engliſh clergy, ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves ſo little in a ſpecies of compoſition to which it is their peculiar duty, as well as their ordinary habit, to attend. To ſolve this difficulty, it ſhould be remembered, that the eloquence of the Bar and of the Senate force themſelves into notice, power, and wealth—that the penalty which an individual client pays for chooſing a bad advocate, is the loſs of his cauſe—that a prime miniſter muſt infallibly ſuffer in the eſtimation of the public, who neglects to conciliate eloquent men, and truſts the defence of his meaſures to thoſe who have not adequate talents for that purpoſe: whereas, the only evil which accrues from the promotion of a clergyman to the pulpit, which he has no ability to fill as he ought, is the fatigue of the audience, and the diſcredit of that ſpecies of public inſtruction; an evil ſo general, that no individual patron would dream of ſacrificing to it his particular intereſt. The clergy are generally appointed to their ſituations by thoſe who have no intereſt that they ſhould pleaſe the audience before whom they ſpeak; while the very reverſe is the caſe in the eloquence of the Bar, and of Parliament. We by no means would be underſtood to ſay, that the clergy ſhould owe their promotion principally to their eloquence, or that eloquence ever could, conſiſtently with the conſtitution

conſtitution of the Engliſh Church, be made a common cauſe of preferment. In pointing out the total want of connexion between the privilege of preaching, and the power of preaching well, we are giving no opinion as to whether it might, or might not, be remedied; but merely ſtating a fact. Pulpit-diſcourſes have inſenſibly dwindled from ſpeaking to reading; a practice, of itſelf ſufficient to ſtifle every germ of eloquence. It is only by the freſh feelings of the heart, that mankind can be very powerfully affected. What can be more ludicrous, than an orator delivering ſtale indignation, and fervour of a week old; turning over whole pages of violent paſſions, written out in German text; reading the tropes and apoſtrophes into which he is hurried by the ardour of his mind; and ſo affected at a preconcerted line, and page, that he is unable to proceed any farther!

The prejudices of the Engliſh nation have proceeded a good deal from their hatred to the French; and, becauſe that country is the native ſoil of elegance, animation, and grace, a certain patriotic ſolidity, and loyal awkwardneſs, have become the characteriſtics of this: So that an adventurous preacher is afraid of violating the ancient tranquillity of the pulpit; and the audience are commonly apt to conſider the man who tires them leſs than uſual, as a trifler, or a charlatan.

Of Britiſh education, the ſtudy of eloquence makes little or no part. The exterior graces of a ſpeaker are deſpiſed; and debating ſocieties (admirable inſtitutions, under proper regulations) would hardly be tolerated, either at Oxford or Cambridge. It is commonly anſwered to any animadverſions upon the eloquence of the Engliſh pulpit, that a clergyman is to recommend himſelf, not by his eloquence, but by the purity of his life, and the ſoundneſs of his doctrine; an objection good enough, if any connexion could be pointed out between eloquence, hereſy, and diſſipation: But, if it be poſſible for a man to live well, preach well, and teach well, at the ſame time; ſuch objections, reſting only upon a ſuppoſed incompatability of theſe good qualities, are duller than the dullneſs they defend.

The clergy are apt to ſhelter themſelves under the plea, that ſubjects ſo exhauſted are utterly incapable of novelty; and, in the very ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word *novelty*, meaning that which was never ſaid before, at any time, or in any place, this may be true enough, of the firſt principles of morals: But the modes of expanding, illuſtrating, and enforcing a particular theme, are capable of infinite variety; and, if they were not, this might be a very good reaſon for preaching common-place ſermons, but is a very bad one for publiſhing them.

We had great hopes, that Dr Rennel's Sermons would have proved an exception to the character we have given of ſermons

in general; and we have read through his preſent volume, with a conviction, rather that he has miſapplied, than that he wants, talents for pulpit-eloquence. The ſubjects of his ſermons, fourteen in number, are, 1. The conſequences of the vice of gaming: 2. On old age: 3. Benevolence excluſively an evangelical virtue: 4. The ſervices rendered to the Engliſh nation by the Church of England, a motive for liberality to the orphan children of indigent miniſters: 5. On the grounds and regulation of national joy: 6. On the connexion of the duties of loving the brotherhood, fearing God, and honouring the King: 7. On the guilt of blood-thirſtineſs: 8. On atonement: 9. A viſitation ſermon: 10. Great Britain's naval ſtrength, and inſular ſituation, a cauſe of gratitude to Almighty God: 11. Ignorance productive of atheiſm, anarchy, and ſuperſtition: 12. 13. 14. On the ſting of death, the ſtrength of ſin, and the victory over them both by Jeſus Chriſt.

Dr Rennel's firſt ſermon, upon the conſequences of gaming, is admirable for its ſtrength of language, its ſound good ſenſe, and the vigour with which it combats that deteſtable vice. From this ſermon, we ſhall, with great pleaſure, make an extract of ſome length.

'Farther, to this ſordid habit, the Gameſter joins a diſpoſition to FRAUD, and that of the *meaneſt* caſt. To thoſe who ſoberly and fairly appreciate the real nature of human actions, nothing appears more inconſiſtent than that ſocieties of men, who have incorporated themſelves for the expreſs purpoſe of gaming, ſhould diſclaim fraud or indirection, or affect to drive from their aſſemblies thoſe among their aſſociates whoſe crimes would reflect diſgrace on them. Surely this, to a conſiderate mind, is as ſolemn and refined a banter as can well be exhibited: For when we take into view the vaſt latitude allowed by the moſt upright gameſters; when we reflect that, according to their precious caſuiſtry, every advantage may be legitimately taken of the young, the unwary, and the inebriated, which ſuperior coolneſs, ſkill, addreſs, and activity can ſupply, we muſt look upon pretences to honeſty as a moſt ſhameleſs aggravation of their crimes. Even if it were poſſible that, in his own practices, a man might be a FAIR GAMESTER, yet, for the reſult of the extended frauds committed by his fellows, he ſtands deeply accountable to God, his country, and his conſcience. To a ſyſtem neceſſarily implicated with fraud; to aſſociations of men, a large majority of whom ſubſiſt by fraud; to habits calculated to poiſon the ſource and principle of all integrity, he gives efficacy, countenance, and concurrence. Even his *virtues* he ſuffers to be ſubſidiary to the cauſe of vice. He ſees, with calmneſs, depredation committed daily and hourly in his company, perhaps under his very roof. Yet men of this deſcription declaim (ſo deſperately deceitful is the heart of man) againſt the very knaves they cheriſh and protect, and whom, perhaps, with ſome poor ſophiſtical refuge for a worn-out conſcience,

conſcience, they even imitate. To ſuch, let the Scripture ſpeak with emphatical deciſion—"*When thou ſaweſt a thief, then thou conſenteds't with him.*"

The reader will eaſily obſerve, in this quotation, a command of language, and a power of ſtyle, very ſuperior to what is met with in the great maſs of ſermons. We ſhall make one more extract.

'But in addition to fraud, and all its train of crimes, propenſities and habits of a very different complexion enter into the compoſition of a Gameſter: a moſt ungovernable FEROCITY OF DISPOSITION, however for a time diſguiſed and latent, is invariably the reſult of his ſyſtem of conduct. Jealouſy, rage, and revenge, exiſt among gameſters in their worſt and moſt frantic exceſſes, and end frequently in conſequences of the moſt atrocious violence and outrage. By perpetual agitation, the malignant paſſions ſpurn and overwhelm every boundary which diſcretion and conſcience can oppoſe. From what ſource are we to trace a very large number of thoſe murders, ſanctioned or palliated indeed by cuſtom, but which ſtand at the tribunal of God preciſely upon the ſame grounds with every other ſpecies of murder?—From the gaming table, from the nocturnal receptacles of diſtraction and frenzy, the Duelliſt ruſhes with his hand lifted up againſt his brother's life!—Thoſe who are as yet on the threſhold of theſe habits, ſhould be warned, that however calm their *natural* temperament, however meek and placable their diſpoſition, yet that, by the events which every moment ariſe, they ſtand expoſed to the ungovernable fury of themſelves and others. In the midſt of fraud, protected by menace on the one hand, and, on the other, of deſpair; irritated by a recollection of the meanneſs of the artifices, and the baſeneſs of the hands by which utter and remedileſs ruin has been inflicted; in the midſt of theſe feelings of horror and diſtraction, it is, that the voice of brethrens blood "*crieth unto God from the ground*"—"*and now thou are curſed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.*" Not only THOU who actually ſheddeſt that blood, but THOU who art the artificer of death—thou who adminiſtereſt incentives to theſe habits—who diſſeminateſt the practice of them—improveſt the ſkill in them—ſharpeneſt the propenſity to them—at THY hands will it be required, ſurely, at the tribunal of God in the next world, and perhaps, in moſt inſtances, in his diſtributive and awful diſpenſations towards thee and thine here on earth.'

Having paid this tribute of praiſe to Dr Rennel's firſt ſermon, we are ſorry ſo ſoon to change our eulogium into cenſure, and to blame him for having ſelected for publication, ſo many ſermons touching directly and indirectly upon the French Revolution. We confeſs ourſelves long ſince wearied with this kind of diſcourſes, beſpattered with blood and brains, and ringing eternal changes upon atheiſm, cannibaliſm, and apoſtaſy. Upon the enormities of the French Revolution, there can be

but one opinion; but the ſubject is not fit for the pulpit. The public are diſguſted with it to ſatiety; and we can never help remembering, that this politico-orthodox rage in the mouth of a preacher, may be profitable, as well as ſincere. Upon ſuch ſubjects as the murder of the Queen of France, and the great events of theſe days, it is not poſſible to endure the draggling and the daubing of ſuch a ponderous limner as Dr Rennel, after the ethereal touches of Mr Burke. In events ſo truly horrid in themſelves, the field is ſo eaſy for a declaimer, that we ſet little value upon ſuch declamation; and the mind, on ſuch occaſions, ſo eaſily outruns ordinary deſcription, that we are apt to feel more, before a mediocre oration begins, than it ever aims at inſpiring.

We are ſurpriſed that Dr Rennel, from among the great number of ſubjects which he muſt have diſcuſſed in the pulpit, (the intereſt in which muſt be permanent and univerſal), ſhould have publiſhed ſuch an empty and frivolous ſermon as that upon the victory of Lord Nelſon; a ſermon good enough for the garrulity of joy, when the phraſes, and exultation of the Porcupine, or the True Briton, may paſs for eloquence or ſenſe; but utterly unworthy of the works of a man who aims at a place among the great teachers of morality and religion.

Dr Rennel is apt to put on the appearance of a holy bully, an evangelical ſwaggerer, as if he could carry his point againſt infidelity by big words and ſtrong abuſe, and kick and cuff men into Chriſtians. It is a very eaſy thing to talk about the ſhallow impoſtures, and the ſilly ignorant ſophiſms of Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Condorcet, D'Alembert, and Volney, and to ſay that Hume is not worth anſwering. This affectation of contempt will not do. While theſe pernicious writers have power to allure from the Church great numbers of proſelytes, it is better to ſtudy them diligently, and to reply to them ſatisfactorily, than to veil indolence, want of power, or want of induſtry, by a pretended contempt; which may leave infidels and wavering Chriſtians to ſuppoſe that ſuch writers are abuſed, becauſe they are feared; and not anſwered, becauſe they are unanſwerable. While every body was abuſing and deſpiſing Mr Godwin, and while Mr Godwin was, among a certain deſcription of underſtandings, increaſing every day in popularity, Mr Malthus took the trouble of refuting him; and we hear no more of Mr Godwin. We recommend this example to the conſideration of Dr Rennel, who ſeems to think it more uſeful, and more pleaſant, to rail than to fight.

After the world has returned to its ſober ſenſes upon the merits of the ancient philoſophy, it is amuſing enough to ſee a few *bad heads* bawling for the reſtoration of exploded errors, and paſt infatuation. We have ſome dozen of phethoric phraſes about Ariſtotle,

Ariſtotle, who is, in the eſtimation of the Doctor, *et rex et ſutor bonus*, and every thing elſe; and to the neglect of whoſe works, he ſeems to attribute every moral and phyſical evil under which the world has groaned for the laſt century. Dr Rennel's admiration of the ancients is ſo great, that he conſiders the works of Homer to be the region and depoſitary of natural law and natural religion (p. 318). Now, if by natural religion is meant the will of God collected from his works, and the neceſſity man is under of obeying it; it is rather extraordinary that Homer ſhould be ſo good a natural theologian, when the divinities he has painted are certainly a more drunken, quarrelſome, adulterous, intriguing, laſcivious ſet of beings, than are to be met with in the moſt profligate Court in Europe. There is, every now and then, ſome plain, coarſe morality in Homer: But the moſt bloody revenge, and the moſt ſavage cruelty in warfare, the raviſhing of women, and the ſale of men, &c. &c. &c. are circumſtances which the old bard ſeems to relate as the ordinary events of his times, without ever dreaming that there could be much harm in them; and if it be urged that Homer took his ideas of right and wrong from a barbarous age, this is juſt ſaying, in other words, that Homer had very imperfect ideas of natural law.

Having exhauſted all his powers of eulogium upon the times that are gone, Dr Rennel indemnifies himſelf by the very novel practice of declaiming againſt the preſent age. It is an *evil age*—an *adulterous age*—an *ignorant age*—an *apoſtate age*—and a *foppiſh age*. Of the propriety of the laſt epithet, our readers may perhaps be more convinced, by calling to mind a claſs of fops not uſually deſignated by that epithet—men cloathed in profound black, with large canes and ſtrange amorphous hats—of big ſpeech, and imperative preſence—talkers about Plato—great affecters of ſenility—deſpiſers of women, and all the graces of life—fierce foes to common ſenſe—abuſive of the living, and approving no one who has not been dead for at leaſt a century. Such fops, as vain, and as ſhallow as their fraternity in Bond-ſtreet, differ from them only as Gorgonius differed from Rufillus.

In the ninth Diſcourſe, (p. 226.), we read of St Paul, that he had 'an heroic zeal, directed, rather than bounded, by the niceſt diſcretion—a conſcious and commanding dignity, ſoftened by the meekeſt and moſt profound humility.' This is intended for a fine piece of writing; but it is without meaning: for, if words have any limits, it is a *contradiction in terms*, to ſay, of the *ſame* perſon, at the *ſame* time, that he is nicely diſcreet, and heroically zealous; or that he is profoundly humble, and imperatively dignified: and if Dr Rennel means, that St Paul diſplayed theſe qualities at different times, then could not any one of them direct or ſoften the other.

Sermons

Sermons are ſo ſeldom examined with any conſiderable degree of critical vigilance, that we are apt to diſcover in them ſometimes a great laxity of aſſertion: ſuch as the following—

'Labour to be undergone, afflictions to be borne, contradictions to be endured, danger to be braved, intereſt to be deſpiſed in the beſt and moſt flouriſhing ages of the Church, are the perpetual badges of far the greater part of thoſe who take up their croſs and follow Chriſt.'

This paſſage, at firſt, ſtruck us to be untrue; and we could not immediately recollect the afflictions Dr Rennel alluded to, till it occurred to us, that he muſt undoubtedly mean the eight hundred and fifty actions which, in the courſe of eighteen months, have been brought againſt the clergy for non-reſidence.

Upon the danger to be apprehended from Roman Catholics in this country, Dr Rennel is laughable. We ſhould as ſoon dream, that the wars of York and Lancaſter would break out afreſh, as that the Proteſtant religion in England has any thing to apprehend from the machinations of Catholics. To ſuch a ſcheme as *that* of Catholic emancipation, which has for its object to reſtore their natural rights to three or four millions of men, and to allay the fury of religious hatred, Dr Rennel is, as might be expected, a very ſtrenuous antagoniſt. Time, which lifts up the veil of political myſtery, will inform us if the * Doctor has taken that ſide of the queſtion which may be as lucrative to himſelf, as it is inimical to human happineſs, and repugnant to enlightened policy.

Of Dr Rennel's talents as a reaſoner, we certainly have formed no very high opinion. Unleſs dogmatical aſſertion, and the practice (but too common among theological writers) of taking the thing to be proved, for part of the proof, can be conſidered as evidence of a logical underſtanding, the ſpecimens of argument Dr Rennel has afforded us are very inſignificant. For putting obvious truths into vehement language; for expanding and adorning moral inſtruction; this gentleman certainly poſſeſſes conſiderable talents: and if he will moderate his inſolence, ſteer clear of theological metaphyſics, and conſider rather thoſe great laws of Chriſtian practice, which muſt intereſt mankind through all ages, than the petty queſtions which are important to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, he may live beyond his own days, and become a ſtar of the third or fourth magnitude in the Engliſh Church.

ART.

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* It is not meant by this paſſage, to queſtion the good faith of Dr Rennel's opinions upon the ſubject of Catholic emancipation, but merely to expreſs ſome curioſity as to the rewards which await thoſe eccleſiaſtics, by whoſe determined oppoſition that emancipation *is ſaid* to have been prevented or (rather, we hope) retarded.

ART. X. *Voyage dans les Departemens de la France*, par une Société d'Artiſtes et Gens de Lettres; enrichi de tableaux geographiques, & d'eſtampes. 9 tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1792 à 1801.

A STATISTICAL Survey of France, in its modern diviſions, would be a work eminently calculated to attract, and to repay, the attention of the politician, and of the public at large. The publication before us, though it comprehend a part of the ſubjects now generally denominated Statiſtics, yet embraces ſo many other topics, as to furniſh but a very ſuperficial view of thoſe which we conſider as the moſt important.

In the year 1792, Citizen La Vallée, formerly an officer in the army, accompanied by the Meſſieurs Brion, began their journey through the different departments. Their work appeared in numbers, one of which was publiſhed every month, comprehending the account of one department, accompanied by a ſmall map, with deſigns of the principal towns and moſt ſtriking ſcenery. In this manner they have viſited and deſcribed, ſucceſſively, all the departments which compoſe the kingdom of France; to which are added, Savoy, Geneva, and Corſica—in ſhort, all which now conſtitute the republic, excepting the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the countries on the Rhine. The deſigns are entitled to little praiſe, and the maps are by no means executed with neatneſs, by the Meſſrs Brion.

M. La Vallée, to whom the compoſition of the work was entruſted, is the author of a variety of publications, none of which, we believe, have attained much celebrity. He lays claim, however, to the admiration of future ages; and, with a modeſty almoſt peculiar to his countrymen, profeſſes his confidence, that by poſterity he will be claſſed as a philoſopher of no mean diſtinction.

After deſcribing the towns and the general appearance of the country through which he travels, M. La Vallée details the principal events of which they were the theatre, from the earlieſt authentic records to the downfall of the monarchy; and adds a biographical account of the moſt conſpicuous characters which they produced, or who reſided in them. By theſe means, the hiſtorical anecdotes occupy above three fourths of the whole work, and leave little ſpace for more material information, had the author been qualified to furniſh it, which we are rather diſpoſed to doubt.

Yet this plan would have had its attractions, if impartiality had guided the pen of the author: But to this eſſential qualification of an hiſtorian, M. La Vallée has the candour not even to pretend; and confeſſes, that his indignation at tyranny, and hatred for ſuperſtition, prevents him from viewing, diſpaſſionately, the actions of kings and prieſts. The manifeſt object of the publication,

cation, indeed, is to render odious to the French nation, every thing which had been held ſacred by their anceſtors; and unfortunately the civil wars, which ſo long devaſtated that country, with the profound ignorance of rational religion, which, during the middle ages, prevailed over all Europe, might have furniſhed our author with very ample materials for ſarcaſm, without having recourſe to miſrepreſentation. But, merely to confirm opinions already prevalent, would have been an undertaking unworthy the zeal of M. La Vallée, in the cauſe of liberty. That Louis XI. and Charles IX. were tyrants, is a truth which requires no corroboration. It is the mild benevolence of Louis XII. the munificence of Francis I. the valour and magnanimity of Henry IV. and the dazzling ſplendour of Louis XIV. which are dangerous, and which cannot be rendered unpopular, but by talents of a ſuperior deſcription. To traduce theſe princes, conſequently, is an object never loſt ſight of in the courſe of the performance.

A number of the anecdotes are amuſing, and well related; the ſuperſtitious practices of the Catholic clergy, their groteſque proceſſions, and artful devices to enrich the Church at the expence of the laity, are ridiculed with ſome humour: but the too faithful deſcription of the horrors perpetrated during the civil and religious wars, ſtamps a character of atrocity on the work, which deſtroys the amuſement derived from ſcenes merely ridiculous. We were particularly ſtruck with the ſingular ſenſibility M. La Vallée never fails to diſcover: He ſeldom approaches a city without burſting into tears, at the recollection of the oppreſſions it underwent under the feudal ſyſtem; and it is remarkable, that his philanthropy never blazes ſo violently, as during the government of Robeſpierre. At that period he never ſpares his readers a ſingle barbarity committed during the old regime; and only forgets to mention, that the ſcenes paſſing before his eyes, exceeded in horror all that the hiſtory of France could furniſh during the lapſe of ſo many ages.

This publication affords a ſingular proof of the prodigious depreciation of aſſignats. One number originally coſt three livres, from this it gradually roſe to 120 livres; and when the aſſignats were totally decried, the price was fixed to two livres, in money.

Art. XI. *The General Diffuſion of Knowledge, one great Cauſe of the Proſperity of North Britain.* With an Appendix, containing a Propoſal for Improving the preſent Mode of Teaching the Greek Language. By Alexander Chriſtiſon, one of the Maſters of the High School of Edinburgh, and F. R. S. Edin. 1802.

WE have here ſome judicious obſervations, and ſome very melancholy facts, on a moſt intereſting ſubject; the diffuſion

fuſion of knowledge among the lower oders of Scotland, by the parochial ſeminaries of education. It is indeed a deep ſtain on the character of the preſent age, that, after that inſtitution had been proved, by the experience of a whole century, to have a moſt beneficial influence upon the intelligence, the induſtry, and the morals of our people, it ſhould have been ſuffered to ſink into inefficiency, either from negligence, from a beggarly ſpirit of œconomy, or from motives of a ſtill more illiberal deſcription. Of the progreſs of this evil, we have long been aſhamed; but we were not aware that its extent was already ſo great as it is diſcribed by the author of this tract, whoſe ſtatements appear to have been derived from very accurate inquiries.

'The wretched income of ſome eſtabliſhed teachers, particularly pariſh-ſchoolmaſters, is becoming every day worſe. Many of them do not earn half ſo much as a journeyman-maſon. The unhappy old men who are in the profeſſion, muſt continue in it, as they are too old to learn any other; but many of them, unleſs the income be rectified, will have no ſucceſſors. This event has taken place already. There are many pariſh-ſchools vacant; becauſe no man will accept of them with ſo ſmall a reward for ſevere labour.'

'Accounts have been received from 427 pariſhes. The average income, for each ſchoolmaſter, ſeems to be between 23l. and 24l. a-year. The amount of the income of the ſchoolmaſter, in each of the 427 pariſhes, was taken from his own affidavit, ſworn before a juſtice of the peace. There is good reaſon to think, that, when the liſt ſhall be completed for the whole of North Britain, the average will be ſtill lower. Of the 427 pariſhes, the income of ſix is leſs than 10l. a-year each. One is 6l. 18s. 10d. Several of the ſchoolmaſters ſay, that they could not live without the aid of their relations. A journeyman-maſon can earn 30l. a-year.'

The arguments, on which Mr Chriſtiſon founds the neceſſity of directing the attention of the Legiſlature to this public calamity, are not diſtinguiſhed by novelty, becauſe the topic has been long ſince exhauſted, to the ſatisfaction of all enlightened men. He has ſometimes impaired the force of his obſervations, by an injudicious ambition of elegance; but in the following paſſage, there is a truth and warmth of deſcription, which muſt have been caught from immediate feelings, and which more correct compoſition does not always preſerve.

'I do not think there is any thing more intereſting on this globe, than a boy of genius, in the lower rank of life, generous, elevated, virtuous; reſiſting the allurements of his play-fellows, retiring to his books and meditations; with a ſcanty education, no director of his ſtudies, few books, and thoſe frequently ill-choſen; overlooked by the rich, worn out by toil, and ſometimes diſſuaded from his purſuits by

a weak adviſer; fifting, and doubting, and comparing; puzzled with a difficult paſſage in ſome author one day, and enlightened the next; hoping that he may, in conſequence of his acquiſitions, reach the higheſt degree of happineſs which a man of virtue can attain in *this* world, become uſeful to his country, and repay his parents and relations, for all their toils, and care, and tenderneſs.'

We have underſtood from public report, that a bill is to be introduced next Seſſion of Parliament, to adjuſt the ſalaries of parochial ſchoolmaſters. As ſeveral attemps of the kind have already proved abortive, and were indeed proſecuted with a langour which ſcarcely merited ſucceſs, we ſhall not ſubject *ourſelves* to the chance of another diſappointment, by indulging a very ſanguine expectation of the meaſure, or beſtowing *any* portion of praiſe by anticipation. If ſuch a propoſal ſhall be brought forward, we can only wiſh, that it may be proſecuted in earneſt, and with ſimplicity; and that, all idea being rejected either of artificial modification or of miſchievous controul, the means of education may be opened with liberality to the lower orders, and the national inſtitution fixed on a permanent and reſpectable footing.

In the appendix to this pamphlet, Mr Chriſtiſon propoſes, that the ſtudy of the Greek language ſhould be united with that of Latin, in the courſe of education which boys receive at the High School of Edinburgh. We have not the leaſt doubt that this is a practicable improvement, and would greatly enhance the utility of that reſpectable ſeminary. There are few literary men in Scotland, who do not come to regret that unclaſſical negligence, which almoſt excludes Greek literature from our preſent ſyſtem of education. At a mature period of life, we are at length forced to ſuſpend ſeverer and more important ſtudies, in order to acquire, very imperfectly, what might have been ſecured, with eaſe, at an earlier age.

Art. XII. *Reflections at the Concluſion of the War:* Being a Sequel to Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society at the Cloſe of the Eighteenth Century. The Third Edition, with Additions. By John Bowles, Eſq.

IF this peace be, as Mr Bowles aſſerts, the death-warrant of the liberty and power of Great Britain, we will venture to aſſert, that it is alſo the death-warrant of Mr Bowles's literary reputation; and that the people of this iſland, if they verify his predictions, and ceaſe to read his books, whatever they may loſe in political greatneſs, will evince no ſmall improvement in critical acumen. There is a political, as well as a bodily hypochondriaſis;

chondriaſis; and there are empirics always on the watch to make their prey, either of the one, or of the other. Dr Solomon, Dr Brodum, and Mr Bowles, have all commanded their ſhare of the public attention; but the two former gentlemen continue to flouriſh with undiminiſhed ſplendour; while the patients of the latter are faſt dwindling away, and his drugs falling into diſuſe and contempt.

The truth is, if Mr Bowles had begun his literary career at a period when ſuperior diſcrimination, and profound thought, not vulgar violence, and the eternal repetition of rabble-rouſing words, were neceſſary to literary reputation, he would never have emerged from that obſcurity to which he will ſoon return. The intemperate paſſions of the public, not his own talents, have given him ſome temporary reputation; and now, when men hope and fear with leſs eagerneſs than they have been lately accuſtomed to do, Mr Bowles will be compelled to deſcend from that moderate eminence, where no man of real genius would ever have condeſcended to remain.

The pamphlet is written in the genuine ſpirit of the Windham and Burke ſchool; though Mr Bowles cannot be called a ſervile copyiſt of either of theſe gentlemen, as he has rejected the logic of the one, and the eloquence of the other, and imitated them only in their headſtrong violence, and exaggerated abuſe. There are ſome men who continue to aſtoniſh and pleaſe the world, even in the ſupport of a bad cauſe: They are mighty in their fallacies, and beautiful in their errors. Mr Bowles ſees only one half of the precedent; and thinks, in order to be famous, that he has nothing to do but to be in the wrong.

War, eternal war, till the wrongs of Europe are avenged, and the Bourbons reſtored, is the maſter-principle of Mr Bowles's political opinions, and the object for which he declaims through the whole of the preſent pamphlet.

The firſt apprehenſions which Mr Bowles ſeems to entertain, are of the boundleſs ambition and perfidious character of the Firſt Conſul, and of that military deſpotiſm he has eſtabliſhed, which is not only impelled by the love of conqueſt, but intereſted, for its own preſervation, to deſire the overthrow of other ſtates. Yet the author informs us, immediately after, that the life of Bonaparte is expoſed to more dangers than that of any other individual in Europe, who is not actually in the laſt ſtage of an incurable diſeaſe; and that his death, whenever it happens, muſt involve the diſſolution of that machine of government, of which he muſt be conſidered not only as the ſole director, but the main ſpring. Confuſion of thought, we are told, is one of the trueſt indications of terror; and

and the panic of this alarmiſt is ſo very great, that he cannot liſten to the conſolation which he himſelf affords: for it appears, upon ſumming up theſe perils, that we are in the utmoſt danger of being deſtroyed by a deſpot, whoſe ſyſtem of government, as dreadful as himſelf, cannot ſurvive him, and who, in all human probability, will be ſhot or hanged, before he can execute any one of his projects againſt us.

We have a good deal of flouriſhing, in the beginning of the pamphlet, about the effect of the moral ſenſe upon the ſtability of governments; that is, as Mr Bowles explains it, the power which all old governments derive, from the opinion entertained by the people of the juſtice of their rights. If this ſenſe of ancient right be (as is here confidently aſſerted) ſtrong enough ultimately to reſtore the Bourbons, why are we to fight for that which will be done without any fighting at all? And, if it be ſtrong enough to reſtore, why was it weak enough to render reſtoration neceſſary?

To notice every ſingular train of reaſoning into which Mr Bowles falls, is not poſſible; and, in the copious choice of evils, we ſhall, from feelings of mercy, take the leaſt.

It muſt not be forgotten, he obſerves, that 'thoſe rights of government, which, becauſe they are ancient, are recogniſed by the moral ſenſe as lawful, are the only ones which are compatible with civil liberty.' So that all queſtions of right and wrong, between the governors and the governed, are determinable by chronology alone. Every political inſtitution is favourable to liberty, not according to its ſpirit, but in proportion to the antiquity of its date; and the ſlaves of Great Britain are groaning under the trial by jury, while the free men of Aſia exult in the bold privilege tranſmitted to them by their fathers, of being trampled to death by elephants.

In the 8th page, Mr Bowles thinks that France, if ſhe remains without a king, will conquer all Europe; and, in the 19th page, that ſhe will be an object of Divine vengeance till ſhe takes one. In the ſame page, all the miſeries of France are ſtated to be a judgement of Heaven for their cruelty to the King; and, in the 33d page, they are diſcovered to proceed from the perfidy of the ſame king to this country in the American conteſt. So that certain misfortunes proceed from the maltreatment of a perſon, who had himſelf occaſioned theſe identical misfortunes before he was maltreated; and while Providence is compelling the French, by every ſpecies of affliction, to reſume monarchial government, they are to acquire ſuch extraordinary vigour, from not acting as Providence would wiſh, that they are to trample on every nation which co-operates with the Divine intention.

In

In the 60th page, Mr Bowles explains what is meant by Jacobiniſm; and, as a concluding proof of the juſtice with which the character is drawn, triumphantly quotes the caſe of a certain R. Mountain, who was tried for damning all kings and all governments upon earth; for, adds R. Mountain, 'I am a Jacobin.' Nobody can more thoroughly deteſt and deſpiſe that reſtleſs ſpirit of political innovation, which, we ſuppoſe, is meant by the name of Jacobiniſm, than we ourſelves do; but we were highly amuſed with this proof, *ab ebriis ſutoribus*, of the proſtration of Europe, the laſt hour of human felicity, the perdition of man, diſcovered in the crapulous eructations of a drunken cobler.

This ſpecies of evidence might certainly have eſcaped a common obſerver. But this is not all; there are other proofs of treaſon and ſedition, equally remote, ſagacious, and profound. Many good ſubjects are not very much pleaſed with the idea of the Whig Club dining together; but Mr Bowles has the merit of firſt calling the public attention to the alarming practice of ſinging after dinner at theſe political meetings. He ſpeaks with a proper horror of tavern-dinners.

'—where conviviality is made a ſtimulus to diſaffection—where wine ſerves only to inflame diſloyalty—where toaſts are converted into a vehicle of ſedition—and where the powers of harmony are called forth in the cauſe of Diſcord, by thoſe hireling fingers, who are eqnally ready to invoke the divine favour on the head of their King, or to ſtrain their venal throats, in chaunting the triumphs of his bittereſt enemies.'

All complaint is futile, which is not followed up by appropriate remedies. If Parliament, or Catarrh, do not ſave us, Dignum and Sedgwick will quaver away the King, ſhake down the Houſe of Lords, and warble us into all the horrors of republican government. When, in addition to theſe dangers, we reflect, alſo, upon thoſe with which our national happineſs is menaced, by the preſent thinneſs of ladies petticoats (p. 78.), temerity may hope our ſalvation, but how can reaſon promiſe it?

One ſolitary gleam of comfort, indeed, beams upon us in reading the ſolemn devotion of this modern Curtius to the cauſe of his King and country—

'My attachment to the Britiſh monarchy, and to the reigning family, is rooted in my "heart's core."—My anxiety for the Britiſh throne, pending the dangers to which, in common with every other throne, it has lately been expoſed, has embittered my choiceſt comforts. And I moſt ſolemnly vow, before Almighty God, to devote myſelf, to the end of my days, to the maintenance of that throne.'

Whether this patriotiſm be original, or whether it be copied from the Upholſterer in Foote's farces, who ſits up whole nights watching over the Britiſh conſtitution, we ſhall not ſtop to inquire; becauſe, when the practical effect of ſentiments is good, we would not diminiſh their merits, by inveſtigating their origin. We ſeriouſly commend in Mr Bowles, this future dedication of his life to the ſervice of his King and country; and conſider it as a virtual promiſe that he will write no more in their defence. No wiſe or good man has ever thought of either, but with admiration and reſpect. That they ſhould be expoſed to that ridicule, by the forward imbecillity of friendſhip, from which they appear to be protected by intrinſic worth, is ſo painful a conſideration, that the very thought of it, we are perſuaded, will induce Mr Bowles to deſiſt from writing on political ſubjects.

ART. XIII. *Adreſſe aux Vrais Hommes de bien, à ceux qui gouvernent, comme à ceux qui ſont Gouvernés.* Par J. Herrenſchwand. Londres. 8vo.

'I Sow theſe ſeeds of truth,' ſays the author of this publication in his preface, 'in the beginning of a new century; and they will bear fruit when it pleaſes Providence.' It is impoſſible to diſpute this: But we flatter ourſelves, that the ſeed which M. Herrenſchwand has ſown, may long be permitted to lie among the rocks and dry places upon which he ſeems conſcious that it has fallen.

The truths he has ſet himſelf to demonſtrate, are the three following: 1. 'That in the general deſign of the univerſe,' (we tranſlate literally his own inimitable expreſſions), 'the race of man was deſtined to develope the earth in all its different capabilities, and, at the ſame time, to develope in itſelf all the faculties with the germs of which it had been provided by nature: 2. That there ought to have been no rulers in the world, but for the purpoſe of promoting this double developement: and, 3. That all the ſovereigns that have ever exiſted, ſo far from fulfilling this auguſt deſtination, have never once failed, either through error or depravity, to be the ſcourges of mankind, and the *ſole* authors of the miſeries that have afflicted the world.'

From this propoſition of the ſubject, we will confeſs, we did not know very well what to expect, and had read, indeed, very nearly to the end of the book, before we could attain any clear conception of the author's deſign in compoſing it. This indocility, which we do not pretend to diſſemble, was conſiderably

aſſiſted

aſſiſted by the novelty of the jargon in which the work is compoſed, and the ſingular tardineſs with which the parts of the arguments are made to follow one another. Theſe difficulties, however, we have at length ſurmounted, or imagine, at leaſt, that we have ſurmounted, and are enabled to inform our readers, that this addreſs contains the author's view of the natural progreſs of human ſociety to opulence and refinement, and his own infallible recipe for maintaining it in this progreſs with uninterrupted proſperity for ever.

There are few works, upon the merits of which it is ſo eaſy to decide, as this which is now before us. Whatever is juſt or true in it, has been already laid before the public in a much more intelligible manner by many preceding writers; whatever is new and original, is in the higheſt degree extravagant and abſurd. Of the firſt ſort is all that ſpeculation which traces man's inventions to his neceſſities, and ſhews the dependence of his improvement on his wants; and all the reaſoning that relates to the variations of price, and the natural cauſes by which production and conſumption are adapted to each other: Of the latter, are moſt of the author's applications of theſe ſound principles, and, in a peculiar manner, that great diſcovery, for the ſake of which the whole book ſeems to have been written, which reveals the inſeparable connexion between the proſperity of a people and the profuſe expenditure of their rulers.

It would be altogether intolerable to purſue this author through the melancholy mazes of his argument, in the firſt half of the volume. The ſubſtance of it is, that ſocieties ſubſiſting by hunting or paſturage, 'are *monſters* that diſhonour man and the earth, and are proſcribed by the general deſign of the univerſe:' That every ſociety, which is not monſtrous, muſt be compoſed of huſbandmen, manufacturers, and independent conſumers: That the more men work, the more ſources of enjoyment they will poſſeſs; and that there is no way to keep their genius and their induſtry conſtantly upon the increaſe, but to provide for a conſtant increaſe of ready money in the hands of the independent conſumers. He then croſſes himſelf in devout aſtoniſhment, that this great diſcovery ſhould have been reſerved for J. Herrenſchwand; and that, in the innumerable crowd of thoſe who have hitherto guided the earth by their counſels, no one ſhould have been found, who was capable of reducing the ſcience of human proſperity to this ſimple problem. We cannot deny ourſelves the pleaſure of tranſcribing the ſucceeding paragraph, as it ſtands in the original before us: It contains a ſuccinct view of the author's whole doctrine; and we are per-

ſuaded, that no one can read it through, without acknowledging that it is impoſſible for any tranſlation to do it juſtice.

'Car falloit-il' (ſays our modeſt author) 'une ſi grande pénétration pour juger que nul peuple ne pourroit multiplier ſon bien-être phyſique dans une progreſſion non-interrompue, ſans la multiplication non interrompue du travail de ſes agriculteurs et de ſes manufacturiers; que ſes agriculteurs et ſes manufacturiers ne pourroient multiplier leur travail dans une progreſſion non-interrompue, ſans la multiplication non-interrompue de la conſommation de ſes conſommateurs indépendans; et que ſes conſommateurs indépendans ne pourroient multiplier leur conſommation dans une progreſſion non-interrompue, ſans la multiplication non-interrompue des métaux précieux en monnoies dans leurs mains?'

Such is the ſtyle we have to encounter in every page. But the matter begins to be too intereſting to be neglected.

The whole wiſdom of the politician being thus reduced to the determination of a ſingle problem, viz. By what means is it poſſible to multiply to infinity the current money of the conſumer? the author ſets himſelf about the reſolution of it, with ſuitable formality and preciſion. Before diſcloſing his grand ſecret, indeed, he is miſchievous enough to trifle with our impatience, through fifty pages of dreadful preparation, and takes an infinite deal of pains to enumerate the various ſources, from which it is certain that this ſupply *cannot* be derived: He demonſtrates to our perfect ſatisfaction, that this inexhauſtible and ſwelling ſtream of riches cannot poſſibly be ſupplied by the labours of the huſbandman—nor by thoſe of the merchant or manufacturer,—nor, finally, by the exertions of the independent conſumer himſelf. At this ſtage of the argument, we naturally feel our hearts ſink in deſpair within us, and are ready to give up all for loſt: for our infallible author had already defined a legitimate ſociety, to be that which conſiſted of huſbandmen, manufacturers, and independent conſumers; and if all of theſe together could not help the latter to a conſtantly increaſing ſupply of money, it ſeemed inevitable, that the 'deſigns of the univerſe' muſt be fruſtrated, and difficult to know where elſe to look for aſſiſtance. In the midſt of this perplexity, however, our author comes moſt opportunely to our relief, with a body of choſen auxiliaries, whom he introduces by the name of '*conſommateurs independans par excellence*;' and diſpels all our fears in a moment, by aſſuring us, that theſe gentlemen have it in their power to put as much coined money in the pockets of the other independent conſumers, as the glory of the univerſe may require. He does not condeſcend, at this time, to give any ſort of explanation of the grounds of this aſſurance; but parades his *conſommateurs independans par excellence*, in triumph, through many

ny weary pages; and expatiates, with much complacency, upon the felicity and importance of the invention. After aſſerting, again and again, that they alone have the power of increaſing their expenditure at pleaſure, and repeating, ten times over, all that had been ſaid from the beginning of the book, about *conſumption*, and *developement*, and *phyſical good*, and *the univerſe*, he concludes the chapter in the following words, which we beg leave to lay before our readers in the original, from the ſame inability to furniſh them with an adequate tranſlation, which was the apology for a former quotation.

'Car poſez dans un peuple l'augmentation de la conſommation de ſes conſommateurs indépendans par excellence, et vous poſerez auſſi néceſſairement l'augmentation de ſa conſommation générale; poſez l'augmentation de ſa conſommation générale, et vous poſerez auſſi neceſſairement l'augmentation du travail de ſes agriculteurs et de ſes manufacturiers; poſez l'augmentation du travail de ſes agriculteurs et de ſes manufacturiers, et vous poſerez auſſi néceſſairement l'augmentation des revenus annuels de ſes conſommateurs indépendans ordinaires; enfin poſez l'augmentation des revenus annuels de ſes conſommateurs indépendans ordinaires, et vous poſerez auſſi néceſſairement l'augmentation de ſa conſommation générale, et par conſéquent de ſa proſpérité.

'Il eſt donc de toute évidence, que la conſommation des conſommateurs indépendans par excellence eſt le principe actif et le reſſort principal du mécaniſme de l'économie politique de la terre, tel que l'univers l'a lui-même arrêté dans ſon deſſein général. Ainſi, gouverner la terre, dans les vues de l'univers, et la combler de gloire et de bonheur, n'a dû définitivement exiger rien de plus, que de ſavoir ſeulement bien ménager dans chaque peuple la conſommation des conſommateurs indépendans par excellence; puiſque c'eſt de cette conſommation ſeule qu'a dû dépendre le ſort entier des peuples.'

All this time the reader is left to gueſs what manner of perſons theſe *conſommateurs par excellence* may be, or by what means they are to be enabled to work ſo many wonders. It is not till after he has groped his way through thirty more pages of chaotic diſſertation, that he is let into the firſt of theſe ſecrets, and given to underſtand, that the *conſommateurs par excellence* in every ſociety, are the *governors* in that ſociety; and that for this good reaſon, that truly they require an infinitude of articles of manufacture, both for their own accommodation, and for the public ſervice; and that their conſumption being unlimited, they are therefore perfectly qualified to develope the proſperity of any nation, by occaſioning a conſtant increaſe of its induſtry and production!

The grand ſecret, then, for inſuring the happineſs of a people, is, for its rulers to ſpend as much as poſſible; and the *one* duty which the *univerſe* has impoſed on a ſovereign is, to take care

that his expenditure increaſes annually, with an uninterrupted progreſſion! The governors of the world, we believe, will make no violent oppoſition to this doctrine; and if this be the rule of their duty, we cannot think that they have, in fact, very generally deſerved all that reprobation which M. Herrenſchwand has beſtowed upon them, for their ignorance or neglect of it.

After having told us who theſe *conſommateurs par excellence* are, our author has ſtill to inform us of the means by which they are enabled, not only to increaſe their own expenditure to infinitude, but alſo to increaſe, in the ſame proportion, the quantity of money in the pockets of all the other independent conſumers in the community. To diſcloſe this ſecret, ſeems, indeed, to have been the great object of the book; but it is of too much importance to be diſcloſed precipitately; and we have ſtill to render ourſelves worthy of receiving it, by liſtening to a tedious harangue againſt foreign trade, and the eſtabliſhment of public banks. From the author's decided antipathy to the latter, we certainly did not expect, that his ſcheme for the boundleſs multiplication of riches in a community, ſhould have reſted on the baſis of public credit, and a paper circulation. Such, however, is the caſe; and though the elements are vulgar and ordinary enough in themſelves, it muſt be confeſſed, that his diſpoſition of them is altogether original.

We will not afflict our readers, by copying out any part of the indigeſted detail into which the author finds it neceſſary to enter. They will be enabled to form a judgement of the whole plan, from the following ſhort ſketch of it.

Having already demonſtrated, in his own way, that a regular and conſtant increaſe in the expenditure of the government, was the only true means of enſuring a conſtant progreſſion in the intelligence and enjoyment of the people; the next ſtep was, to furniſh the governors with the means of this boundleſs expenditure, and to provide an adequate ſupply for this continual and increaſing waſte. *Public credit*, he ſays, offers ſuch a ſupply; and it is only by the groſſeſt abuſe that it has hitherto been prevented from affording it. His ſcheme for enſuring the benefit of it, is ſimply as follows: Whenever government ſhall think it neceſſary to ſtimulate the genius and exertions of the country, by an additional demand for employment, it has no more to do, than to iſſue as much paper-money as may be neceſſary to ſet it in motion; and, in order to prevent the depreciation of this paper, and to enſure its free circulation, it muſt take care to provide for its due payment and realization in ſpecie. For this purpoſe, it muſt previouſly depoſit gold and ſilver

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to the amount of *one twenty-fifth part* of the whole iſſue in paper, and repeat the depoſit in the beginning of each of the twenty-four ſucceeding years; ſo that one twenty-fifth part may be regularly called in, paid, and deſtroyed, every year. By making the depoſitation in the *beginning* of every year, the fulleſt ſecurity is afforded, of courſe, for the termly payment; and the credit of the circulating paper can never be ſubjected to any kind of ſuſpicion. To enſure its currency ſtill more effectually, it is further propoſed, that it ſhall bear intereſt, at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* from the time of its being iſſued; and the payment of this intereſt ſhall alſo be provided for by a previous depoſitation of the precious metals; the funds for making theſe termly payments being raiſed by a rated income-tax upon the people. Thus, continues our author, if the government finds it neceſſary to ſupport the progreſſive advancement of the nation by the expenditure of twenty millions, it has only to depoſit one million in ſpecie, and iſſue the twenty in paper;—every year it repeats this depoſit, and pays off one twenty-fifth part of the whole, with the intereſt of what remains in circulation. It repeats this iſſue of paper, on the ſame conditions, as often as the condition of the country requires it; and thus, without increaſing the contributions of the people, it multiplies its own revenues more than twenty-fold, and employs the whole of them in the maintenance of domeſtic induſtry!—'Such,' exclaims our author, 'ſuch is the infinite ſimplicity of the mechaniſm, by which the rulers of the world may realize all the good and the glory that was intended for this planet, by the general deſign of the univerſe!'

It would require a volume, almoſt as long and as tedious as that we are now conſidering, to point out all the errors and abſurdities that compoſe this new ſyſtem of finance. We do not think it neceſſary to engage in a taſk ſo diſguſting; and ſhall ſatisfy ourſelves with obſerving, in a very few words, 1ſt, that it is impracticable; and, 2d, that, if it were practicable, it would be utterly uſeleſs.

In the firſt place, this ſcheme for the unlimited iſſue of government paper for circulation, takes it for granted, that there muſt always be an unlimited demand for a medium of this nature, and that the channel of circulation can never be ſo full as to admit of no farther addition. If there is any fact, however, in all this branch of ſcience, that is demonſtrably certain, it is the very oppoſite of this, which M. Herrenſchwand has aſſumed, without argument or heſitation. The demand for money of any ſort, but eſpecially for paper-money, muſt at all times be limited by the number and rapidity of the exchanges which it is employed to facilitate; and as ſoon as this purpoſe is ſufficiently

provided for, no more money can poſſibly be forced into the circulation. It may, indeed, be iſſued from the mint and the ſtamp-office; but the coin will be melted down or exported, and the paper will return with a ſtream exactly equal to that in which the redundancy was iſſued. If there be at the time, therefore, a ſufficiency of money in the country, the twenty millions of government-paper, inſtead of being abſorbed, and continuing to circulate for twenty-five years, will all return immediately, or be depreciated to a conſiderable degree, if payment be peremptorily refuſed. If this happen with the firſt iſſue, it is eaſy to conceive what muſt be the fate of the thouſand additional ones that are to follow, with a progreſſive increaſe of their amount, in the courſe of the boundleſs developement of the earth and its inhabitants. The *bonus* of *one half per cent.* intereſt will not mend the matter: When government-paper, bearing *three per cent.* is not ſaleable at a diſcount of more than thirty, we may imagine, that a ſtock bearing *one half per cent.* would not find many purchaſers *at par*.

All theſe, however, are ſlight errors and omiſſions, when compared with ſome others that are included in the very plan and conception of the ſyſtem; for though it is the very eſſence and object of the whole contrivance, to increaſe and multiply the riches and reſources of the government, and ſo to enable it to ſpend a great deal more than it raiſes from the people; yet nothing can be more evident, than that it accompliſhes no part of this object; and that, after granting all the impoſſibilities for which our author contends, the people will, upon this new plan of finance, be ſtill obliged to contribute, in gold and ſilver, the whole ſum and quantity which the government iſſues to them in paper. However extraordinary or incredible it may appear, that a man ſhould have compoſed a long and elaborate work in explanation of this new ſyſtem of œconomy, without being aware of a fallacy ſo obvious and fundamental, it is not the leſs certain that it exiſts, and may be made evident to the moſt careleſs inquirer, in a very few words.

The object of the whole ſyſtem, is to maintain a conſtantly increaſing expenditure on the part of the Government; and this, our author alleges, may be accompliſhed by means of public credit, without any preſſure on the people. To us it is very evident, that it is accompliſhed entirely by the contributions of the people; and that he derives leſs aſſiſtance from public credit than any artificer in finance that ever employed it as an inſtrument. The author has ſuppoſed, that the Government iſſues twenty millions of paper, and pays it off in twenty-five years, by levying an annual tax of one million upon the people. If this were the whole fact, it would be plain, that the people paid

twenty-

twenty-five millions in gold and ſilver, for the privilege of uſing twenty millions of government-paper for a certain limited time; and it might fairly be argued, that it would have been much better to have iſſued their own gold and ſilver to them at once, in larger quantities, and at a cheaper rate. The only advantage that can poſſibly be aſcribed to this ſcheme, is, that it enables the governors to anticipate their revenue a little, and to ſpend in one year what it will take them upwards of twenty to repay. Sound politicians will doubt whether this be an advantage: At any rate, it is an advantage by no means peculiar to this ſyſtem, ſince the ordinary device of borrowing and funding poſſeſſes it in a far greater degree.

This, however, is by no means a view of the whole caſe: The expenditure of the government is conſtantly to increaſe; and it is evident, that if they iſſue twenty millions in one year, they muſt iſſue at leaſt as many the year after, inſtead of withdrawing one of thoſe millions from the circulation. If they iſſue none the year after, it is evident, that they diminiſh their expenditure by twenty millions; and by twenty-one millions, if they redeem one of the preceding iſſue. It is neceſſary, therefore, to anſwer the conditions of our author's own problem, that the government continue every year to iſſue at leaſt as large a ſum as it began with iſſuing; and the conſequences of this proceeding are pretty deciſive as to the merit of M. Herrenſchwand's diſcovery. In order to liquidate a twenty-fifth part of the firſt iſſue, the people muſt contribute one million annually in ſpecie, and that for twenty-five years. For the ſecond iſſue, they muſt make a ſimilar contribution; and for the third, and the fourth, and all the ſucceeding iſſues, in the ſame proportion. In the firſt year, therefore, they muſt bring into the Treaſury one million in gold and ſilver; in the ſecond, two millions; in the third, three; and ſo on in proportion, till, at the twenty-fifth year, they will be obliged to make payment of no leſs than twenty-five millions in ſpecie. As the firſt iſſue of paper will now be completely redeemed, the charge will not mount any higher; but it will continue at this rate till ſome variation take place in the annual quantity of paper that is iſſued, with which it will riſe and fall in proportion: And thus, upon the whole, the people, after the elapſe of the firſt twenty-five years from the eſtabliſhment of this ſyſtem, will have to raiſe an annual ſum of *twenty-five millions* in gold and ſilver, in return for an annual diſtribution of *twenty millions* of government-paper! The concluſion follows with the certainty of a demonſtration, from the author's own premiſes, and certainly affords a ſatisfactory ſpecimen of his powers of reaſoning, and the ſingular texture of his underſtanding.

With

With theſe obſervations, we joyfully take our leave of the ſyſtem of J. Herrenſchwand. The puerilities with which his volume concludes, are leſs calculated to excite ridicule, than compaſſion; and we willingly leave his admirers to enjoy the ſpectacle of a perfidious miniſter making progreſſes through the country, in a moveable pillory, with a label on his breaſt, (p. 180.), and all the other melancholy machinery of his Utopia, *without* cenſure or moleſtation.

Of the ſtyle of this performance, it will be unneceſſary to ſay any thing, after the ſpecimens we have already exhibited. It is certainly quite original in the department of literature, and reads exactly like a deed of conveyance, or an indictment for a libel, with all the *inuendos* filled up. The author has uniformly *overlaid* his meaning with words, and taken ſo much unfortunate pains to avoid being miſunderſtood, that he cannot be comprehended without the greateſt exertion.

To ſuch of our readers as may think themſelves entitled to an apology for having been ſo long detained on an article of *this* deſcription, we beg leave to intimate, that M. Herrenſchwand is a very old offender; that he has already been guilty of ſeveral quartos on the ſubject of political œconomy; and that no leſs an authority than Mr Arthur Young has announced him to the world as 'one of the greateſt political geniuſes of the age.'

ART. XIV. *The Utility of Country Banks Conſidered.* London, 1802. pp. 86.

THESE eighty-ſix pages, of which not more than twenty are employed on the ſubject of Country Banks, afford an amuſing ſpecimen of plagiariſm. The anonymous author appears to have met with Hume's Political Diſcourſes, and Smith's Inquiry, a ſhort time, probably, before the date of his pamphlet, which is made up of unacknowledged extracts from thoſe works, mutilated both in compoſition and argument, and thrown together into a ſhapeleſs maſs. By a diligent ſtudy of thoſe excellent models, for a certain number of years, he may perhaps qualify himſelf to underſtand ſuch diſquiſitions: and, by the improvement of his taſte at leaſt, be prevented from violating, as he has done, the property of others.

In the following extract, our readers will eaſily recognize the fragments of a paſſage in Smith's chapter on the wages of labour; but they will alſo acknowledge, how much the tame ſketches of a great maſter may be improved, when a new tone of colouring is imparted by the hand of a bolder artiſt.

'All

'All animals multiply, naturally, in proportion to their means of ſubſiſtence; and no ſpecies can ever multiply beyond it. In civilized ſociety, the ſcantineſs of ſubſiſtence among the lower ranks of the people, ſets a limit to the multiplication of the human ſpecies, by deſtroying a great part of the children produced by their fruitful marriages. When labour is to be had, and is liberally rewarded, the lower orders are enabled to provide better for their children. A great number is conſequently reared, and added to the national ſtock of population. It neceſſarily does this, too, as nearly as poſſible in the proportion which the demand for labour requires. In this point of view, we may conſider the inſtitutions which tend to ſet it in motion. The *manufactures* of a country are, *inventions for* the multiplication of the human ſpecies, and *the propagation of intellectual beings; they are the creative powers of thought, happineſs, and moral exiſtence.* Without ſuch foſtering eſtabliſhments, life would decay, and ſociety wither at its root. With ſuch aid, the demand for man increaſes, and the reward of labour neceſſarily encourages the marriages and multiplication of labourers; ſo that a continual increaſing demand is ſupplied by a continual increaſing population. An increaſe of wealth produces the liberal reward of labour, which is the cauſe of increaſing population. To complain of it, is to lament over the neceſſary cauſe and effect of the greateſt public proſperity.'

The manner in which the principles of the Wealth of Nations are miſtated, is almoſt as ludicrous as this debaſement of its compoſition. After copying the inſtances which Smith gives, of the various commodities that, in a rude ſtate of commerce, perform the functions of money, our author adds the following example.

'We may add another, hitherto unnoticed, though not ſo cleanly a ſpecies of exchange, which is manure, that children and poor perſons gather on the poſt-roads in Yorkſhire, and in the North, where, for the excellence of its quality, it is valuable to the farmer; and I am told that it is a very common practice for poor perſons to exchange it for coals, or other neceſſaries; *thus making horſe-dung a ſpecies of money.*'

In another part of the pamphlet, we are promiſed the 'explanation of ſome phenomena which have ſurpriſed the reaſoners on finance.' One of theſe phenomena is, 'the increaſing proſperity of the nation, during a long and expenſive war.' For the ſolution of which, he deems it quite enough to tranſcribe ſeveral pages, ſtill without acknowledgement, of thoſe reaſonings by which Dr Smith ſhews that the expences of foreign war may be defrayed by the exportation of the finer manufactures. What was, in fact, a particular mode of national expenditure, our pamphleteer conceives to have been an acceſſion to the national wealth; and he explains 'the increaſing proſperity

proſperity of the nation, during a long and expenſive war,' by a ſeries of obſervations, which lead Smith himſelf to the very different concluſion, 'that manufactures may flouriſh amidſt the ruin of their country, and begin to decay upon the return of its proſperity.'

Leſt our readers ſhould be miſled, by us, to ſuppoſe that the whole of this tract is tranſcription, without any attempts at original compoſition, we have ſelected one or two paſſages, which we do not remember to have ſeen, either in the Wealth of Nations, or in the Political Diſcourſes of Mr Hume.

'As grand political machines, moving the great levers of the empire, and raiſing the ponderous powers of war, National Banks may be contemplated as national bulwarks, towers of ſtrength, and edifices of defence.'

'Building, though conſiderably checked during the war, has in many parts of the country proceeded with vigour; and houſes, ſtreets, and towns have been raiſed, as ſubſtantially, on paper-currency, as brick or ſtone, cemented by gold or ſilver, could have built them.'

'If it be objected, that gold, the ſight of which ſo gratifies the human eye, is now ſeldom to be ſeen, let it be remembered, that it is inviſibly performing its magic effects on the commerce of the nation. We may be aſſured, that every guinea, though unſeen, is actively employed for the good of the community; its paper repreſentative is not intended to ſupply its place, that it may ſleep in idleneſs; on the contrary, it goes forth to ſeek new adventures: The chryſal of the day is not bred up in idleneſs; he ſeldom ſleeps long in the iron cheſts of bankers.'

'When we conſider the effects of an extended commerce, we may trace the twenty-ſhilling note of a Glaſgow bank, from its embarkation in the Clyde, in its form of manufacture, through the Weſt or Eaſt Indies, till it returns, in the ſuite of a Nabob, who fixes it in a palace which he builds in the neighbourhood of his native city, on his return from Aſia, whither he himſelf was probably firſt ſent by the operation of paper-currency.'

ART. XV. *Bread; or, The Poor.* A Poem. By Mr Pratt, Author of Sympathy, Gleanings, &c. Quarto. Longman & Rees, and Becket.

THE author of this poem profeſſes to inſtruct, as well as amuſe the public; to intereſt their humanity, by an account of the ſufferings of the poor, and enlighten their underſtandings by this profound leſſon of political œconomy, that ſcarcity is occaſioned entirely by monopoly, and lately took place after moſt plentiful

plentiful harveſts. We muſt confeſs, we did not expect that a poem written profeſſedly on that ſyſtem, would add much to the preſent ſtock of knowledge: We, however, perſevered in reading it, in hopes that the excellence of the poetry would make ſome amends for the abſurdity of the doctrine; and were perfectly diſpoſed to forget the fallacy of Mr Pratt's arguments, in the fire of his numbers. After an attentive peruſal of the whole work, however, Mr Pratt's poetry and philoſophy ſeemed to us ſo much on a par, that we thought it extremely probable that both would be entirely forgotten before the Firſt Number of this publication could iſſue from the preſs. As we profeſs to confine our criticiſms to works which are likely to engage ſome portion of public attention, we did not feel ourſelves called upon to quote metaphors which ſeemed doomed to quiet repoſe in a ſnuff-ſhop, or comment on ſimilies which would be known only to the paſtry-cook.

In this idea, we have been ſo much miſtaken, that we ought to be more cautious how we indulge ſuch conjectures in future. A ſecond edition was announced ſome time ago, and the public was at the ſame time informed, that on account of the great variety of valuable information which the work contained, the title was changed from 'Bread, or, The Poor,' to 'The Poor, or, Bread.' If a work was paſſed over, which, in the courſe of a few months, has received ſo ſtrong a mark of public approbation, it might juſtly be attributed to the obſcurity of the Reviewers, not of the poem; and where ſo much ſolicitude is diſplayed in the adjuſtment of a title, it may be ſuppoſed that the author has beſtowed no common portion of labour in the compoſition of the work.

The poem opens, as might be expected, with earneſt invocations to ſpirits of Pity, Benevolence, and the 'bleſt muſe of Sympathy.' In the midſt of theſe, Mr Pratt introduces himſelf and his ſubject in the following lines—

> 'I ſing the Poor! for them invite the lyre,
> For them alone I aſk the poet's fire;
> For them, at hours forbade to touch the ſtring,
> Late from the grave eſcap'd, I yearn to ſing.'

It muſt be confeſſed, that Mr Pratt has made a valuable addition to all former deſcriptions of modern bards, by this intereſting portrait of himſelf. We admit, that there is great ſpirit in Pope's deſcription of the poet

> —'Who, locked from ink and paper, ſcrawls
> With deſp'rate charcoal round his darkened walls;'
> Or 'he who, high in Drury Lane,
> Lulled by ſoft zephyrs through the broken pane,
> Rhymes ere he wakes, and prints before term ends.'

But

But both theſe ſituations are certainly leſs pictureſque than that of our author 'yearning to ſing,' after having recently made his eſcape from the grave, and touching the ſtring at forbidden hours. Mr Pratt, after indulging his yearnings for about thirty or forty lines, becomes apprehenſive leſt the reader ſhould have forgotten that he was ſinging, and alſo what he was ſinging about; for, he again informs him,

'I ſing the Poor! *thy* poor, my native land,
Erewhile, and not remote, a blithſome band,
A ruddy, reckleſs, merry-hearted crew,
Freſh as their herbage waſh'd in morning dew,
Light, buoyant, airy, as their upland gales,
Firm as their hills, and teeming as their vales:
Their lambs leſs gameſome, when day-labour done,
They ſought the ſhade, or frolick'd, where the ſun
Threw his laſt beams on flower-wreath'd caſements ſmall,
Gilt the young leaves, or play'd on cottage wall;
Leſs gay the birds that carol'd o'er their heads,
Built in their bowers, or neſted round their ſheds.'

This is one of the moſt ſplendid exertions of Mr Pratt's muſe; we have therefore quoted the whole paſſage. The images, it muſt be obſerved, are rather bold than judicious; they have no ſort of connection with each other, except what the rhymes have accidentally ſuggeſted; and the deſcription, taken together, has not the moſt diſtant reſemblance to any thing that ever exiſted, far leſs to the object it refers to. A blithſome band, 'ruddy, reckleſs, and freſh as herbage waſh'd in morning dew,' may be conceived; but when this band becomes light as air, firm as hills, teeming as vales—to crown all, more frolickſome than lambs, and gayer than ſinging birds; ſuch a monſtrous aſſemblage is reared up, as never, perhaps, was brought together, before, by the moſt diſtempered imagination. No one feature of it reſembles the poor of England, or any other country. To the whole, the words of Horace are ſo applicable,

'—iſti tabulæ fore librum
Perſimilem, cujus, velut *ægri ſomnia*, vanæ
Fingentur ſpecies'—

that we cannot help ſuſpecting that the public are indebted to Mr Pratt's 'forbidden hours' for this extraordinary effuſion.

After this paſſage, Mr Pratt gives a long catalogue of the comforts and enjoyments of the poor in former times. Among many other things enumerated, are currant and gooſeberry buſhes; not merely, as the ignorant reader may ſuppoſe, to furniſh fruit in Summer, but alſo to ſupply the poor with wine in Winter. This is a luxury which we did not imagine the poor had been much accuſtomed to; and we muſt own, we are ſo far hard-hearted, that

that the occaſional privation of it does not excite in us any great degree of commiſeration.

After an exaggerated account of the comforts the poor formerly enjoyed, Mr Pratt deſcribes the diſtreſſes they lately endured; and as they were real, and do not admit of exaggeration, there is little ſcope afforded for our author's fancy. The inveſtigation of the cauſes which produced the ſcarcity, calls forth all his genius. Although it has been aſcertained, after the fulleſt inveſtigation, that there was a deficiency of at leaſt one fourth in two ſucceſſive crops, Mr Pratt aſſumes, as an undoubted fact, that there was the moſt abundant and plentiful harveſt. On this foundation, Mr Pratt commences his interrogatories—

> 'Aſk we the CAUSE why earth ſupplies, in vain,
> Th' abundant herbage and luxuriant grain;
> Why, when the golden ſheaves like mountains riſe—
> Bending as if in homage to the ſkies—
> Thoſe golden ſheaves refuſe their aid to yield
> To ſuch alone as ſow and reap the field?'

After ſome more whys, Mr Pratt concludes with another why and when—

> 'And why, when Heav'n has bleſs'd the bounteous earth,
> The POOR ſtill find an univerſal dearth?'

Mr Pratt reſolves all theſe queſtions, by aſſerting that the ſcarcity was produced by the higher order of farmers, whom he calls Gentlemen-farmers. After giving this ſolution of the difficulty, Mr Pratt loads that reſpectable part of the community with every term of abuſe which he can collect. In the courſe of ten lines, the epithets, 'tyrant huſbandman,' 'inſatiate giant,' 'the ſcourge and terror of the ſwains,' 'vain uſurper,' 'and village-deſpot,' are brought together to deſcribe the general character of a gentleman-farmer. Whole pages are filled with accounts of their extravagance and profligacy; of balls, at which their wives dance awkwardly; and routs, at which they give *noyau*. In one of the notes, Mr Pratt endeavours to rival even Lord Warwick, and tells us of a *knot* of farmers, who drank champagne, claret, and burgundy, for three days together; and as a *zeſt*, ſoaked bank notes in the wine, like *ruſks in chocolate*; which, it muſt be allowed, was a very expenſive ſubſtitute for biſcuits. Yet, Mr Pratt thinks it neceſſary to put landlords on their guard againſt the farmers' intention of purchaſing their eſtates. We ſhall hardly be accuſed of paradox, if we affirm, that thoſe who are prodigal and extravagant, rarely accumulate wealth; and that a landlord is in no great danger of having his eſtate purchaſed by a man who, by the common order of events, muſt be reduced to poverty

poverty himſelf. It may farther be demanded of Mr Pratt, how men, ſo idle and diſſolute, ſhould be able to accompliſh the deſign of which he accuſes them? A deſign which the moſt unremitting induſtry, in poſſeſſion of immenſe capital, could hardly accompliſh. Mr Pratt overcomes all theſe difficulties, by ſuppoſing the farmers become monopoliſts on the days on which they do not hunt.

'But the tir'd hunt allows a vacant day;
Trade takes its turn, and intereſt has its ſway.
The bold monopoliſt, and jobber fly,
Reſum'd—(the farmer-gentleman laid by)'— .

Any farther ſpecimens of Mr Pratt's poetry may appear unneceſſary. The addreſs to the gentlemen-farmers is, however, ſo animated, that Mr Pratt might think he met with injuſtice, if no part of it was quoted. A ſtronger proof of the extent and influence of popular credulity and fury, can hardly be produced, than that ſuch abſurd and unmerited abuſe has been publiſhed by a man who appears to poſſeſs ſome portion of literature, and to have written with good intentions.

'Plund'rers abhorr'd! if your dark threats portend,
Another ſeaſon from the poor to rend;
Ye jobbers vile! or by whatever name
Ye ſtand recorded on the liſts of ſhame;—
Ye who ne'er labour on the teeming plain,
But, like dire locuſts, only eat the grain!
Ye more than ſavage cannibals, who feed
Upon your kind, without the ſavage need,' &c.

This rhapſody, which exhibits every ſymptom of frenzy, unaccompanied by genius, is continued until the author's imagination becomes exhauſted. He then reſorts to his favourite appellation of locuſts, and commences a new ſeries, with this ſingular exclamation,

'Yes, wanton locuſts of a foodful iſle!'

Such are Mr Pratt's verſes, which have been ſo fortunate as to find admirers; to whom we reſign them, without farther commentary. Readers of Poetry, of equal diſcernment, we are informed, were to be found in former times: they therefore reflect no particular diſcredit upon the preſent age.

'Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi,
Atque idem jungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.'

Art.

ART. XVI. *Anniverſary Sermon of the Royal Humane Society.* By W. Langford, D. D. Printed for F. and C. Rivington. 1801. 8vo. 40 pages.

AN accident, which happened to the gentleman engaged in reviewing this Sermon, proves, in the moſt ſtriking manner, the importance of this charity for reſtoring to life perſons in whom the vital power is ſuſpended. He was diſcovered, with Dr Langford's diſcourſe lying open before him, in a ſtate of the moſt profound ſleep; from which he could not, by any means, be awakened for a great length of time. By attending, however, to the rules preſcribed by the Humane Society, flinging in the ſmoke of tobacco, applying hot flannels, and carefully removing the diſcourſe itſelf to a great diſtance, the critic was reſtored to his diſconſolate brothers.

The only account he could give of himſelf was, that he remembered reading on, regularly, till he came to the following pathetic deſcription of a drowned tradeſman; beyond which he recollects nothing:

'But to the individual himſelf, as a man, let us add the interruption to all the temporal buſineſs in which his intereſt was engaged. To him indeed, now apparently loſt, the world is as nothing. But it ſeldom happens, that man can live for himſelf alone: Society parcels out its concerns in various connexions; and from one head iſſue waters, which run down in many channels.—The ſpring being ſuddenly cut off, what confuſion muſt follow in the ſtreams which have flowed from its ſource? It may be, that all the expectations reaſonably raiſed of approaching proſperity, to thoſe who have embarked in the ſame occupation, may at once diſappear; and the important interchange of commercial faith be broken off, before it could be brought to any advantageous concluſion.'

This extract will ſuffice for the ſtyle of the ſermon. The charity itſelf is above all praiſe.

ART. XVII. *Poems.* By Mrs Opie. 12mo. London. 1802.

THERE are, probably, many of our readers, who at ſome fortunate, or unfortunate moment of their lives, have been tempted to dip their pen in the fatal ink of publication, and who ſtill remember the anxiety with which they looked forward to the reception of their firſt work. We fear that we muſt not appeal to the whole number of theſe, to confirm a declamation on the evils of ſucceſs; but we are convinced, as much as perſons without the happy experience can be convinced, that there is a ſtage of authorſhip, in which reputation itſelf is felt as an evil.

The young writer of a popular work, in coming forward a cond time to public notice, ſubmits his powers to criticiſm, which he has already exhauſted the indulgence, and which n expects to applaud, rather than to forgive. There is, beſid an innocent ſelfiſhneſs, which magnifies to our pride every p exertion, and perſuades us, that ſucceſs is more difficult of a tainment, becauſe we have ourſelves ſucceeded. Nor is the p nalty, now, the ſame ſimple failure, which, in a firſt attempt, ſcarcely diſgrace, becauſe it is ſcarcely known. To the wretc ed author, with all his vanities about him, it would now ha the ignominy of complete degradation; and, amid the variety o poſſible ſentences, there is thus only one to which he can look with deſire, becauſe all thoſe leſs degrees of praiſe, which woul have ſatisfied his humbler ambition, muſt now be accompanie with the mortifying ideas, of diſappointment in his readers, an of inferiority in himſelf.

It was probably with feelings ſimilar to thoſe we have deſcrib ed, that Mrs Opie committed to the world her volume of *poems.* To a very large number of readers 'The Father and Daughter' had already made its appearance a promiſe of much delight. That it has completely ſatisfied the expectations which her nove had excited *in us*, we will not ſay. It would be, at beſt, an am biguous compliment; and preferring therefore an opinion, which has no reference to the paſt, we are ready to admit, that her vo lume of poems has afforded us much pleaſure, and that it would have obtained for its author a very conſiderable reputation, though her former work had been wholly unknown.

But, while we thus expreſs our praiſe of Mrs Opie's miſcel lany, we do not wiſh it to be conſidered as applicable *to the* whole, or even to the greater number, of the pieces which it conſiſts. Theſe are of very various ſpecies of compoſition, *and* are perhaps ſtill more different, in merit, than in ſubject. In the tender ſong of ſentiment and pathos, there is uncommon ele gance; but, in pieces of greater length, which require dignity, or even terſeneſs of expreſſion, and an eaſy developement of thoughts, which riſe complicated in the moment of fancy, there is a diſſi milarity of character, in every reſpect, which contraſts, without relieving, the ſweetneſs of the ſimpler pictures. Mrs Opie's mind is evidently more adapted to ſeize ſituation, than to combine in cidents. It can repreſent, with powerful expreſſion, the ſolitary portrait, in every attitude of gentler grief; but it cannot bring together a connected aſſemblage of figures, and repreſent each *in* its moſt ſtriking ſituation, ſo as to give, as it were, to the glance of a moment, the events and feelings of many years. *When*

a

a ſeries of reflections is to be brought by her to our view, they muſt all be of that immediate relation, which allows them to be introduced at any part of the poem, or we ſhall probably ſee before us a multitude, rather than a group. She is therefore wholly unfit for that poetry, which endeavours to reaſon while it pleaſes; and, powerful as ſhe is in ſolitary pathos, we do not think that ſhe is well fitted for bringing before us the connected griefs and characters of the drama. She has, indeed, written a novel; and it is one which excites a very high intereſt: But the merit of that novel does not conſiſt in its action, nor in any varied exhibition of character. Agnes, in all the ſad changes of fortune, is ſtill the ſame: and the action, if we except a very few *ſituations* of the higheſt excitement, is the common hiſtory of every ſeduction in romance. Indeed, we are almoſt tempted to believe, that the ſcene in the wood occurred firſt to the caſual conception of the author, and that, in the deſign of fully diſplaying it, all the other events of the novel were afterwards imagined.

But Mrs Opie's novel is not under our criticiſm; and the character of her powers may be ſufficiently aſcertained, in the variety which her volume before us preſents. She has *attempted* the gay anacreontic; and ſhe has only expreſſed a very common thought, in a very common manner, p. 47. She has *attempted* the ſong of ſportive humour; and, if things unexiſting could be ſtolen, ſhe might almoſt be ſuſpected of having pilfered one of the futurities of Vauxhall, p. 105. She has *attempted* a long Ovidian epiſtle in elegiac verſe; and, in the dull and feeble detail which it preſents, ſhe has made us feel doubly the dull ſolemnity of the meaſure, p. 15. She has *attempted* blank verſe, p. 135; but with the real muſic of blank verſe ſhe is wholly unacquainted: From its uniformity of pauſe, it is nothing more than the regular couplet, with a perpetual diſappointment of rhyme. The regular heroic couplet ſhe has alſo *attempted*; but a line of ten ſyllables is too large for the graſp of her delicate fingers; and ſhe ſpans her way along, with an awkward and feeble wearineſs, whenever ſhe lays aſide the ſmaller verſe. It is in the ſmaller verſe of eight ſyllables, which requires no pomp of ſound, and in the ſimple tenderneſs, or ſimple grief, to which the artleſſneſs of ſuch numbers is beſt ſuited, that the power of Mrs Opie's poetry conſiſts: And, unſparing as our friendly criticiſm may have appeared, in its cenſure of trials which it deemed injudicious, we are happy that ſhe has enabled us to make atonement, by our juſt praiſe of thoſe pieces which accord better with the character of her imagination. The verſes of *feeling*, on which ſhe muſt rely for the eſtabliſhment of her fame, are certainly among the beſt in our

opuſcular poetry. As a ſpecimen, we ſelect the following ſong, which is ſcarcely ſurpaſſed by any in our language—

'Go, youth beloved, in diſtant glades,
New friends, new hopes, new joys to find!
Yet ſometimes deign, 'midſt fairer maids,
To think on her thou leav'ſt behind.
Thy love, thy fate, dear youth, to ſhare,
Muſt never be my happy lot;
But thou may'ſt grant this humble prayer,
Forget me not! forget me not!

Yet, ſhould the thought of my diſtreſs
Too painful to thy feelings be,
Heed not the wiſh I now expreſs,
Nor ever deign to think on me:
But, Oh! if grief thy ſteps attend,
If want, if ſickneſs be thy lot,
And thou require a ſoothing friend,
Forget me not! forget me not!'

The firſt verſe of the ſecond ſtanza is perhaps too much dilated in expreſſion, and *rather* too feeble in its ſyllabic flow. But the ſimple emphaſis of the laſt line of each ſtanza, and particularly the thought which introduces it at the concluſion of the whole, have a truth of tenderneſs which will be acknowledged and loved by the rudeſt, as well as the moſt cultivated apprehenſion.

Mrs Opie, if ſhe have rightly learned her own powers, will forgive us for illuſtrating, by ſpecimens of an oppoſite nature, our unfavourable opinion of her heroic verſe. The following is a part of 'An Epiſtle to a Friend on New-Year's Day.'

'But ſcorn not thou the ſorrows of the muſe,
A harmleſs egotiſt for once excuſe,
And from thy brow the riſing frown diſpel,
On my own ſufferings though I've dar'd to dwell:
For, though my filial ſorrow can't impart
A ſympathetic feeling to thy heart,
Becauſe thy honoured mother lives to ſhare
Thy fond affection and thy duteous care,—
Reflect, the time may come when thou ſhalt feel
The deep regrets my mournful lays reveal;
And thy afflicted breaſt may need from me
The kind indulgence which I aſk from thee.
But thou muſt ſcorn the lines that bring to view
The ſelf-reproach thy boſom never knew:
Thou, who each hour haſt by improvement told,
Muſt my confeſſion with contempt behold.' p. 187.

Of

Of the Duke of Bedford ſhe ſays, that, had Mr Burke lived a few years longer, he would have changed his contemptuous opinion, and joined in lamenting his Grace's death—

'Thy "few and idle years" no longer ſcorn'd,
But as a public loſs thy death bemourn'd.' p. 191.

A very charitable ſociety ſhe thus addreſſes, with much praiſe, but with little poetry.

'If Rome to him a civic garland gave,
Who of one citizen the life could ſave,
What ſhould your grateful country give to you?
What to your patriot ſervices is due?
From you, Society true aid derives;
Your timely bounty ſaves unnumbered lives.' p. 168.

That the lines we have juſt quoted were written by the author of the preceding ſong, it would not have been eaſy for us to believe, if we had not known, that the powers of poetry and proſe are not more different, than the powers which enable a writer to excel in the two great claſſes of poetry; and it is probably becauſe Mrs Opie has not ſucceeded in verſes of dignity and reflection, that ſhe has ſucceeded in the verſes of ſimple feeling. He whoſe taſte has been long habituated to the full majeſty of heroic verſification, and to all the rhetorical ornaments of figurative poetry, is, by the very circumſtance of the pomp to which he has been accuſtomed, leſs fitted for the exhibition of a ſimple thought in numbers as ſimple; ſince the humbleneſs of phraſeology and of ſound, which he before deſpiſed, is now a perfection, which he muſt ſtudiouſly elaborate. Such a thought would be to him, what a Scotch or Iriſh melody is to a bravura ſinger: In the execution of the one, we ſhould ſee poetry rather than pathos; as, in the other, we liſten to the voice, rather than to the ſoul. We own, indeed, that many poets have excelled in both ſpecies of verſe; but many poets have alſo excelled in proſe. We do not ſay, that the powers neceſſary to both ſpecies are incompatible; we mean only, that, as in the caſe of the volume before us, there may be conſiderable excellence in the one, with the total want of excellence in the other.

We muſt not be ſo partial, however, to the degree of excellence which Mrs Opie has ſhown, as to ſay that ſhe has yet attained the full command, even of that ſtyle of poetry to which her powers ſhould peculiarly attach her. The true artifice of that poetry, which conſiſts in a happy artleſſneſs, ſhe frequently forgets. There are particularly three great faults; her abuſe of *reflection*, of *inverſion*, and of *perſonification*; to which, if ſhe will

accept advice, in return for pleaſure received, we wiſh eſpecially to direct her attention.

We remember, that, in the 'Father and Daughter,' we frequently regretted the intruſion of the writer of the tale, when we were wholly occupied with the miſfortunes of her heroine. Reflections of anticipation are always injurious to the intereſt excited, as they diminiſh curioſity; and reflections on the paſt are ſuperfluous, and offenſive to the reader's vanity, if they ſtate what may naturally be inferred from the circumſtances of the tale, and call us away too coldly to reaſon, when the inference is forced. But, above all, reflection is unnatural, when introduced by a ſufferer in the midſt of diſtreſs. Dear thought! Bleſt thought! ſad thought! &c. are parentheſes which we wiſh to ſee baniſhed from poetry. Who pauſes, in impaſſioned ſoliloquy, to determine the claſſification of his own feelings?

'That guilty child, ſo long diſown'd,
Can then, bleſt thought! no more offend.'

A repentant and dying daughter would not have uſed the interjection.

In forced *inverſion*, Mrs Opie is often a delinquent, and particularly in her ſeparation of the agent and the action; or, to talk technically, of the nominative caſe and the verb which it influences. In every other ſpecies of poetry, this is frequently admiſſible, and even requiſite; but, in the ſimple expreſſion of preſent feeling, it is generally miſplaced, becauſe it violates the uſual aſſociations of our language. 'I to thy rays prefer deep gloom,' ſtrikes us immediately as an artificial conſtruction; and the *mourner* as immediately becomes a mere poet.

Perſonification is an ornament ſo tempting, that the abuſe of it is the moſt frequent, and the moſt fatal of all errors, in poetry of feeling. There are few pieces in the volume before us, which it has not affected. Guilt of this kind is, indeed, often to be found, even in the coldeſt productions of age: and more indulgence, therefore, muſt be given to a young and inexperienced writer: but, ſtill, it is indulgence, and not praiſe, which it muſt demand. 'The Deſpairing Wanderer,' which is, upon the whole, of bolder execution than Mrs Opie's uſual manner, is altogether vitiated by the exceſs of this imagined ornament. Pale Terror leading the ſhadowy ſcene, and Fancy liſtening to a ſailor's knell, and Thunder rending the ear of Night, and rouſing the form of pale Affright, are not the images which paſs through the mind of mad Deſpair. Proſopopœia is more ſuited to the narrator of ſuch a ſtate, than to the ſoliloquizer, who will think only of the ſtate of real things, though the things themſelves may appear in much brighter

brighter colours, or much darker ſhade. Miſerable and happy men, not Miſery and Happineſs, are the companions of ſuch a mind, even in the wildeſt of its muſings.

Having dwelt ſo long on the general character of the volume, we have little room for particular criticiſm; and we muſt therefore add only a few obſervations.

It has become a faſhion, in modern verſe, to make uſe of the word 'ah!' whenever a ſyllable is wanting. But 'ah' is not an expletive; it is an interjection of diſtreſs: and we ſee no reaſon that any one ſhould complain, becauſe, with a pleaſure which others have not, he enjoys the moon ſtill more in Winter than in Summer.—p. 2.

In 'the Dying Daughter to her Mother,' with ſeveral faults of careleſſneſs, there are many paſſages of great intereſt. The lines—

> 'And when thou think'ſt upon the cauſe,
> That paleneſs will have charms for thee,' p. 9.

—in alluſion to the ſickneſs of ſorrow on the countenance of her infant, preſent a very affecting thought, in a very pleaſing manner. The phraſe, 'in thy good time,' in the laſt verſe, is very objectionable, and muſt certainly have been introduced for the rhyme's ſake. Such a cold reſervation might have occurred to a hypocrite, who had been accuſtomed to repeat, without regard, the phraſeology of the pulpit; but it is *immediate* protection for her child, which alone can be preſent to the wiſh of a dying mother.

The firſt of the two pieces, entitled 'The Mourner,' has ſome real feeling, but more quaintneſs, particularly in the whole paſſage about the reverend form of Woe. A mourner is too ſad for the fine play of a long metaphor. In the following piece, the ſituation, at the moment of Henry's death, is too minutely deſcribed. It is no *very* great proof of love, to be regardleſs of thunder without, at ſuch a time. But there is the oppoſite error, in the repreſentation of herſelf as toſſing away her child *with fury*, which ſuppoſes abſolute frenzy; and Henry's death was not ſudden, as his bloom is ſaid to have *marked* him for the grave. The cloſe, however, is more than atonement—

> 'When to my heart my child I fold,
> She only deepens every ſigh;
> I think, while I her charms behold,
> How ſhe'd have pleaſed her father's eye.
>
> And while I from her liſping tongue
> Soft childhood's artleſs accents hear,
> I think, with vain remembrance wrung,
> How ſhe'd have charmed her father's ear.

I think—but O forbear, fond heart!
From vain regrets to duties turn;—
Yes,—I will act a parent's part,—
I'll tear myself from Henry's urn.

In life I still one charm can see,—
One flower adorns that dreary wild,—
That flower for care depends on *me*.—
O precious charge!—'Tis HENRY'S CHILD.' p. 53.

Of 'The Negro Boy's Tale,' from the happiness with which the circumstances of the scene are imagined, much more ought to have been made. His argument on the natural equality of the Negro, and his sarcasms against those who practise not what they preach, are more in the character of the poet, than of the supposed speaker. Even had they been natural, as addressed to any other person, they certainly are not, as addressed to her who had always been his friend.

The song of a Hindustàní girl is interesting, chiefly from the circumstances of the story on which it professes to be founded. It concludes with the following verse—

'Oh! how fast from thee they tear me!
Faster still shall death pursue:
But 'tis well—death will endear me,
And thou'lt mourn THY POOR HINDOO.'

The two last lines are affecting; but nothing can exceed, in unnatural absurdity, the measurement of the comparative volocity of Death.

In the little song, p. 104, Mrs Opie must surely have suffered much from the wretched necessity of a rhyme, before she submitted to the introduction of so formal a word as 'impart,' in the sense in which she uses it, into verses of easy conversation. To *impart*, and to *confess*, are words of very different meaning.

In the 'Stanzas written under Æolus's Harp,' the thought, in the introductory verses, of each woe finding in the varieties of the music its own appropriate plaint, is good; and, if traced out, might have formed an ode worthy of Collins. The stanzas which follow, are merely of the better order of such verses as are usually addressed to Æolian harps.

'The Orphan Boy's Tale,' is, in several passages, affecting by its simplicity. After stating, that he had asked his mother why she called him *orphan*, it is happily again introduced—

'Ah! lady, I have learn'd too well
What 'tis to be an orphan boy.'

—But the sudden death of his mother after the question, is, like all sudden grief-strokes, narrative or dramatic, founded on observations

vations ſo rare in real nature, that, when adopted as poetic incidents, they ſtrike us as made for the poem, rather than as deduced from truth.

'Symptoms of love,' is almoſt a paraphraſe on Mrs Barbauld's ſong, 'Come here, fond youth;' or, rather, both are derived from Sir John Suckling's ſong, 'Honeſt lover whoſoever.' The *ſymptoms* are ſo very ſickly, that they correſpond more with the idle fanciful effeminacy of poetic love, which has deſcended, in exaggerated deſcription, from bard to bard, than with the manly tenderneſs of real paſſion.

In the ſong, p. 157, the thought of the laſt verſe is put too much in the cold form of a ſyllogiſm.

'Love as the ſoul of life I view:
Then, if the ſoul immortal be,
My love muſt be immortal too.'

How different from the lines of Florian, which it imitates!

'Si l'âme eſt immortelle,
L'amour ne l'eſt il pas?'

The ſame reaſoning is delicately implied, without the formality of a logical demonſtration.

Of the ſong, p. 163, the firſt ſtanza is light and elegant. The ſecond is ſpoiled, by the affectation of ſomething more. The conceit of tones binding the ſoul in fetters, is ridiculouſly quaint; and the eyes of an expert coquette are certainly not the beſt in which to trace every feeling as it riſes.

The 'Ode to Twilight' is in lyrical blank verſe; a ſtyle ſo unſuitable to our language, that, inſtead of the uſual ornament which verſification gives to thought, the greateſt excellence of imagery is neceſſary to give ornament to the verſe. It is unfortunate, too, to write in the meaſure of Collins, on a ſubject ſo ſimilar to his own.

In paſſing under our review the contents of this intereſting miſcellany, though the praiſe which we have given has been the praiſe of our judgement, as well as of our gratitude, we own, that a little ſelfiſhneſs has been mixed with our cenſure; as, in correcting the miſapplication of Mrs Opie's powers, we looked forward to the enjoyment which they muſt afford us, whenever they are exerted on their proper objects. By her marriage with a celebrated artiſt, ſhe may be ſaid to have united, in conjugal rivalry, two of the moſt elegant of arts: and if, as we truſt, ſhe will ſubmit to abandon all idle decoration, and to give her whole fancy to ſimplicity and tenderneſs, though the pencil of her competitor ſhould even increaſe in power, 'ut pictura poeſis' will be a compliment, not of flattery, but of truth.

ART.

ART. XVIII. *Public Characters of* 1801-1802. Richard Philips, St Paul's. 1 vol. 8vo.

THE deſign of this book appeared to us ſo extremely reprehenſible, and ſo capable, even in the hands of a blockhead, of giving pain to families and individuals, that we conſidered it as a fair object of literary police, and had prepared it for a very ſevere chaſtiſement. Upon the peruſal of the book, however, we were entirely diſarmed. It appears to be written by ſome very innocent ſcribbler, who feels himſelf under the neceſſity of dining, and who preſerves, throughout the whole of the work, that degree of good humour, which the terror of indictment by our Lord the King is ſo well calculated to inſpire. It is of ſome importance, too, that grown-up country-gentlemen ſhould be habituated to read printed books; and ſuch may read a ſtory-book about their living friends, who would read nothing elſe.

We ſuppoſe the bookſellers have authors at two different prices; thoſe who do write grammatically, and thoſe who do not; and that they have not thought fit to put any of their beſt hands upon this work. Whether or not there may be any improvement on this point in the next volume, we requeſt the biographer will at leaſt give us ſome means of aſcertaining when he is comical, and when ſerious. In the life of Dr Rennell, we find this paſſage:

'Dr Rennell might well look forward to the higheſt dignities in the Eſtabliſhment; but, if our information be right, and we have no reaſon to queſtion it, this is what he by no means either expects or courts. There is a primitive ſimplicity in this excellent man, which much reſembles that of the firſt prelates of the Chriſtian church, who were with great difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the Epiſcopal office.'

ART. XIX. *Eſſai ſur L'Art de rendre les Revolutions utiles.* Par J. E. Bonnet. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris.

FROM the title of this book, we expected nothing but crude and empirical abſurdity; and, from the report of its having been publiſhed under the auſpices of Bonaparte, we certainly looked for a little republican adulation, and ſome few ſuggeſtions as to the bleſſings of a military government. Upon the whole, however, we have been agreeably diſappointed. The work has evidently been compoſed with much pains and deliberation. It is written with great candour and impartiality, and contains an animated and ſuccinct account of moſt of the memorable events that diſtinguiſh the French Revolution. The theory and obſervations, indeed,

indeed, are for the moſt part rather dull and inſignificant; but they are preſented to the reader with a very judicious parſimony; and the ſubject is ſo little obtruded on his notice, that it is fortunately very poſſible to go over the whole work, without ever recollecting that it is an eſſay on the art of making revolutions uſeful.

The arrangement of the book is almoſt as unfortunate as its title. The author has been pleaſed to diſtribute it into five ſections, of which the four laſt might have been very conveniently ſpared; and expects his readers to intereſt themſelves in the organization of the Pope's dominions, after having engaged them with the downfal of Louis, and the elevation of Bonaparte. The firſt ſection begins with a few trite aphoriſms about ſovereigns, and old governments, and ſecretaries of ſtate; and then proceeds to illuſtrate theſe *principles* (as they are called) by a rapid and lively ſketch of that train of events that brought the revolution in France to a conſummation. This review, which is, in reality, the only intereſting part of the performance, extends to the middle of the ſecond volume, and makes way for a practical illuſtration of the preceding doctrines, by the recent diſorders and preſent ſituation of Rome. This application of revolutionary ſcience, which occupies the remainder of the work, appears to us ſo ſtrange and injudicious, that we had ſome difficulty in perſuading ourſelves that the author had not ſome concealed meaning, or ſecret alluſion to a more intereſting object. What ſpeculator in his ſenſes, indeed, would think of deciding on the merits of any meaſure of policy, by its effect on a government ſo anomalous as that of Rome? It has no trade, no army, no navy, no hereditary ariſtocracy. The allegiance of its ſubjects depends upon ſuperſtition; the ſovereign rules in right of St Peter; and all the governors, and moſt of the governed, are eccleſiaſtics. The prince is elective; and neither he nor his electors can have any lawful children, or any connexions by affinity. It maintains the rights of an Inquiſition, and holds out a perpetual encouragement to celibacy and beggary. The idioſyncraſy of ſuch a conſtitution certainly affords no room for analogical inference, as to any other European government; and to reaſon from its deſtiny, as to the utility of revolutions and counter-revolutions, in general, is like judging of the qualities of a drug, by its operation on a paralytic or an idiot. It is a fact, too, that muſt affect the analogical argument not a little, that Rome has not really experienced either a revolution or a counter-revolution. It has been ſubjugated and evacuated by an external enemy; but has never undergone that internal fermentation, from which alone revolutionary principles can ariſe. We leave the example of Rome, therefore,

therefore, to thoſe who can more clearly perceive the poſſibility of its application.

'The art of making revolutions uſeful,' conſiſts, according to M. Bonnet, in a few very ſimple obſervances. We are to wait, it appears, till the miſchievous and turbulent have pretty nearly exterminated each other, and the people are ſatiated with innovation, and quieted by terror:—then we are to wreſt the power from the hands of declining factions, to addreſs ourſelves to old prejudices, and to conduct every thing with the mildeſt, gentleſt, and ſteadieſt wiſdom. We are to reſtore whatever has been improperly taken away; but, at the ſame time, to take advantage of the general ſubverſion, to get rid of ancient grievances, and introduce new improvements. 'Who,' ſays M. Bonnet, 'would rebuild a Gothic church by the ſide of the Pantheon?' It will readily be admitted, that there is no great profundity in theſe remarks; and that M. Bonnet's maxims are at leaſt as ſimple as they are ſalutary.

His recipe for *preventing* revolution, ſeems to indicate a bolder practice, however, than his ſyſtem of cure. It is his leading argument upon this ſubject, that revolutions have always been occaſioned, in monarchial governments, by the Sovereign's departure from the prerogatives of his office. The philoſophy of modern times has infected the throne itſelf. Kings tacitly recognize the ſovereignty of the people; they ſubject their councils to their cenſure; they publiſh *des comptes rendues*; they forget that their authority depends, in a great meaſure, upon its bold and uninterrupted exerciſe; they expoſe all the reaſons and motives of their conduct; they are contented with having the virtue, and the wiſdom of their ſubjects. There is ſome ſagacity, unqueſtionably, in theſe obſervations; but they are evidently adapted to an abſolute monarchy, and have but little application to a free conſtitution. The perſon of the Sovereign ſhould indeed be inviolable; but where his miniſters are reſponſible, though it may ſometimes be wiſe to act, without waiting for the public approbation, the account muſt be rendered at the long-run; and diſcontents will be aggravated, inſtead of being repreſſed, by any attempts to withhold it. M. Bonnet's maxims, we apprehend, will never anſwer in England: but in his own country, they are probably very judicious; and will ſerve equally well for its old Monarch, or its new Conſul.

We cannot enter into the details of M. Bonnet's *coup d'œil ſur la revolution Françaiſe*; nor even undertake to preſent our readers with an analyſis of its contents. The greater part of the facts, of courſe, are very generally known; though new lights are occaſionally thrown upon ſome of them, that might be important, if the author had ſpecified his authorities; and, throughout the whole,

whole, we meet with a ſagacity of obſervation, that is not to be diſcovered in the theoretical parts of this production.

He does ample juſtice to the virtues of Louis XVI., and ſeems to have formed a pretty correct eſtimate of his character. He was ruined, he ſays, by his philoſophy, and by an imprudent attempt to reconcile, with the functions of monarchy, ſome ſpeculative maxims, as to the ſovereignty of the people. He was indeciſive, alſo, and inexperienced; and loſt the affection of his ariſtocratic counſellors, without gaining the confidence of the popular party.

'Louis XVI,' ſays M. Bonnet, 'was in reality extremely well informed; but conducted himſelf ſo unſkilfully, that he was generally conſidered as both ignorant and ſtupid. Though conſtitutionally timid, he was by no means a coward; yet his courage partook more of the reſignation of a prieſt, than the bravery of a King; and his death, accordingly, was like that of a holy martyr.'

Theſe defects in the royal character, however, are as far from obſcuring the virtues of his heart and diſpoſition, in the eſtimation of M. Bonnet, as they are from alleviating, in his eyes, the guilt of his murderers.

'The blow,' ſays he, 'which ſhould be reſerved for the enormities of incorrigible tyranny, was brought down upon him, by the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, by the love he bore to his people, and the deteſtation he always expreſſed for profligacy. He was accuſed of tyranny, preciſely becauſe he poſſeſſed that exceſſive lenity of character, that is frequently a defect in a Sovereign, as it ſo far obliterates the recollection of neceſſary ſeverities, that faction is enabled to miſrepreſent them as proofs of unqualified deſpotiſm.'

When we combine this warm vindication of the late Monarch, with the praiſe that is laviſhed throughout the whole work on Bonaparte, and eſpecially with the paſſage where M. Bonnet ſays, that 'the Conſul meets with no oppoſition, except from thoſe who fooliſhly expect *that every thing can be re-eſtabliſhed at once*,' we are naturally tempted to imagine, that he conſiders the preſent ſyſtem of government as a ſtep to the reſtoration of the Bourbons. It turns out, however, that this is by no means the caſe. M. Bonnet has dedicated a whole chapter to the diſcuſſion of the chances for ſuch a reſtoration; and concludes, after a very cool inveſtigation, that they are now infinitely more deſperate than ever. Since the eſtabliſhment of the republic, a generation has grown up, he ſays, 'in whoſe heads the idea of royalty is an *exotic*;' and almoſt all who lead the armies, or direct the councils of republican France, are intereſted to reſiſt a reſtoration that would deprive them of diſtinction and power. The moſt zealous partizans of the throne were cruſhed under its ruins;

ruins; and the ranks of the nobleſſe have been thinned in the army of Condé, at Quiberon, and by the various inclemencies of a twelve-years exile. The preſent Pretender, too, he obſerves, was not popular in France; and as he never lived in it with the proſpect of reigning, it does not ſo readily occur, that he ſhould be recalled to reign.

On the other hand, M. Bonnet is moſt decidedly of opinion, that the executive power ſhould be declared *hereditary* in the family of the Firſt Conſul, with a ſupplementary proviſion, in caſe of his having no children. This is a meaſure, he ſays, of *abſolute neceſſity* for the concentration of the forces of government, and one which will not only put a ſtop to hoſtility, but even to diſcontent. Of Bonaparte himſelf, he ſays, 'that thoſe who know him, muſt all concur in putting up the moſt ardent prayers for the undeterminate prolongation of his days;' and 'that fortune has favoured him, throughout, in a manner ſo remarkable, that it would be flying in the face of Providence, to deny, that he was deſtined by nature for the place he now fills.' This piety and optimiſm, we verily believe, is perfectly orthodox at the Thuilleries, but will probably be received with ſome ſcruples in this country.

Among the paſſages, in which M. Bonnet pretends to throw new lights on the hiſtory of the Revolution, one of the moſt intereſting to an Engliſh reader, is that in which he makes mention of a project of Danton for ſaving the life of the King, by the aſſiſtance of this country, and of the circumſtances that occaſioned its miſcarriage. We inſert the paſſage at length.

'Soon after the impriſonment of the King, Danton, either wearied of the ſervice of Robeſpierre, or diſguſted with his barbarity, came to the reſolution of ſacrificing his own popularity, and ſaving the life of the King, upon certain conditions.

'With this view, he ſent a confidential emiſſary into England, with propoſitions for the King's deliverance; but they were not liſtened to. His agent then contrived to communicate his inſtructions, in a more indirect manner, to a certain French nobleman, whom the King had always conſidered, with juſtice, as one of thoſe who were moſt ſincerely attached to him. Thoſe who were to ſave the King, would, of courſe, forfeit all influence in France, and be obliged to leave the country. As the price of this double ſacrifice, Danton propoſed, that a ſum of money, ſufficient to ſecure the neceſſary votes, ſhould be depoſited in the hands of a banker in London, payable to the perſons whom he ſhould ſpecify, under this expreſs condition, that no part of it ſhould be exigible till the King was in ſafety in a neutral territory.

'The nobleman to whom this plan was communicated, was bound in honour to give it his countenance and ſupport; and, accordingly, correſponded with ſeveral of his friends, in the view of recommending

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it to the belligerent powers. All, however, was in vain. The death of the King entered into the plans of invaſion. One party wiſhed the French to cover themſelves with the opprobrium of a regicide and judiciary murder; another pretended that Louis XVI. was himſelf a democrat, and that his preſervation would but injure the cauſe of royalty: Even among the emigrants, there were ſome who received the news of his execution as the harbinger of their own triumph!

'The death of Louis XVI. was undoubtedly more of a national crime than that of Charles I. Has France, then, ſurpaſſed England in barbarity? She has cauſe, indeed, to bluſh at this memorable act of injuſtice; but the world ought, at the ſame time, to know, that the vindictive ſpirit of Britain, her jealouſy, and her envy, concurred in producing it. England was guilty of the King's death, becauſe ſhe deliberately choſe to let him periſh—becauſe ſhe might have ſaved him, and did not. Thus, all the wickedneſs of France was unequal to the guilt of ſuch a murder, without the co-operation of Britain.'

We certainly put no great faith in this anecdote; but we would wiſh to ſee it diſavowed, as well as diſcredited, in this country; and have inſerted it in that expectation. At the ſame time, it is amuſing to obſerve the glaring partiality with which M. Bonnet attempts to apologize for his countrymen, at the expence of their neighbours. England, it ſeems, is guilty of the murder of Louis XVI. becauſe ſhe did not bribe his murderers to let him eſcape. This is a ſpecies of conſtructive murder, we will acknowledge, of which we never heard before; and Auſtria, Spain, and Ruſſia, are juſt as guilty of it as England. Nay, according to the ſame rule, all thoſe countries, and France herſelf, were acceſſory to the death of Charles the Firſt, ſince their united treaſures might probably have made ſome impreſſion upon the guards of the Royal priſon, if not upon the upright members of the High Court of Juſtice itſelf. If England was guilty of the death of the King, ſhe was equally guilty of all the murders that ſignalized the dominion of the terroriſts, ſince a much ſmaller ſum could probably have delivered their victims from the guillotine, and enlightened the minds of their revolutionary judges with a proper conviction of their innocence. Neither Robeſpierre, nor Tinville, however, ſeem to have thought of pleading this in their vindication.

M. Bonnet's book, upon the whole, does not ſeem very likely to attract the ſame attention, in this country, which we underſtand it to have obtained in France. As a theory, or ſpeculative eſſay, its pretenſions to celebrity are certainly extremely ſlender: As an hiſtorical memoir, it has ſome value, and might have a chance to be remembered for a year or two, if the reader had any means of appreciating the authenticity of what is original in its ſtatements.

ART.

ART. XX. *A Thankſgiving for Plenty, and Warning againſt Avarice.* A Sermon. By the Reverend Robert Nares, Archdeacon of Staffford, and Canon Reſidentiary of Litchfield. London: Printed for the Author, and ſold by Rivington, St Paul's Church-yard. 8vo. 24 pages. 1801.

FOR the ſwarm of ephemeral ſermons which iſſue from the preſs, we are principally indebted to the vanity of popular preachers, who are puffed up, by female praiſes, into a belief, that what may be delivered, with great propriety, in a chapel full of viſitors and friends, is fit for the deliberate attention of the public, who cannot be influenced by the decency of a clergyman's private life, flattered by the ſedulous politeneſs of his manners, or miſled by the fallacious circumſtances of voice and action. A clergyman cannot be always conſidered as reprehenſible for preaching an indifferent ſermon; becauſe, to the active piety, and correct life, which the profeſſion requires, many an excellent man may not unite talents for that ſpecies of compoſition. But every man who prints, imagines he gives to the world ſomething which they had not before, either in matter or ſtyle; that he has brought forth new truths, or adorned old ones; and when, in lieu of novelty and ornament, we can diſcover nothing but trite imbecillity, the law muſt take its courſe, and the delinquent ſuffer that mortification from which vanity can rarely be expected to eſcape, when it chooſes dullneſs for the miniſter of its gratifications.

The learned author, after obſerving, that a large army praying, would be a much finer ſpectacle than a large army fighting, and after entertaining us with the old anecdote of Xerxes, and the flood of tears, proceeds to expreſs his ſentiments on the late ſcarcity, and the preſent abundance: then, ſtating the manner in which the Jews were governed by the immediate interference of God, and informing us, that other people expect not, nor are taught to look for miraculous interference, to puniſh or reward them, he proceeds to talk of the viſitation of Providence, for the purpoſes of trial, warning, and correction, as if it were a truth of which he had never doubted.

Still, however, he contends, though the Deity does interfere, it would be preſumptuous and impious to pronounce the purpoſes for which he interferes; and then adds, that it has pleaſed God, within theſe few years, to give us a moſt awful leſſon of the vanity of agriculture and importation without piety, and that he has proved this to the conviction of every thinking mind.

'Though he interpoſe not (ſays Mr Nares) by poſitive miracle, he influences by means unknown to all but himſelf, and di-

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rects the winds, the rain, and glorious beams of heaven, to execute his judgements, or fulfil his merciful designs.'—Now, either the wind, the rain, and the beams, are here represented to act as they do in the ordinary course of nature, or they are not: If they are, how can their operations be considered as a judgement on sins? and if they are not, what are their extraordinary operations, but positive miracles? So that the Archdeacon, after denying that any body knows *when*, *how*, and *why* the Creator works a miracle, proceeds to specify the *time*, *instrument*, and *object* of a miraculous scarcity; and then, assuring us that the elements were employed to execute the judgements of Providence, denies that this is any proof of a positive miracle.

Having given us this specimen of his talents for theological metaphysics, Mr Nares commences his attack upon the farmers; accuses them of cruelty and avarice; raises the old cry of monopoly; and expresses some doubts, in a note, whether the better way would not be, to subject their granaries to the controul of an exciseman; and to levy heavy penalties upon those, in whose possession corn, beyond a certain quantity, to be fixed by law, should be found.—This style of reasoning is pardonable enough in those who argue from the belly, rather than the brains; but in a well fed and well educated clergyman, who has never been disturbed, by hunger, from the free exercise of cultivated talents, it merits the severest reprehension. The farmer has it not in his power to raise the price of corn; he never has fixed, and never can fix it. He is unquestionably justified in receiving any price he can obtain; for it happens, very beautifully, that the effect of his efforts to better his fortune, is as beneficial to the public, as if their motive had not been selfish. The poor are not to be supported, in time of famine, by abatement of price on the part of the farmer, but by the subscription of residentiary canons, archdeacons, and all men rich in public or private property; and to these subscriptions, the farmer should contribute according to the amount of his fortune. To insist that he should take a less price, when he can obtain a greater, is to insist upon laying on that order of men, the whole burden of supporting the poor; a convenient system enough, in the eyes of a rich ecclesiastic; and objectionable only, because it is impracticable, pernicious, and unjust.

The question of the corn trade, has divided society into two parts—those who have any talents for reasoning, and those who have not. We owe an apology to our readers, for taking any notice of errors that have been so frequently and so unanswerably exposed; but, when they are echoed from the bench and the pulpit, the dignity of the teacher may perhaps communicate

ſome degree of importance to the ſilliеſt and moſt extravagant doctrines.

No reaſoning can be more radically erroneous, than that upon which the whole of Mr Nares's ſermon is founded. The moſt benevolent, the moſt chriſtian, and the moſt profitable conduct the farmer can purſue, is, to ſell his commodities for the higheſt price he can poſſibly obtain. This advice, we think, is not in any great danger of being rejected. We wiſh we were equally ſure of ſucceſs, in counſelling the Reverend Mr Nares to attend, in future, to practical, rather than theoretical queſtions about proviſions. He may be a very hoſpitable archdeacon; but nothing ſhort of a *poſitive miracle* can make him an acute reaſoner.

Art. XXI. *The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels*, from Cairo to Mourzouk, the Capital of the kingdom of Fezzan, in Africa, in the years 1797-8. London. Nicols. 1802.

It is known to our readers, that in the year 1788, ſeveral public-ſpirited individuals formed themſelves into an Aſſociation for the purpoſe of promoting diſcoveries in the interior of Africa. From various unfortunate accidents, and partly, no doubt, from deficiency of funds, little progreſs was for ſome time made in the purſuit of this very intereſting object. But, at the end of the year 1797, Mr Park returned from exploring the courſe of the Niger, and the territories ſituated in its vicinity; and although he failed in his attempts to reach the great towns which lie on the banks of that river, the information afforded by his narrative is, without doubt, extremely important.

The volume now before us, contains an account of the ſucceſs which has attended the commencement of another expedition, undertaken under the Society's patronage.

Frederick Horneman, a native of Germany, united that ſtrength of conſtitution and enterprizing ſpirit, which voyages of diſcovery ſo eminently require. At the Society's expence, he received the rudiments of Oriental literature in the Univerſity of Gottingen. In 1797, he proceeded to Egypt, through France; where he met with every aſſiſtance from that liberal and enlightened ſpirit which has always directed the ſcientific circles of Paris. After a reſidence of near twelve months at Cairo, during which he became acquainted with the language, and, in ſome degree, habituated to the manners of the Arabs, he was enabled, by the polite attention of Bonaparte, (who was at that time pillaging Egypt, under the treble diſguiſe of a muſſulman, a man of ſcience, and a friend of liberty), to join the caravan of merchants and pilgrims

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on their return, from the Eaſt, to the inland kingdoms of Africa. Previous to his departure, he was ſo fortunate as to engage in his ſervice, Joſeph Frendenburg, a countryman of his own, who had, twelve years before, been forced to embrace the Mahometan faith, and had acquired, during that period, from intercourſe with the natives, and various journeys to Mecca, a complete knowledge of the language, religion, and cuſtoms of the muſſulmans in thoſe parts of the Eaſt. Aſſuming the character of a Mahometan merchant from the northern provinces of the Turkiſh empire, and accompanied by Frendenburg as his interpreter, Mr Horneman proceeded with the caravan, in a weſterly direction, acroſs the great deſart which ſeparates Egypt from the reſt of Africa; and, after a journey of conſiderable fatigue, arrived at the Oaſis of Siwah; one of thoſe fertile ſpots, which, ſituated in the midſt of pathleſs ſands, and only approached by the 'ſhip of the deſart,' have preſented to the imagination of the Orientals, the reſemblance of iſlands in the ocean. Siwah is a ſmall independent ſtate, nominally in the kingdom of Fezzan, but governed by a number of ſheiks, whoſe contentions are productive of frequent tumult and bloodſhed. Dates form the principal part of its produce, and are at once the chief article of exchange with the caravan, and the meaſure by which all value is regulated in the country: Yet money is not unknown among the Siwahans; for we are informed 'that a large garden is valued at 4 to 600 real-patuacks, or imperial dollars:' p. 15. Something of the ſame kind is related by Bruce, iv. 406, in his account of Atbara; where, it ſeems, coarſe cloths, of a particular ſize, manufactured in Teawa, paſs current, although metal coins are alſo in uſe.

In Siwah, our traveller did not fail to viſit the ruins diſcovered by Browne, and ſuppoſed by Major Rennell to be the remains of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon. But he was prevented from examining this intereſting ſpot, by the jealouſy of the natives, who began to ſuſpect that he was an infidel, as ſoon as they perceived him gratifying his curioſity. Accordingly, his account of the ruins is by no means ſo accurate or full, as that which has been given by the original diſcoverer.

After reſting in this fruitful territory for ſome days, the caravan again entered the deſart, and proceeded towards Fezzan. But it had not travelled far, when the Siwahans overtook it, for the purpoſe of plundering the merchants, under pretence of aſſiſting them againſt the Bedouin Arabs. When this device failed, they accuſed the merchants of travelling with infidels; and demanded that Mr Horneman and his interpreter ſhould be inſtantly ſeized. The latter, whoſe imprudence had occaſioned theſe ſuſpicions, gave himſelf up for loſt; but Mr Horneman's preſence of mind

ſaved them both. He addreſſed the Siwahans with firmneſs; upbraided them for their unworthy conduct; and, by reading the Koran, removed all doubts of his being a true muſſulman. Unfortunately, during the alarm which this affair occaſioned, Frendenburg had buried all the papers in a neighbouring bog, from which they could not afterwards be recovered.

Our travellers now proceeded to Augila; where they remained ſome time. Their numbers being increaſed by the merchants of this diſtrict, they purſued their journey; and, after ſuffering extreme fatigue in croſſing the Black Harutch, a mountainous tract, known to the ancients by the name of Mons Ater, they reached the territory of Fezzan, paſſed through ſome of the ſmaller towns, and arrived at Mourzouk, the capital, on the 17th of November.

The kingdom of Fezzan, a territory of 300 miles in length, and 200 in breadth, excluſive of the deſarts, is thinly peopled by about 70,000 inhabitants, of a ſhort ſtature, deep brown complexion, and regular features; profeſſing, without exception, the Mahometan religion; and governed by a Sultan, who pays tribute to the Baſhaw of Tripoli, but rules in his own dominions with unlimited power. In theory, indeed, we might be apt to imagine that ſome check is provided to his deſpotic authority; for the office of Cadi, or head of the law and the church, has, ſince the commencement of the preſent race of Sultans, been hereditary in one family; and that miniſter poſſeſſes very great influence with the people. But this anomaly in a government ſo tyrannical, is immediately explained; for the Sultan has the power of naming the member of the family who ſhall ſucceed to the office at each vacancy: And ſo imperfectly are the limits of the Cadi's power defined, that all the princes of the blood claim the right even of criminal juriſdiction.

The royal revenue ariſes from the domains of the crown, from a ſort of land-tax, and from the arbitrary requiſitions which the Sultan continually impoſes. Lands are aſſigned for the ſupport of the princes; but they, too, levy occaſional contributions on the people, by armed bodies of their ſlaves.

The ſucceſſion to the throne has been veſted in the eldeſt branch of the royal family, apparently in order to avoid the dangers of a minority: but, as might eaſily be expected, the conſequence of this arrangement is, an inevitable appeal to the ſword, when the Sultan leaves children of ſufficient age to govern.

The great officers of ſtate, who are freeborn, have no influence whatever. Here, as in all deſpotic countries where the prince does not rule by deputy, ſlavery alone diſarms his jealouſy; and his confidence is given to the Mamelukes of the court. Our

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readers will recollect, that in Sennaar a ſimilar preference is conſtantly beſtowed on ſlaves; inſomuch that Mr Bruce has been led into the ſtrange notion, that ſlavery is there a ſituation of envied pre-eminence, and a mark of ſuperior rank. The French travellers in Perſia have fallen into a ſimilar miſtake; and one of them has not ſcrupled to aſſert, that the *title* of Koulam Shah, or royal ſlave, is equivalent to that of Duke or Marquis in France.

The climate of Fezzan is no leſs unfavourable to corporeal, than its government is inimical to mental exertion. At no ſeaſon do the natives enjoy a temperate air. In Summer the heat is intolerable, even to Africans; and an inhabitant of the North finds the cold of Winter ſevere.

The indolence and liſtleſs inactivity produced by theſe cauſes, prevent the ſoil from receiving that cultivation of which it is ſuſceptible. Dates alone are produced in abundance; grain is imported from the North; and animal food is ſo ſcarce, that the deſcription of a wealthy man at Mourzouk is, 'one who eats bread and meat every day.' A ſcanty ſubſiſtence of dates and farinaceous pap, ſeaſoned but rarely with a little rancid oil or fat, contributes to increaſe the natural languor and debility of this people.

'Even in thoſe parts (ſays Mr Horneman) where the race may be ſuppoſed to be ameliorated by a mixture with the Arabs, there is no energy of character, no induſtry. Arts and manufactures will of courſe ſupply but a poor and ſcanty chapter, exhibiting few articles, and no ingenuity. Throughout Mourzouk, I could not find one ſingle ſkilful artificer in any trade or work; indeed, there are no other tradeſmen but ſhoemakers and ſmiths. The latter work every metal without diſtinction; and the ſame man who forges ſhoes for the Sultan's horſe, makes rings for his princeſſes. The women, indeed, fabricate coarſe woollen cloths, called *abbes*; but, for the goodneſs or value of their manufacture, the reader may form his own eſtimate, when told that the weaver's ſhuttle is unknown, and that the woof is inſerted into the warp thread by thread, and the whole worked ſolely by the hand.' p. 70.

It may eaſily be imagined, that a country of this deſcription furniſhed but few materials for an intereſting narrative. Indeed, the only circumſtance from which Fezzan derives any importance, is its ſituation in the centre of the caravan tracks. It thus becomes a market where merchants meet, in their paſſage to different quarters of Africa, and lay in a ſtock of water and dates, almoſt the only native commodities of the country. The articles which theſe caravans bring from the interior, are chiefly ſlaves, feathers, and gold duſt. In return for which, they carry back fire-arms, trinkets, and other goods of European workmanſhip;

together with the more coſtly productions and manufactures of the Eaſt.

Such are the leading features of the general ſketch which Mr Horneman has given us of this unintereſting country. Of Mourzouk, the capital, it is rather ſingular that he gives no deſcription, although he reſided there ſix months. During this time, he and his interpreter Frendenburg were attacked with the country fever, which proved fatal to the latter. Mr Horneman, after his recovery, went to Tripoli; from whence he tranſmitted his journal; but unfortunately he has neglected to give any narrative of the journey from Mourzouk to the coaſt, although this track of country is as little known as that between Cairo and Fezzan, and can ſcarcely be leſs intereſting. After remaining ſome time at Tripoli, he returned to Mourzouk; from whence he tranſmitted various notices reſpecting the anterior of Africa, derived from the information of different natives and travellers with whom he converſed. In his laſt letter, dated April 1800, he informs the Society that he is in perfect health, and on the eve of departing with the caravan for Bournu, where he intends to join the great caravan for Caſhna; wiſely propoſing to avoid the manifold dangers that attend a protracted reſidence in one place.

Beſides the journal of Mr Horneman, and his other communications, the volume now before us contains prefatory matter, and an Appendix, occupying nearly double the ſpace allotted to the tract which forms the occaſion of the publication.

It is not very eaſy to perceive the utility of a long introduction from the pen of Sir William Young, the ſecretary and editor; as the *preface* contains every thing that is neceſſary to be detailed reſpecting the preſent publication. This 'Introductory Eſſay' occupies fifteen pages of laboured and pompous panegyric upon the inſtitution; in the courſe of which the author recapitulates the ſervices it has rendered to ſcience; and views, with great complacency, the advantages likely to reſult from its labours.

In the ſtyle of a declamation of this ſort, we naturally look for qualities which may be diſpenſed with in more ſubſtantial productions. As it is evidently unneceſſary, it ſhould at leaſt have been written with elegance. But the firſt thing that ſtrikes us, in Sir William Young's Eſſay, is a moſt oppreſſive ſtiffneſs of ſtyle, a perpetual affectation of depth, and ludicrous attempt at abſtraction; which ſeems, according to the Baronet's opinion, to conſiſt in a careful ſuppreſſion of the articles, and a conſtant ſubſtitution of the ſingular for the plural number. So accurately is this rule obſerved, that we ſhould have ſuppoſed the author to be deſirous only of attaining mercantile conciſeneſs in his compoſition, if the

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intenſe obſcurity of paſſages like the following had not convinced us, that he conſiders the method, juſt mentioned, as a ſimple receipt for philoſophical writing.

'Of the further progreſs of this accompliſhed traveller, the editor forbears to intimate deſign or ſuggeſtion. The ſeaſon of mere expectation and conjecture is gone by. It were idle, indeed, at this period of actual diſcovery, to hazard ſurmiſe for future correction on experiment.' p. 13.

With regard to the matter of this performance, upon farther reflection it occurs to us, that we have rather been too haſty in deſcribing it as an uſeleſs eulogium. Poſſibly it may contain a great deal more than we were aware of. In the following apothegm, for inſtance, much valuable truth may be concealed; and we lament our inability to obtain a glimpſe of it.

'Knowledge actually acquired, demands, in the future diſplay, merely accuracy and preciſion, as the guides to further ſucceſs.' p. 14.

It is true, we cannot imagine by what rule of proportion the ſucceſsful journey of one adventurer is made to diſcipline another ſetting out in a different track, and to render the object of his expedition definite and attainable. Yet the Society appears to be poſſeſſed of ſome ſuch method of computation, if we rightly underſtand the following paſſage.

'The Society is confirmed in its purpoſe, and aſſured of its objects, and of the means of attainment. Its travellers will not, in future, ruſh on with zealous, but unadviſed curioſity, or heſitate in the dark, and on unfounded apprehenſions; but, diſciplined and educated, proceed, with a ſpirit corrected and confirmed by knowledge and precaution, towards certain purpoſes and ends.' p. 12.

And from another paſſage we learn, that Major Rennell is an adept in this occult ſcience: for he

—'hath corrected the map of Africa, with a learning and ſagacity which *hath converted conjecture into knowledge*; and, on experience of thoſe who have explored parts of that great continent, given confidence to each future traveller who may viſit its remoteſt regions.' *ibid.*

The Introduction, after a notice of the expence attending the Society's inquiries, concludes with that ſpecies of ſolicitation, which conſiſts in a dignified refuſal to ſolicit.

'The Society cannot condeſcend to ſolicitation; nor is it neceſſary. It will ſuffice that, emboldened by ſucceſs, they ſuggeſt to their countrymen, that, under proper patronage, and with the means of extending their reſearches, *the concluſion will be of advantage to Great Britain, to Africa, and to the world.*' p. 15.

While a Society, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by the uſefulneſs of its views, and the celebrity of the greater part of its active members, inſtead of leaving its deeds to ſpeak for themſelves, permits a Secretary to gratify his hopeleſs paſſion for fine writing, by ſounding forth the praiſes of the inſtitution in ſtudied eulogiums, we muſt be excuſed for ſtopping to examine, a little more nearly, thoſe achievements, to the magnitude of which our attention is thus forcibly turned.

The Secretary is extremely anxious to repreſent the whole of the Society's proceedings as regular and ſyſtematic. All its operations are, according to him, parts of a combined train; and the ſucceſsful journeys of its agents muſt be aſcribed to the prophetic wiſdom of the inſtructions with which they were furniſhed. Now, we very much doubt, if any further praiſe can be allowed to the Aſſociation, than that of finding out proper emiſſaries, and paying their expences. Nothing can be clearer, than that the preſent expedition has owed its ſucceſs entirely to Mr Horneman. We are indeed told, that after Mr Park had deſignated, what Sir William is pleaſed to call the 'route of country and of men;' after he had given information of 'the *viaticum* of character and accompliſhments neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſs of future travellers; pointed out the road to diſtricts and cities of greateſt intereſt, and ſhown the means of ſecuring entrance and hoſpitable reception:' the Society 'availed itſelf of this intelligence, and diſpatched Mr Horneman, who gave the leſſon full effect.' But, unhappily, a very obvious anachroniſm (not to uſe a ſhorter and harſher word) deprives this fine combination of all pretenſions to reality; for Mr Park did not return till the very end of December 1797; and Mr Horneman, who had been engaged in the ſervice of the Aſſociation early in 1796, left London in July 1797; ſo that, on Mr Park's arrival, an additional *viaticum* of character and accompliſhments muſt have been diſpatched after him. But, in fact, there is no reaſon whatever to believe, that the ſucceſs of Mr Park's expedition had the ſlighteſt connexion with Mr Horneman's, or that the latter gentleman was, in the ſmalleſt degree, indebted to the Society's inſtructions for the progreſs which he made. His letter of Auguſt 31. 1798, contains a full ſtatement of the plan which he had formed, with the reaſons which had induced him to adopt it.—His arrangements were, indeed, dictated by the ſituation in which the arrival of the French had placed all Franks in that part of the world. They were influenced by the departure of a caravan for the very regions which he had received general orders to explore. They were recommendedd, more particularly, by the recent failure of Mr Browne, who had travelled alone, and undiſguiſed.

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But, to whomſoever belongs the merit of the ſucceſs which has hitherto accompanied Mr Horneman, we can ſcarcely allow, that his diſcoveries have been ſo important, as to juſtify the vaunting ſtyle of the Secretary; or that he has hitherto done more, than give a very fair promiſe of ſucceeding in the ſubſequent part of his expedition. Neither are we extremely ſanguine in our expectations of the commercial advantages that may reſult from the part of his labours which is already terminated. It is difficult to ſee, in what manner he has 'explored a road, which mercantile adventure will and muſt enter.' The courſe of the caravans has been known for ages. Mr Horneman has diſcovered no new productions, which may excite the ſpeculations of traders; nor has he diſcovered any eaſier track, by which the interior of Africa may be approached. The commodities which are exchanged in Fezzan, are alſo brought to Cairo and Tripoli, where European merchants may obtain them upon more advantageous terms than at Mourzouk. Long journeys acroſs the deſarts, are little adapted to the conſtitution and habits of Europeans. But the natives of Africa are inured to the climate, and accuſtomed, by a life of abſtinence and hardſhips, to the various difficulties and privations which attend ſuch expeditions. Among them, too, the buſineſs of the caravan has, for ages, aſſumed a regular ſhape: it forms a ſeparate profeſſion, in which particular tribes almoſt excluſively engage. Thus, the trade to Cairo is in the hands of the Augilans; that to Tripoli is carried on by the Lochna; while the Tibbo and Tuarick have engroſſed the commerce of the countries to the ſouth of Fezzan. Nay, ſo regularly is this ſyſtem eſtabliſhed, that Mr Horneman has pointed out the effects of the caravan life, upon the character of thoſe who are engaged in it; and who, from their earlieſt years, are trained to its artifices and hardſhips. It is manifeſt, therefore, that our merchants would make but an unprofitable exchange, were they to quit their preſent ſtations, in order to ſecure 'a priority of factories, and eſtabliſhments of trade;' or to ſupplant thoſe tribes, who have now the carrying trade of the interior in their hands. But, admitting that ſuch an object were deſireable, neither the diſcoveries of Mr Park, nor thoſe of Mr Horneman, have done more than ſhew the various inſurmountable obſtacles to its attainment. Ages of gradual improvement in arts and civilization muſt elapſe, before any abatement can be expected, of that deadly hatred which, all over Africa, appears to inſpire the followers of Mahomet, againſt every thing connected with Chriſtianity. Nor can Europeans hope to ſee any rapid improvement in the arts of peace, among nations who are engaged in perpetual warfare, by the demands of the ſlave market,

ket. The Secretary of the Aſſociation, when he boaſts of the benefits which its labours are to confer upon Africa, would do well to conſider, how unavailing are his efforts, in this capacity, to promote the civilization of thoſe vaſt regions, while his zeal, in another place, is devoted to perpetuate their barbariſm.

The Appendix is compoſed of four pieces. The firſt is, 'A note on Mr Horneman's deſcription of Siwah;' in which Sir William Young points out an error of the traveller, in over-rating the dimenſions of the Oaſis; and endeavours, by a variety of quotations from ancient authors, to ſhew that new evidence has been produced by Mr Horneman's Journal, in ſupport of the opinion, that the ruins at Siwah are thoſe of the temple of Ammon. After all, we think it abundantly clear, that Mr Browne's diſcoveries furniſh the only ſubſtantial demonſtration of this point. He examined the ſpot with much greater accuracy than Mr Horneman had an opportunity of doing; and we are indebted to him for three obſervations, moſt deciſive of the queſtion, but omitted by Mr Horneman, that the proportions of the building are thoſe of the Egyptian temples; that the ſculpture contains figures of Iſis and Anubis; and that, in the immediate vicinity of the ruins, there flows a fountain alternately hot and cold: (Browne's Travels, p. 24. & 28.) The ancient authorities are fully ſtated by Major Rennell, in the twentieth ſection of his Geography of Herodotus. But, as a ſpecimen of the additional light which Sir William Young throws upon this ſubject, we beg leave to mention the following fine-ſpun inference. Mr Horneman obſerved, that the earth, in ſeveral places of the area, has been dug up in ſearch of treaſure: 'Hence,' ſays Sir William, 'it may be inferred, that there were formerly *other buildings* within the encloſure.' Then, it appears that, in Ammon, there were temples of Juno and Mercury, as well as of Jupiter, and ſometimes the ancients encloſed ſeveral temples with one wall—therefore, the temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Mercury, were within the ſame encloſure—therefore, the broken ground at Siwah is the ſite of the two laſt temples—therefore, the ruins which remain are thoſe of Jupiter Ammon. The learned Baronet here ſuppoſes that theſe are remains of buildings, becauſe he ſuppoſes that ſuch buildings may once have exiſted. Such reaſoning is too ſlender, even to ſatisfy an antiquary.

Having introduced Lucan's deſcription of the temple of Ammon, 'not (he obſerves) as authority, but for purpoſe of inference,' Sir William thinks proper to conclude his commentary, with a tranſlation of Cato's ſpeech to thoſe who adviſed him to conſult the oracle. We have had occaſion to remark, how

how different our author's proſe is from that in common uſe. The mere abſence of proſe, however, does not conſtitute poetry; and the obſcurity in which he delights, is not always a mark of inſpiration. So gratuitous a ſpecimen of his talent for writing verſes, could only have been juſtified by their containing ſomething like poetry. Inſtead of this, we do not meet with either ſenſe or grammar; and, to aggravate the offence, our commentator has choſen, in the wantonneſs of his inſpired moments, to mangle one of the fineſt parts of the Pharſalia. Not to diſguſt our readers with a view of all the havock he has made, we ſhall only give them a glimpſe, in the following paſſage—

——' Me non oracula certum,
Sed mors certa facit '—

—thus done into bad Engliſh by Sir William:

' No oracle confirms or moves my thoughts—
Makes nought more ſure—I know I am to die;
And this doth make me ſure—of how to live.' p. 95.

The ſecond article of the Appendix, contains Mr Horneman's notices of African geography, derived from inquiries among the natives of the interior, whom he met with during his reſidence at Mourzouk; and the third article is Major Rennell's conſtruction of the geography of Mr Horneman's route, with the alterations which his remarks, and thoſe of Mr Browne, have ſuggeſted in the Map of North Africa. This memoir is drawn up with that patient induſtry, and unwearied attention to minute circumſtances, which muſt be the guide of the geographer, where his materials are ſcanty; and rarely conſiſt of actual meaſurements or obſervations. It is chiefly from Mr Browne's travels, that our author has been enabled to draw his corrections of African geography. Mr Horneman has hitherto furniſhed little new matter; and of that little, the greater part ſeems very queſtionable. Indeed, Major Rennell himſelf utterly rejects the idea again brought forward by Horneman, from the concurring teſtimony of all the travellers with whom he converſed, that the Niger joins the Nile. The poſition of Mourzouk appears to be the only material variation ſuggeſted by Horneman, and admitted by Major Rennell; and we venture, with great deference, to ſubmit, that the evidence on which this reſts is not deciſive. It ſeems to be admitted by Major Rennell, that the obſervation muſt have been erroneous, by which Mr Horneman determined the latitude of Mourzouk, two degrees to the ſouth of its poſition, according to all other authorities and computations; and Major Rennell computes, from the journal, that this city is four miles farther from Cairo, than by the

the accounts of Browne and Ledyard; and twenty-five miles nearer to Cairo, than by the bearings from Meſurata. Our readers will judge, what reliance ought to be placed on the information afforded by Mr Horneman's journal, in a queſtion of ſuch minute variations, when they are aware of the ſteps which lead Major Rennell to his concluſion. The loſs of Mr Horneman's papers, down to the third day after his departure from Siwah, renders the computation of the diſtance of Siwah, by his journal, ſo inaccurate, that Major Rennell fixes the ſituation of this town entirely from Mr Browne's obſervations. In determining the diſtance of Augila from Siwah, Major Rennell takes the medium between his computations founded on Mr Horneman's journal, and the diſtance given by Edriſi: yet it is obſerved, that the authorities collected by Mr Beaufoy, make this diſtance greater than Edriſi does; and it ſhould be remembered, that Mr Horneman's account of the firſt twenty-three hours of his journey from Siwah, muſt have been kept from memory, as his papers were not loſt until he had travelled nearly three days from Siwah. Laſtly, Mr Horneman does not give in hours, the whole time ſpent in travelling between Augila and Mourzouk; he inſerts nine days in his account: ſo that a very ſmall error, with reſpect to the proportion of theſe days, aſſumed by Mr Rennell to have been ſpent in travelling, will produce all the difference in queſtion, of four, or even of twenty-five miles. If, then, the accounts collected by Meſſrs Browne and Ledyard, render it neceſſary to place Mourzouk twenty-nine miles to the eaſtward of its bearing from Meſurata, according to former authorities, it does not appear that any confirmation, and much leſs any correction, of its new poſition, ſhould be allowed to ariſe from Mr Horneman's journal. We muſt again obſerve, that we entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of this traveller's ſucceſs; but, as yet, we have only accompanied him to the point where his courſe begins; and we regret that the Aſſociation has laviſhed all its expreſſions of ſelf-gratulation upon the appearance of the bloſſoms, inſtead of reſerving them in honour of that plentiful harveſt of diſcovery, which the extent of the field, and the ſingular accompliſhments of the labourer, give us every reaſon to expect.

The laſt article of the Appendix, is a letter from Mr Marſden to Sir Joſeph Banks, on the language of Siwah. From a compariſon of the ſpecimen brought home by Mr Horneman, with the language of the Berbers, or Shilha of Mount Atlas, Mr Marſden is led to conclude, that the Siwahan is a mixture of the Berber and Arabic, extending, probably, through the whole breadth of Africa, between the Negro dialects on the ſouth, and the Mooriſh on the Mediterranean. Mr Marſden's inference acquires

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ſtill greater force, from the account of the Siwahans given by the Arabian geographers, viz. that they are a mixture of Berbers and Arabs.

This volume concludes with a liſt of the ladies and gentlemen who compoſe the African Aſſociation, accompanied by a notice of the mode of applying for ſeats, and the terms of admiſſion.

ART. XXII. *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St Lawrence through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years* 1789 *and* 1793: With a Preliminary Account of the Fur Trade. By Alexander Mackenzie. London. 4to. 1801.

THOUGH this large volume will convey but little important information to the geographer, the naturaliſt, or the ſtateſman, it will probably be peruſed with very general intereſt and ſatisfaction. There is ſomething in the idea of traverſing a vaſt and unknown continent, that gives an agreeable expanſion to our conceptions; and the imagination is inſenſibly engaged and inflamed by the ſpirit of adventure, and the perils and the novelties that are implied in a voyage of diſcovery.

A ſmall band of adventurers, expoſed, for months together, in a boat of bark, upon thoſe inhoſpitable waters, 'which (to uſe our author's own language) had never before borne any other veſſel than the canoe of the ſavage, and traverſing thoſe deſarts, where an European had never before preſented himſelf to the eye of its ſwarthy natives;' exhibit a ſpectacle that is well calculated to excite our curioſity and attention. They remind us of the romantic expedition of Orellana, and carry back the imagination to thoſe days of enterprize and diſcovery, when the Genius of Europe broke into all the continents of the world, and performed and diſcovered wonders, that made the marvellous familiar, and obtained credit even for impoſſibilities. Though that great harveſt, both of invention and diſcovery, be now over, the gleanings that remain for this later age, are neither few nor inconſiderable; and Mr Mackenzie, who has travelled for them over a large and rugged field, certainly has neither loſt his labour nor miſemployed it.

He has brought back, indeed, no report of prodigies, either of nature or of art, and has not found, in his way, the materials of thoſe deſcriptions which animate the narratives of more fortunate travellers. He has diſcovered, in the wilderneſs, no traces of ancient civilization, and no indications of ſurpaſſing wiſdom and virtue among the ſavages: he has found no pyramids, nor labyrinths, nor deſerted cities, nor ſplendid ruins,

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and neither reaſoned with the ſuperb philoſophers of El Dorado, nor exerciſed himſelf, in gallantry and arms, with the nymphs of an Amazonian community. His adventures, however, have all the intereſt that ſober probability will admit of, or that his ſituation was capable of exciting. He followed a painful courſe, through difficulties and dangers, to an unknown termination; and went ſteadily forward, without knowing where he was to iſſue, amidſt the roaring of cataracts, and the ſolitude of mountains; expoſed to the daily hazard of ſhipwreck, and famine, and mutiny; and to the danger of treachery or aſſault from the melancholy ſavages that roamed acroſs his courſe, or reluctantly conſented to direct it. His narrative, if ſometimes minute and fatiguing, is uniformly diſtinct and conſiſtent; his obſervations, though not numerous, are ſagacious and unaſſuming; and the whole work bears an impreſſion of correctneſs and veracity, that leaves no unpleaſant feeling of doubt or ſuſpicion in the mind of the reader.

The work may properly be ſaid to conſiſt of three parts. The firſt, and perhaps the moſt intereſting of the whole, is a hiſtory of the fur trade, with an account of the natives with whom it is carried on, and the route by which the commodities are tranſmitted. The ſecond contains the journal of a voyage undertaken in 1789, which terminated in the Frozen Ocean, in north latitude 69. weſt longitude 134. being about 24 degrees to the weſtward of the point at which Mr Hearne reached the ſame ſea in 1771. The third, and moſt conſiderable, is the journal of the voyage which brought Mr Mackenzie to the ſhores of the Pacific, in latitude 52. 21. north, and longitude 127. weſt. The nature of our plan will permit us to make but a very few obſervations on theſe three articles.

The fur trade of Canada (which is incomparably more active than that which is in the hands of the Hudſon's Bay Company) carries thoſe who are engaged in it to the aſtoniſhing diſtance of *four thouſand miles* to the weſtward of Montreal. It is carried on by the mediation of fifty clerks, ſeventy-one interpreters, and one thouſand one hundred and twenty canoe men, who are commonly attended with a *cortege* of upwards of ſeven hundred Indian women and children. This northern caravan embarks, every Spring, in different diviſions, in ſlight canoes of bark, upon rivers newly freed from the ice, and proceeds along its weary voyage, through every ſort of difficulty and diſcomfort. In the courſe of their progreſs to the weſtward, the canoes are unloaded, and towed up more than *two hundred rapids*, while the cargoes are conveyed on mens ſhoulders by land; and the veſſels themſelves, with their loading, are tranſported over no leſs than *one hundred and thirty carrying places*, from twenty-

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five paces to thirteen miles in length. The detachment that leaves Montreal in the beginning of May, arrives at the *Grande Portage*, upon Lake Superior, about the middle of June, where they are met by thoſe who had ſpent the Winter in the remoter eſtabliſhments, and from whom they receive the furs which had been collected in the courſe of their Winter traffic. Upwards of twelve hundred men, Mr Mackenzie ſays, are thus aſſembled, every Summer, in this remote wilderneſs, and live together, for a week or two, in a comfortable and convivial manner. After all their accounts are ſettled, the furs are repacked, and embarked in a part of the canoes for Montreal, where they uſually arrive in September; and the remainder proceed, with the articles neceſſary for carrying on the trade, to the different poſts and eſtabliſhments in the Indian country. At the diſtance of fifty or ſixty miles from Grande Portage, they arrive at the *height of land*, by which the waters that iſſue into the Atlantic, are ſeparated from thoſe that diſcharge themſelves into Hudſon's Bay and the Frozen Ocean. From this point, therefore, the traders proceed to the weſtward, along with the current, and traverſe many a dreary lake, and wind along many a dangerous ſtream, before they reach their utmoſt deſtination at Fort Chepewyan, on the banks of the Lake of the Hills, in longitude 110. W. Little leſs than ſeventy pages are dedicated, by Mr Mackenzie, to the deſcription of this route, and the enumeration of the ſucceſſive lakes, rivers, rapids, and carrying-places, of which it is compoſed. A diſtinct map would certainly have conveyed a great deal more information; and a very ſhort memoir, in illuſtration of it, might have contained all the important intelligence that could not be preſented, at once, by the graver, to the eye. There are occaſional patches of intereſting deſcription, and ſome characteriſtic anecdotes of the natives, and the traders who conſort with them; but this part of the work is, on the whole, extremely tedious and perplexing, and ſhould have been confined within much narrower limits.

The only ſtage in all this pilgrimage, which we ſhall detain our readers with mentioning, is that of Lake Winipic, in longitude 97. weſt; which ſeems calculated, from its peculiar ſituation, to become the grand depôt of this traffic, if ſmall-pox and ſpirituous liquors do not ſpeedily intercept its extenſion, by the complete extirpation of the Indians. This lake communicates, in a direct and ſhort channel, with the ſouthern ſhores of Hudſon's Bay, by the rivers Severn and Nelſon, and is connected with the countries at the head of the Miſſiſippi and Miſſiſouri by the Aſſiniboin and Red rivers, beſides lying in the direct track from the Saſkatchiwine and Athabaſca rivers, to Lake Superior and the ſources of the St. Lawrence. It is by this laſt channel alone that the

the North-Weſt Company have hitherto been able to tranſmit the commodities they have collected about Lake Winipic; the jealouſy of trade having determined the Hudſon's Bay Company to refuſe them a paſſage into that ſea by the Nelſon or Severn rivers.

Of this jealouſy on the part of the Hudſon's Bay Company, and the diſadvantages and obſtructions which it is conſtantly producing to the Canadian adventurers, Mr Mackenzie ſpeaks throughout the whole work in terms of decided reprobation. Mr Mackenzie, however, is a partner of the Canadian Aſſociation; and the members of the rival Company have not been heard in the cauſe. We will not preſume, therefore, to give any opinion, in a queſtion that has been but partially ſtated; though it does occur to us, that the free navigation of the rivers between Lake Winipic and Hudſon's Bay, would probably tend, in a very little time, to transfer the whole trade to the borders of that ſea, or at leaſt very greatly to diminiſh the ſhare which Canada now enjoys of it. If the greater part of the furs collected in the Indian country could be ſent more readily and cheaply to market, by the route of the Hudſon's Bay waters, (which ſeems to be allowed), it muſt follow, that the commodities with which the trade is carried on, could alſo be ſent *into* the Indian country, by that route, with the greateſt advantage. Theſe commodities, however, are almoſt all brought from England; and the furs are uniformly carried, in the firſt inſtance, to that market. If this be the caſe, it is difficult to ſee what ſhare the merchants in Montreal could eaſily retain in ſuch a traffic. The furs would be carried directly from Hudſon's Bay to Great Britain; and the neceſſary goods, to anſwer them, directly from Great Britain to Hudſon's Bay. It is not poſſible to conceive, that ſuch a trade could long continue in the hands of perſons reſiding in Montreal, or that the materials of it ſhould be carried nearly a thouſand miles out of their courſe, when ſuch a deviation could be effectually prevented, by an eſtabliſhment at the York or the Churchill Fort. Though it is very probable, therefore, that the fur trade would be carried on with greater profit and facility by the route of Hudſon's Bay, than by that of the St Lawrence, it does not ſeem to be the intereſt of thoſe who reſide upon the latter, to inſiſt upon forcing it into that channel. If the Hudſon's Bay Company have neglected the advantages with which their charter inveſted them, the Canadian traders have made great profit by the omiſſion; and it really ſeems a little unreaſonable in them to contend, that their rivals ſhould be deprived of their charter altogether, as a puniſhment for not having made that judicious uſe of it, which would probably have entirely prevented the exiſtence of a Canadian competition. Excluſive privileges

vileges are probably of no great benefit to this trade, or to any other; but the conſequence of throwing it quite open, would not be, we imagine, to centre it in the merchants of the St Lawrence.

There is another commercial diſadvantage in this trade, however, of which Mr Mackenzie complains, with more juſtice. Almoſt the whole of the furs collected in America are ultimately deſtined, it is generally known, for the conſumption of the Chineſe; thoſe that are ſent by the way of London, however, can only be forwarded by the ſhips of the Eaſt India Company; and ſuch is the delay, the weight of the duty, and the difficulty in getting home the produce, that ſeveral experiments have been already made, to ſend the goods to China, directly through the United States, where no ſuch impediments exiſt; and Mr Mackenzie gives it as his opinion, that unleſs ſome indulgence be ſhewn by the Eaſt India Company, the whole trade will infallibly fall into that channel, to the great diſadvantage of England, and inconvenience of the Canadian adventurer.

To theſe arbitrary reſtrictions upon the trade, there is to be added, it ſeems, the diſadvantage under which it labours, from the unuſual length of time that is requiſite to bring in its returns; which exceeds the ordinary credit upon the expenditure, it is ſaid, by no leſs than two or three years. We ſhall inſert Mr Mackenzie's own ſtatement of the proceedings. He takes the example of goods that are *paid for* in 1798.

'The orders for the goods are ſent to this country	25th Oct. 1796.
They are ſhipped from London - - -	March 1797.
They arrive in Montreal - - -	June 1797.
They are made up in the courſe of that Summer and Winter.	
They are ſent from Montreal - - -	May 1798.
They arrive in the Indian country, and are exchanged for furs the following Winter - - -	1798-9.
Which furs come to Montreal - - -	Sep. 1799.
And are ſhipped for London, where they are ſold in March and April, and paid for in May or June -	1800.'

Notwithſtanding all theſe inconveniences, the trade muſt ſtill be a profitable one; as it has been conſtantly increaſing for theſe laſt twenty years; and is ſtated by Mr Mackenzie himſelf, to have '*tripled* its amount in the courſe of eleven years, with proportionate profits,' &c.

The remainder of this firſt part of the work is occupied with an account of the native inhabitants, who are divided by Mr Mackenzie into two great families, the *Kniſteneaux* and the *Chepewyan*. The former comprehend almoſt all the tribes that border upon the Atlantic, or upon the colonies of Europe, and are ſaid to be gradually diffuſing themſelves to the weſtward,

and making an eaſy conqueſt, for the moſt part, of the hordes with which they encounter: the fire-arms which they have obtained from the colonies, contribute, it is probable, not a little to their ſucceſs. The Chepewyans, on the contrary, are evidently in a progreſs *from* the weſtward; and are not known to have advanced to the eaſt of longitude 108. They have yielded to the Kniſteneaux wherever they have met with them; and ſeem likely to be incorporated with their conquerors. Thoſe two nations ſpeak different languages; and have ſome uſages and ſuperſtitions that are peculiar to each. The baſis of the character, however, appears to be the ſame in both; and the ſimilarity of their external appearance, habits and ways of life, points out, with apparent certainty, the identity of their common origin; though Mr Mackenzie is of opinion, that the Chepewyans are of *Aſiatic* origin, and are in the courſe of a progreſs from Siberia. Thoſe who have read what Charlevoix, Laſiteau, Adair, and Hearne, have written upon the character and manners of the North American ſavage, will derive but little additional information from the narrative of Mr Mackenzie. It is pleaſing, however, to find ſuch a concurrence in the reports of perſons whoſe characters and objects were ſo different.

There is one remark, which, though by no means new, is irreſiſtibly ſuggeſted to us by the peruſal of theſe deſcriptions; it is, that thoſe nations have made no ſenſible progreſs in civilization or improvement, after an intercourſe of little leſs than two hundred years with the induſtrious and intelligent colonies of Europe. By the partial uſe of iron and of gunpowder, we have made their wars more ſanguinary than formerly, and provided ſtill more largely for their extermination, by the introduction of rum and the ſmall-pox. Their numbers are waſting away, accordingly, by a yearly and viſible diminution; and it appears now to be tolerably certain, that the whole race will be extinct before a ſingle tribe has been reclaimed from the miſery and diſorders of a barbarous life. Even in the immediate neighbourhood of the colonies, and where every exertion has been made for their improvement, that religious zeal and intereſted policy could dictate, no ſenſible progreſs has been effected. The children of a whole tribe have even been carefully educated, in vain. The Algonquins, who have an eſtabliſhment within thirty miles of Montreal, have the Scriptures explained to them in their own language; and are all taught to read and write, in their youth, by the zeal and attention of their paſtors. 'But notwithſtanding theſe advantages,' ſays Mr Mackenzie, 'and though the eſtabliſhment is nearly coeval with the colonization of the

the country, they do not advance towards a ſtate of civiliſation; but retain their ancient habits, language, and cuſtoms, and are becoming every day more depraved, indigent, and inſignificant.' In another place, he deſcribes the natives around the remoter eſtabliſhments, as being 'one half of the year ſtarving, and the other half intoxicated:' and adds, 'that through their ſlothful and diſſolute lives, their numbers are in a very perceptible ſtate of diminution.'

There is ſomething, at firſt ſight, very unaccountable in this obſtinate indocility of theſe people. Nations ſeem formerly to have caught civilization by contact, and to have ſtarted forward in the career of improvement, upon the ſlighteſt impulſe or ſuggeſtion. In thoſe inſtances, however, the diſtance probably was not ſo great between the barbarian and his inſtructors, as it is in this caſe; and it is poſſible, after all, that our method of inſtruction has not been very judicious or conſiſtent. Reading and writing, and the interpretation of the Scriptures, certainly are not the *firſt* ſteps by which a ſavage community is to be ſeduced from its wild and diſorderly habits; and the whole progreſs may poſſibly be impeded by ſuch an inverſion of its ſtages. On the other hand, by our demand for furs, we compel them, in a manner, to adhere to the practice of hunting, and thus give a bounty for the preſervation of barbariſm, while we affect to be ſeriouſly engaged in ſubduing, by baptiſms, and ſchoolboy taſks of catechiſms and grammars.

As a counterpart to the ſtubborn indocility of the Indians, who reſiſt all the precept and example of the coloniſts, it is worth while juſt to mention the facility with which ſome of the latter aſſume the manners and character of the ſavages. Every one who has travelled in the borders of the Indian country, brings back reports of the multitude of white men that are found incorporated in the tribes of the natives, and voluntarily reduced to the ſame way of life that is natural to thoſe people. Mr Mackenzie informs us, that 'there were very great numbers, who, after accompanying the Indians for a ſeaſon or two in their expeditions, became ſo much attached to their mode of life as to loſe all reliſh for their former habits and native homes.' They were called in Canada, *Coureurs des bois*, and ſeem to have united all the vices of the civilized and ſavage character. This is not perhaps very ſurpriſing. The comforts of a labourer in the loweſt rank of ſociety, (to which it is probable that theſe renegadoes belonged), are ſcarcely ſuperior, in moſt civilized ſocieties, to the ordinary life of a ſavage. Where the character is fundamentally licentious beſides, the mere freedom from controul will make amends for many hardſhips; and the de-

gree of favour and conſideration in which ſuch a convert would probably be held, would be a new motive for the tranſition.

Of the ſecond part of this work, which contains Mr Mackenzie's account of his voyage to the Frozen Ocean in 1789, we have but very little to ſay. It was undertaken in the hope of reaching the Pacific; and it was not till towards its termination, that the author perceived, from the continued northerly courſe of the river, that it muſt fall into the ocean in that direction. He ſet out from Fort Chepewyan on the Lake of the Hills, and paſſed down the Peace, or Slave River, to the great Slave Lake. This expanſe of water he found ſo much incumbered with ice, in the middle of June, that he was obliged to coaſt round a great part of it, till he reached its main outlet towards the North-weſt, in latitude 61. N. The ſtream on which he was now embarked, carried him forward, for ſeven and twenty days, with a rapid and ſafe current, till he was warned of his approach to the ſea (in latitude 69. N.) by the action of the tide in the channel and on the ſhores. The violence of the ſwell and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, prevented him from going any farther; and he ſet out on his return, without having quitted the freſh water, or got clear of the banks of the river.

Neither his adventures nor obſervations, in this expedition, require much notice. The wind blew violently ſometimes, and ſometimes the canoe became leaky. The moſt ſerious of his perils, however, were from famine; as the ſubſiſtence of the whole party depended, almoſt entirely, upon their daily ſucceſs in hunting and fiſhing; and game was not always equally plenty. If their conſumption was uniform, indeed, it muſt have required no ordinary diligence in their purveyors to ſupply it; for he mentions, incidentally, that the crew, which conſiſted of ten men and four women, 'diſpatched two rein-deer, four ſwans, forty-five geeſe, and a very conſiderable quantity of fiſh, in the courſe of ſix days.' The natives with whom he had any intercourſe, do not appear to have been different from other ſavages; they were timorous and turbulent, and full of inconſiſtency and deceit; ſkilful and dexterous in ſnaring game and catching fiſh, and in the fabrication of their arms, implements, and canoes; but ignorant and awkward as to everything elſe; and almoſt totally devoid of curioſity or attention. They are ſaid to have been ſtrangers to the uſe of tobacco, gun-powder, and ſpirituous liquors, and to have had no other way of boiling their proviſions than by throwing heated ſtones into baſkets containing water. Their language was eaſily underſtood by the Indians who accompanied Mr Mackenzie. The tribes that inhabit the lower parts of the river ſeem to differ little from the reſt, except in the hatred they bear towards the Eſquimaux, who are always found in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt, and are accuſed of being

ing cruel, treacherous, and puſillanimous. There is one trait which was ſcarcely to have been expected among a race ſo erratic and hardy; they were all perfectly ignorant of the nature of the country, or the courſe of the rivers, a very few days journey beyond their own haunts; and the fables they told of the dangers of the way, are among the moſt amuſing paſſages that relate to them. When Mr Mackenzie was within ſix days journey from the ſea, they aſſured him that it would take ſeveral years to arrive at it; and that old age would overtake him before he could hope to return. They deſcribed the navigation, too, as being interrupted by impaſſable cataracts at a very ſhort diſtance; when, in fact, it was only diſturbed, during the whole courſe, by two very manageable rapids.

Mr Mackenzie is not a naturaliſt, and had no leiſure for minute obſervations. The moſt remarkable circumſtance he mentions as to the country, relates to the exceſſive cold that muſt prevail towards the mouth of the river during the greater part of the year. At the time of his viſit, it was about three weeks paſt Midſummer, and the ground was covered with ſhort graſs and a variety of flowers; and yet, at the depth of *four inches* from the ſurface, he uniformly met with a ſolid body of ice. It is difficult to conceive how vegetation could proceed in ſuch a ſituation; and eſpecially, how trees, and other vegetables, that ſtrike a deeper root, could ſubſiſt in it. In another place he mentions it, with great juſtice, as 'a very curious and extraordinary circumſtance, that land covered with ſpruce, pine, and white birch, when laid waſte by fire, ſhould ſubſequently produce nothing but poplars, where none of that ſpecies of tree were previouſly to be found.' Mr Mackenzie muſt excuſe us for not giving implicit faith to this obſervation.

The failure of this firſt expedition, ſatisfied Mr Mackenzie that the route to the Pacific muſt be ſought for in a more ſoutherly direction, and determined him to explore it, by aſcending the ſtream of the *Unjigah*, or Peace River, and endeavouring to croſs the mountains among which it was ſaid to have its ſources. As his former miſcarriage had gone far to enſure his preſent ſucceſs, and had alſo made him ſenſible of his deficiencies for ſuch an undertaking, he did not ſcruple to make a winter voyage to Great Britain, for the expreſs purpoſe of obtaining the neceſſary inſtruments and information, and returned fully qualified to make a ſcientific ſurvey of the countries he was to traverſe, and to fix his geographical poſitions with accuracy and preciſion. As the length of the voyage was altogether uncertain, our author determined to have the benefit of the whole Summer for the proſecution of it; and, accordingly, ſet out from Fort Chepewyan, in the month of October 1792, with the intention of proceed-

ing to the remoteſt eſtabliſhment of the Company before the winter ſet in, and ſtarting from this advanced poſt as ſoon as the navigation was practicable in the Spring. Accordingly, in the month following, he arrived at a new-built fort (for ſo all the trading houſes in this country are denominated) upon the ſame river, in lat. 56. N. long. 117. 35. W.; where he ſpent the winter among a tribe of Chepewyan Indians, and ſet out upon his perilous expedition on the 9th of May 1793. In this undertaking, he reached the head of the Unjigah, in lat. 54. N. long. 121. W. with great difficulty, on the 13th June, and embarked on the Tacoutche, or Columbia river, whoſe courſe he followed in a ſoutherly direction, and through innumerable obſtructions, till the 24th of the ſame month; when he was induced, by the information of the natives, and the difficulty of the navigation, to leave the canoe, and proceed acroſs the land, in a weſterly direction, to the ſea. After a fatiguing and dangerous journey of twelve days, he again reached a ſmaller and leſs turbulent ſtream; and was fortunate enough to arrive on the ſhore of the Pacific Ocean, in lat. 52. 21. long. 128. 2. immediately to the ſouthward of the iſlands which Vancouver has diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Princeſs Royal Iſlands. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and the conduct of the natives ſo ſuſpicious, that he ſcarcely remained longer on the coaſt than was neceſſary to complete his obſervations. He returned by the ſame route, with comparative facility; and arrived ſafely at the ſtation from which he had taken his departure, on the 24th of Auguſt 1793.

The narrative of this voyage is, upon the whole, extremely intereſting; though the intereſt which it excites is derived rather from the difficulties and dangers of the way, and the intrepidity by which they were ſurmounted, than from the importance of the object, or the value of the information that is communicated. The only knowledge of his route, which Mr Mackenzie poſſeſſed at his outſet, was derived from a ſtory that had formerly been told him by an old man (who could not now be found) of his having once been at war, on a large river, on the other ſide of the Rocky Mountains; and who ſaid, that there was a carrying place, of about a day's march, between the head of the ſouth-weſt branch of the Unjigah and this weſtern river. Upon this hint, Mr Mackenzie determined to proceed; and the uncertainty of his courſe may be conjectured, from what he ſays in another place, 'that it was his intention to land where he thought there was *a chance* of diſcovering the carrying place, and undertake marches of two or three days, in different directions, in ſearch of the other river; and, if unſucceſsful in this attempt, to return to the fork, and try the other branch

branch in the ſame manner, with the hope of better fortune.' His conſtancy was not put to this teſt; for he accompliſhed his object without being obliged to return: But he had occaſion for all the reſolution with which he had armed himſelf.

The principal difficulties with which Mr Mackenzie had to ſtruggle, aroſe from the phyſical ſituation of the country, and the unmanageable violence of the ſtream he had undertaken to aſcend. For the firſt ten days the labour was tolerable, and his progreſs fully more rapid than he had expected. After he had paſſed, however, to the weſtward of long. 120. his courſe began to be hemmed in among aſcending mountains, and the channel to be obſtructed by innumerable rapids and cataracts. In ſurmounting theſe obſtacles, ſo much toil and danger was to be encountered, as might well have deterred an adventurer of ordinary reſolution. At one time, the canoe was towed by men that clambered along the edge of impending precipices, and were forced to paſs on the outſide of the trees that overhung the torrent: At another, it was puſhed forward by the hands of thoſe who tottered upon the lower rocks of the channel, and who were frequently obliged to leap into the veſſel, when an impaſſable precipice prevented their progreſs by land: On many occaſions, the canoe was *carried* along roads, which ſcarcely any one but a Canadian would have ventured to paſs unburdened, and through thickets, where a way had been previouſly opened by the tedious application of the axe. In one place, it was *warped* up a mountain, by lines faſtened ſucceſſively to the trees with which it was overſhadowed: In another, it was hurried down the torrent, and only ſaved from utter deſtruction, by being broken and entangled among ſome rocks that formed a ſhallow on the edge of a fall.

After ſtruggling with theſe difficulties for upwards of ten days, our adventurers arrived at a part of the river that admitted of their proceeding with the paddles, though the current was ſtill extremely powerful againſt them; and, at length, on the 1ſt of June, they reached the laſt fork of the ſtream, where one channel preſented itſelf towards the north-weſt, and another almoſt directly towards the ſouth. Mr Mackenzie, whoſe object it was to penetrate to the Weſtern Ocean, acknowledges that he would certainly have attempted the former, had it not been for the advice he had formerly received from the old warrior, whom we have already mentioned, and who had poſitively informed him, that the only path acroſs the mountain was in the direction of the ſouthmoſt branch. This information, by which Mr Mackenzie was then guided, turns out to have been perfectly correct, as the northerly branch has ſince been accurately ſurveyed, and is found to terminate in lakes and rapids at a very ſhort diſtance from the

fork. After proceeding, till the 8th of the month, through a continuation of the ſame dangers and diſaſters, they at length came up with a party of the natives. From theſe people, he received, at firſt, the evaſive and unintelligible anſwers that ſavages are accuſtomed to give: But, after he had conciliated them with flattery and preſents, he at length learned, that they were acquainted with a large river that flowed towards the ſouth, a branch of which was at no great diſtance from the ſource of that which they had aſcended; that there were three ſmall lakes, and as many ſhort carrying places between them; but that the ſouthern river did not diſcharge itſelf into the ſea. Mr Mackenzie prudently ſet down this laſt piece of intelligence to the ignorance of the reporter; but placed ſo much reliance on the former, that he inſtantly engaged the Indian to conduct him to the banks of the river he had mentioned, and proceeded on the day following under his directions. On the ſecond day of the renewed voyage, they arrived at the firſt lake that had been ſpoken of by their conductor, and took the canoe out of it on the other ſide, in Lat. 54. 24. N. Long. 121. W. This Mr Mackenzie conſiders as the higheſt and moſt ſoutherly ſource of the Unjigah, or Peace River, which he had now traced from its outlet to its fountains; and proceeded along the height of land, by which the waters that iſſue into the Pacific, are ſeparated from thoſe that fall into the Northern or Atlantic Seas. The firſt carrying place was only 817 paces in length, and brought them to another ſmall lake, out of which a ſtream deſcended to the ſouth: Another carrying place brought them to a third lake of the ſame dimenſions; and out of this they paſſed, with ſome difficulty, into a ſmall, but rapid ſtream, obſtructed by fallen trees, drift wood, and ſcattered rocks.

Though Mr Mackenzie, and his aſſociates, had no longer to ſtruggle againſt an oppoſing torrent, ſtill their ſituation had experienced but little improvement. After carrying the canoe paſt ſome of the obſtacles that have juſt been mentioned, they met with a diſaſter, which had very nearly proved the termination of all their perils and exertions. As we have made but few extracts from this publication, we ſhall preſent our readers with the narrative of this miſadventure, in Mr Mackenzie's own words:

'We accordingly puſhed off, and had proceeded but a very ſhort way, when the canoe ſtruck; and, notwithſtanding all our exertions, the violence of the current was ſo great, as to drive her ſideways down the river, and break her by the firſt bar, when I inſtantly jumped into the water, and the men followed my example; but before we could ſet her ſtraight, or ſtop her, we came to deeper water, ſo that we were obliged to re-embark with the utmoſt precipitation. One of the men who was

was not ſufficiently active, was left to get on ſhore in the beſt manner in his power. We had hardly regained our ſituations, when we drove againſt a rock, which ſhattered the ſtern of the canoe in ſuch a manner, that it held only by the gunwales, ſo that the ſteerſman could no longer keep his place. The violence of this ſtroke drove us to the oppoſite ſide of the river, which is but narrow, when the bow met with the ſame fate as the ſtern. At this moment, the foreman ſeized on ſome branches of a ſmall tree, in the hope of bringing up the canoe; but ſuch was their elaſticity, that, in a manner not eaſily deſcribed, he was jerked on ſhore in an inſtant, and with a degree of violence that threatened his deſtruction. But we had no time to turn from our own ſituation, to inquire what had befallen him; for, in a few moments, we came acroſs a caſcade, which broke ſeveral large holes in the bottom of the canoe, and ſtarted all the bars, except one behind the ſcooping ſeat. If this accident, however, had not happened, the veſſel muſt have been irretrievably overſet. The wreck becoming flat on the water, we all jumped out; while the ſteerſman, who had been compelled to abandon his place, and had not recovered from his fright, called out to his companions to ſave themſelves. My peremptory commands ſuperſeded the effects of his fear, and they all held faſt to the wreck; to which fortunate reſolution we owed our ſafety, as we ſhould otherwiſe have been daſhed againſt the rocks by the force of the water, or driven over the caſcades. In this condition, we were forced ſeveral hundred yards, and every yard on the verge of deſtruction; but, at length, we moſt fortunately arrived in ſhallow water, and a ſmall eddy, where we were enabled to make a ſtand, from the weight of the canoe reſting on the ſtones, rather than from any exertions of our exhauſted ſtrength. For though our efforts were ſhort, they were puſhed to the utmoſt, as life or death depended on them. This alarming ſcene, with all its terrors and dangers, occupied only a few minutes; and in the preſent ſuſpenſion of it, we called to the people on ſhore to come to our aſſiſtance; and they immediately obeyed the ſummons. The foreman, however, was the firſt with us; he had eſcaped unhurt from the extraordinary jerk with which he was thrown out of the boat; and juſt as we were beginning to take our effects out of the water, he appeared to give his aſſiſtance. The Indians, when they ſaw our deplorable ſituation, inſtead of making the leaſt effort to help us, ſat down and gave vent to their tears.'

This diſaſter diſheartened the whole crew ſo much, that Mr Mackenzie was obliged to make them a ſpeech, to induce them to proceed with him; and they had then to carry the canoe, for upwards of four miles, through a thick wood and a deep moraſs, when they found themſelves, at length, on the banks of a large navigable river, that flowed with a ſtrong current in a ſoutherly direction. Upon this ſtream they embarked on the 18th of June, in the midſt of ſo thick a fog, 'that they might have come ſuddenly upon a rapid, or caſcade, before they were aware.'

aware.' They met, however, with no accident on that occaſion, but very ſoon found the navigation obſtructed by the uſual impediments. On the ſecond day of their progreſs, they came to a deſerted wooden houſe, built in a ſolid manner, 30 feet in length and 20 in breadth; 'the firſt habitation of the kind,' ſays Mr Mackenzie, 'that I had ſeen on this ſide of Mikilimakina.'— A little farther on, he fell in with a party of the natives, whom he had ſome difficulty in conciliating; but was at laſt enabled to gather from them, that the river runs a great way towards the mid-day ſun, and that white people were ſaid to be building houſes at its mouth; that the current was uniformly very violent, and in many places abſolutely impaſſable; and that the inhabitants were extremely cruel and malignant. The iron, &c. which they had, they ſaid they obtained by a ſhorter route from the weſtward, where it was brought by white people, in great canoes. Theſe people differed but little from the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, either in language, manners, or appearance. After proceeding a little farther, and holding a variety of conſultations with the natives, Mr Mackenzie was convinced that the navigation of the river would be attended with the greateſt dangers, and that the courſe of it would prove, at any rate, ſo extenſive, as to make it abſolutely impoſſible to return from its mouth in the courſe of the ſame ſeaſon: His ammunition and proviſions, too, were very nearly exhauſted; and he was aſſured, by the concurring teſtimony of all the natives, that, by abandoning the river, and ſtriking acroſs the country to the weſt, he would be enabled to reach the ſea he was in ſearch of by a ſafe and eaſy expedition. After a good deal of deliberation, he determined to make trial of this route; and accordingly returned up the river, to the ſpot from which the natives had offered to conduct him to the weſtward; and there ſecuring the canoe under a ſhed, and burying a great part of his proviſions and ammunition in the neighbourhood, he ſet off by land, in Long. 123 Lat. 53. 20.

In this journey, where each of the party carried a load of ninety pounds, beſides arms, their difficulties and alarms were at times very great, from the repeated deſertion of their guides, and the tumult and diſturbance which their appearance produced among the natives. By way of ſecuring the guides, Mr Mackenzie, on two occaſions, preſſed them to *ſleep* with him; and 'though the beaver robe that covered them was a neſt of vermin, their hair greaſed with fiſh oil, and their bodies ſmeared with red earth,' he declares he paſſed a very comfortable night in their ſociety. On their way they croſſed ſeveral ſmall rivers that ran towards the ſouth, and probably fell into the ſtream they had left behind them. The ground, for the

moſt

moſt part was rugged, but not very high; though they croſſed one ridge which was covered with ſnow, and ſaw before them a chain of lofty mountains, that were ſaid to be perpetually in that ſtate. The houſes they paſſed by, were all built of ſquared timber, and infinitely more commodious and ſubſtantial than any dwellings that are reared by the Indians in the interior of the continent. At laſt, he arrived on the banks of a ſmall river abounding in ſalmon, and was hoſpitably received by the inhabitants of an adjoining village. Theſe people ſubſiſt entirely upon fiſh, and have ſuch an averſion to fleſh of every ſpecies, that one of their dogs having ſwallowed a part of a bone, was beaten by his maſter till he diſgorged it: Another of the natives, upon ſeeing one of Mr Mackenzie's people throw a bone into the river, 'inſtantly plunged in, and brought it out; and after burning it, proceeded to waſh his polluted hands.' The ſalmon, which are incredibly numerous, they take by means of a weir, or embankment, conſtructed with much ingenuity acroſs the river; and they appear, indeed, to be conſiderably ſuperior to their brethren of the interior, in contrivance and underſtanding.

From this place, our adventurers again proceeded by water, having procured two canoes from the natives, by ſeveral of whom they were paddled and eſcorted. They remained all night at a village, where they were hoſpitably entertained; and had occaſion to obſerve the traces of improving art and civilization. Theſe people have not only Summer and Winter houſes, like the *Yoorts* and *Balagans* of Kamtſchatka and Siberia, but appear to have made advances in the arts of painting and ſculpture, ſuperior to what might have been expected from the inhabitants of ſo rude a climate. They had boards painted with hieroglyphics, and figures of animals, with a degree of correctneſs with which Mr Mackenzie was ſurprized; and had erected, in the centre of the village, ſomething in the nature of a temple, which he deſcribes in theſe words;

'The ground plot of it was fifty feet by forty-five; each end is formed by four ſtout poſts, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. The corner ones are plain, and ſupport a beam of the whole length, having three intermediate props on each ſide, but of a larger ſize, and eight or nine feet in height. The two centre poſts at each end, are two feet and an half in diameter, and carved into human figures, ſupporting two ridge poles on their heads, at twelve feet from the ground. The figures at the upper part of this ſquare repreſent two perſons, with their hands upon their knees, as if they ſupported the weight with pain and difficulty: the others oppoſite to them ſtand at their eaſe, with their hands reſting on their hips. In the area of the building there were the remains

mains of ſeveral fires. The poſts, poles, and figures were painted red and black; but the ſculpture of theſe people is ſuperior to their painting.'

They had among them a great variety of European commodities, eſpecially iron and copper; and ſeveral had a quarter-dollar fixed, as an ornament, in the handles of their daggers. From this village, Mr Mackenzie deſcended the ſtream to another, from which he had an evening proſpect of a narrow arm of the ſea, and next day had the happineſs of arriving on the beach, in the poſition that has been already ſpecified. In this ſituation, he was deſerted by his guide and the reſt of the natives, and left in a leaky canoe upon this barbarous coaſt, with ſcarcely any ammunition, and proviſions for no more than four or five days. In the courſe of the day, he coaſted along the Point Menzies of Vancouver, and by the ſhore of the iſland named King's Iſland by that navigator. In this courſe, they were very much diſturbed and alarmed by the conduct of the ſavages, who followed them in ſeveral canoes, and appeared to entertain very ſerious deſigns againſt their property and lives. One, in particular, whom Mr Mackenzie deſcribes as particularly turbulent and inſolent, was continually repeating that he had been ſhot at by a white man, whom he called Macubah, and ſeemed perfectly diſpoſed to revenge himſelf upon our adventurer.—By a proper mixture of forbearance and reſolution, however, Mr Mackenzie eſcaped this danger; and his perſecutors thought proper to withdraw about ſunſet.

On the 22d of July, Mr Mackenzie completed his obſervations; and on the day following returned to the mouth of the river; and, after another alarming encounter with the natives, led on by the enemy of *Macubah*, arrived at the village, where they firſt got ſight of the ſea, and prepared for their final return. The natives about this ſalmon river, Mr Mackenzie ſuppoſes not to be the permanent inhabitants of its banks, but to repair there for the ſake of the ſummer fiſhery, and to reſide, during the winter, on the ſea coaſt. They are evidently a ſtationary people, however, in compariſon with the hunting tribes of the interior, and would probably be more eaſily civilized than any of their brethren; though it is evident enough, from Mr Mackenzie's whole narrative, that they have all the violence, unſteadineſs, and inconſiſtency of the ſavage character. They ſeem to acknowledge a higher authority in their chief, than is conceded to him in any other North American community, as he alone appeared to poſſeſs, or beſtow, the right of fiſhing at the great weir or embankment, and prevented any one from building

building a houſe in the village, without his permiſſion. Their language is ſaid to be different from that of the adjoining tribes.

After leaving the uppermoſt village, Mr Mackenzie and his companions found the way perfectly ſolitary, till they arrived, after a painful march of nine days, on the banks of the Great River, where they had left their canoe upwards of a month before. At this ſpot, they found a large encampment of the natives, who were very clamorous and riotous at firſt, and continued to pilfer little articles from them during all the time of their ſtay. It is very remarkable, however, that they had not touched any part of the ſtores that had been left unguarded in their vicinity for the ſpace of a whole month. In the remainder of Mr Mackenzie's homeward route, he re-traced exactly the courſe along which we have already purſued him outwards. He ſurmounted the cataracts of the Tacoutche, without meeting with any diſaſter; and, after croſſing the height of land, deſcended the waters of the Peace River, with ſo much celerity, that he accompliſhed in ſix days a voyage that had occupied no fewer than thirty-four on his outſet; and arrived, on the 18th of Auguſt, at the fort from which he had taken his departure on the 9th of May.

We have now accompanied Mr Mackenzie through the whole of his extenſive and laborious route, and willingly bear teſtimony to the diligence and intrepidity, the temper and perſeverance, with which he ſeems to have purſued it; as well as to the perſpicuity and apparent fidelity of the narrative which he has ſubmitted to the public. Of the importance of his geographical diſcoveries, we do not indeed think very highly. The non-exiſtence of any practicable communication by ſea, from the eaſtern to the weſtern ſhores of North America, we conceive to have been ſatisfactorily eſtabliſhed, before either the expedition of Mr Mackenzie, or the voyage of Vancouver: and the paſſage which the former has diſcovered by land, is ſuch as few people could have doubted to exiſt, and certainly by no means of a nature to indemnify us for the want of the other. Mr Mackenzie himſelf, indeed, appears to be of opinion, that the route by which he came would be altogether unfit for the purpoſes of trade, and rather points at a communication between the Tacoutche or Columbia River, and the head waters of the Saſkatchiwine. It is needleſs to obſerve, however, that the exiſtence of ſuch a communication muſt be eſtabliſhed by another voyage of diſcovery; and that the lower courſe of the Columbia may preſent obſtacles, of a nature even more formidable than thoſe of which Mr Mackenzie's experience and information have already given us warning.

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The countries which Mr Mackenzie has brought to our knowledge by theſe expeditions, are certainly the leaſt intereſting of any with which modern enterprize has made us acquainted.—The barrenneſs of the ſoil, the ſeverity of the climate, the remoteneſs of their poſition, and the ſmall number and intractable character of their inhabitants, place them very low indeed in the ſcale of political importance, and reduce their influence upon the reſt of the world to a very humble denomination. The believers in perfectibility expect, of courſe, to ſee the whole univerſe covered with the miracles of polity and art; but theſe regions will probably be the laſt to put off their original barbarity; and philoſophy will have native apoſtles among the Mantchew Tartars and New Hollanders, before any progreſs has been made in the converſion of the Kniſteneaux and the Chepewyans.

Mr Mackenzie makes no pretenſions to literary attainments; and the merit of his work certainly is not to be eſtimated by the elegance of its compoſition. His ſtyle is, in general, ſufficiently perſpicuous; and we willingly paſs over its deficiencies in harmony or correctneſs. There are ſome expreſſions, however, which provoke a ſmile, from their ludicrous ſimplicity, or ſtrange affectation of refinement. In the introduction, we hear of a trader, 'who eaſed himſelf of the importunities of a native;' and are aſſured, that the Americans are never cannibals, except in thoſe caſes of extreme neceſſity, 'which have been known to impel the moſt civilized people to eat each other.' In order to inform us, that the Indians, who make no uſe of combs, are given to ſcratch their heads, he is pleaſed to ſay, 'that they have a ſmall ſtick hanging by a ſtring, which they occaſionally employ to alleviate any itching or irritation in the head.'

ART. XXIII. *The Elements of Optics*, deſigned for the uſe of Students in the Univerſity. By James Wood, B. D. Second Edition. Cambridge, 1801. Burges. pp. 251.

ABOUT five years ago, Mr Vince, the Plumian Profeſſor, and Mr Wood of St Johns, undertook to draw up a ſeries of elementary works, which ſhould compriſe the ſubſtance of the lectures uſually read at Cambridge, upon Mathematics and Natural Philoſophy. The volume now before us, forms the ſixth and laſt of this uſeful courſe of publications.

Our philoſophical readers are acquainted with the two great branches into which the ſcience of Optics is divided; thoſe laws of viſion, and properties of light, which are to be inveſtigated by experiment;

experiment; and thoſe that can be deduced, by mathematical reaſoning, from the principles which induction has enabled us to eſtabliſh. Our author has confined himſelf almoſt wholly to the mathematical view of the ſubject; and we are inclined to think, that he has compoſed this treatiſe, rather with a view to aſſiſt the ſtudent of aſtronomy, than to furniſh a complete expoſition of all the diſcoveries which have been made upon the nature of light, and the laws of its action, conſidered as a ſeparate branch of ſcience. His propoſitions are chiefly drawn from the 'Lectiones Opticæ' of Sir Iſaac Newton: and a very meagre account is given of the wonderful truths unfolded by that philoſopher in his 'Optics.'

Of this plan, we cannot entirely approve. Many of the moſt important diſcoveries in the theory of light and colours, depend altogether on experiment; and, by the aſſiſtance of calculation and geometrical reaſoning, lead to other theorems, as well deſerving of attention as thoſe which form the ſubject of the preſent volume, and reſting upon evidence preciſely of the ſame nature. Why, then, ſhould a treatiſe upon Optics have been confined almoſt entirely to thoſe topics, where the aſſiſtance of mathematical demonſtration is required, and the moſt ſimple only of the poſitions founded upon induction are aſſumed? The truths explained in the ſecond and third books of the 'Optics,' are eſtabliſhed by the very ſame ſpecies of proof with that upon which the very firſt principles of the ſcience are built; and, to undervalue thoſe doctrines which do not require a conſtant diſplay of mathematical reaſoning, is ſurely to diſregard the example, and ſlight ſome of the nobleſt diſcoveries of that illuſtrious philoſopher, who carried mathematical demonſtration farther into the regions of phyſical ſcience, than any of thoſe that have ſtudied the laws of nature.

Admitting, however, that the plan of this treatiſe is adapted to teach the moſt important parts of optical ſcience, we cannot withhold our approbation from the execution. The parts are digeſted and arranged with great perſpicuity; the order in which they ſucceed each other is, for the moſt part, natural and eaſy; the demonſtrations are ſufficiently neat and conciſe; and yet the ſteps of the reaſoning are given with ſuch fulneſs, that any learner may readily follow them, provided he is prepared by a previous acquaintance with the elements of mathematics. In ſome parts, the author has fallen into conſiderable inaccuracies; chiefly where a reference was neceſſary to the merely experimental branch of the ſcience. A few of theſe we ſhall mention as we go along.

The firſt ſection contains a general account of the nature of light, and of thoſe fundamental laws of reflection and refraction, which

which we diſcover by experience. In conſidering the Newtonian hypotheſis, that light conſiſts of particles of matter, our author ſays, (p. 2.) that the motions of the rays in different mediums, are the ſame with thoſe of ſmall particles of matter attracted towards, or repelled from the bodies upon which they are incident. But this preſumes, unfairly, the very point in which light differs from all bodies, viz. its refraction *towards* the perpendicular, when it paſſes from a rarer into a denſer medium.—Beſides, nothing can be produced, in the mutual actions of other bodies, ſimilar to the oppoſite refraction which light undergoes in emerging from a denſer into a rarer medium; its inflection and deflection; and that ſingular property which it exhibits, in paſſing through ſeveral ſorts of ſpar, particularly the Iceland cryſtal. There is nothing in the 14th ſect. B. 2. of the Principia, which explains this marked difference between the two caſes.

The definition of a ray is obſcure and inaccurate—'The leaſt portion of light which may be ſtopped alone, or propagated alone, or do or ſuffer any thing which the reſt of light doth not, or ſuffers not:' p. 3.

The ſecond ſection contains the propoſitions relating to reflection from plane and ſpherical ſurfaces; and theſe are deduced mathematically from the principles laid down in the firſt ſection. The fourth ſection contains a ſimilar deduction of the refractions of rays by plane and ſpherical ſurfaces. The third and fifth ſections give the theory of images formed by reflection and refraction, reſpectively.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to remark, that a great part of thoſe ſections which concern the refraction of light, is purely theoretical; and, from the impoſſibility of finding any pencil or beam of equally refrangible rays, many of the propoſitions demonſtrated upon the hypotheſis, that the rays are homogeneal, muſt, in every inſtance of their application to the ſubſtance which we call *light*, as it exiſts in nature, deviate more or leſs from truth. Such theorems are, in fact, demonſtrated, not with regard to light, but to an ideal ſubſtance.

Section ſixth lays down the theory of viſion. Section ſeventh contains an ample detail of the mathematical principles which regulate the conſtruction of optical inſtruments; and it is on account of this branch of the ſubject, that the only account which the author gives of the Newtonian theory of light and colours is introduced, as a ſort of appendix to the doctrine of Teleſcopes. The eighth ſection is devoted, therefore, to the aberrations produced by unequal refrangibility, and by the ſpherical form of reflecting and refracting ſurfaces. The leading diſcovery of Newton is here given; but the deciſive experiment

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on which it reſts, is omitted, and another inſerted, which very imperfectly proves the poſition. It is the 5th, not the 3d Exp. B. 1. part 1. of the 'Optics,' which is juſtly eſteemed the *experimentum crucis*. Our author, however, adds an experiment, which we are very well aſſured he never found in the 'Optics.' After quoting the 3d Exp. at length, he ſays—'By an experiment ſimilar to the former, it may be ſhewn, that common day-light conſiſts of rays which differ in colour and refrangibility; for, if the round hole in the ſhutter receive only light from the clouds, its image formed by the priſm will be oblong and coloured as in the former caſe:' p. 200. One ſo averſe to induction, and ſo fond of mathematical reaſoning as our author, might have inferred, that the ſun's light, reflected from the clouds, or tranſmitted through them, (which we preſume is all that he can mean by the vulgar phraſe of *common day-light*), has the ſame properties with the light tranſmitted directly from the luminous body. But if he demands experimental proof of this, we can aſſure him, that when he ſhall have adjuſted his priſm at the hole in his window-ſhutter in a cloudy day, he will look in vain for an oblong and coloured image of the hole: his chart will only preſent to him the partially coloured images of the clouds, and the ſpires of the neighbouring colleges, in a diſtorted camera obſcura.

Without entering any farther, than the theory of the conſtruction of glaſſes requires, into the doctrine of refrangibility and colours, or the reſolution and compoſition of heterogeneous light by refraction; and without touching at all upon the various intereſting ſpeculations of Newton and his followers, reſpecting the attractions of light towards thin and thick plates; our author immediately returns to the continuation of the ſubject, on account of which alone the theory of colours ſeems to have been hinted at: and the eighth ſection concludes with the remainder of the theory of Glaſſes.

Hitherto, whatever fault we may have found with our author's plan, as materially deficient in parts ſtrictly belonging to the ſcience of which he profeſſes to treat, we have had no objections to urge againſt his conſiſtency in executing it. But we can ſcarcely imagine how the whole of the ninth ſection ſhould be devoted to the explanation of a ſingle phænomenon, belonging to the head of Chromatics—the rainbow. The deduction of the propoſitions relating to this ſubject, is no doubt very clear and ſatisfactory. But one is inclined to aſk, how they came here? Why ſhould a whole diviſion of the work be occupied by the explanation of one particular phænomenon, when the theory, of whoſe ſynthetical application this doctrine forms a very ſmall part, has been diſpatched in two propoſitions, introduced for their ſubſerviency to a totally diſtinct branch of

the ſcience? Why, among all the applications of the Newtonian theory, is this the only one that he will admit to deſerve a place? Not to mention the ſecond book of the Optics, the majority of the propoſitions, in the ſecond part of the firſt book, are employed in applying the brilliant diſcoveries detailed in the preceding part, to the explanation of natural phænomena. But our author ſelects one of theſe; and this one he expands into a whole ſection, although the theory itſelf has ſcarcely been touched upon.

The tenth and laſt ſection contains a particular application of the doctrine laid down in the earlier parts of the work, to the theory of Cauſtics by reflection; and two propoſitions introductory to the theory of Cauſtics by refraction, which the author has thought proper to omit. It appears that this ſection ought to have been incorporated partly with the ſecond or third, and partly with the fourth or fifth ſections.

Such are the general outlines of this treatiſe; ſuch the objections to which, in our apprehenſion, its plan is liable; and ſuch a few exceptions to the detail, in point of ſtrict conſiſtency with what appears to be the intended arrangement of the whole.

As this work is written for the peruſal of learners, we beg leave to add a ſingle remark upon the inaccuracy with which our author has ſtated, or rather alluded to ſome paſſages of Sir Iſaac Newton's Optics, in which the theory of Vibrations is mentioned. No part of that great man's writings has been ſo generally perverted by ignorant theoriſts, who, on the ſuppoſed authority of his name, have built the moſt extravagant hypotheſes. In page 13. our author completely miſtakes Sir Iſaac Newton's meaning. Newton does not *conclude*, from the phænomena of reflection and refraction, that theſe effects are produced by ſome power or *medium*, diffuſed over their ſurface: he only ſays, with the modeſty peculiar to himſelf, that the problem is ſcarce to be ſolved, otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing that the reflection is produced by ſome *power of the body* evenly diffuſed all over its ſurface, and by which it acts upon the ray *without* immediate contact.—Optics, B. 2. part 3. prop. 8. He then goes on to illuſtrate this idea, by the analogy of gravitation, inflection, &c.; but never once, in this whole propoſition, does he hint at any *medium*. On the contrary, he refers all to thoſe powers of attraction and repulſion; to explain which, the hypotheſis of a medium is called in. Again, in page 236. note, our author, after mentioning the Newtonian theory of fits, (which he is pleaſed to call a ſuppoſition, although it is clearly a method of expreſſing a fact), adds, that Sir Iſaac Newton *accounts* for them in the following manner: and then quotes that part of Query 29. in which Sir Iſaac alludes to the theory of Vibrations. But nothing can be more evident, than that he is there only giving a vague hypotheſis, agreeing with the facts,

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but founded on no induction, and as likely to be falſe as true. Accordingly, it ſhould be obſerved, that in the 12th prop. of B. 2. part 3. where the idea is firſt ſtated, the philoſopher expreſsly deſcribes it as an hypotheſis to which he attached no belief—'What kind of action or diſpoſition this is, whether it conſiſts in a circulating or a vibratory motion of the ray, or of the medium, or ſomething elſe, I do not here inquire. *Thoſe that are averſe from aſſenting to any new diſcoveries, but ſuch as they can explain by an hypotheſis*, may for the preſent ſuppoſe,' &c. And afterwards—'But whether this hypotheſis be true or falſe, I do not here conſider.' The whole hypotheſis of a ſeparate æthereal medium is contained in ſeven of the Queries, (18.—24.) It is given as a mere conjecture, kept carefully by itſelf, and ſeparated from the reſt of a work, whoſe baſis is the ſtricteſt induction. We have thought it neceſſary to detail theſe things, as a caution againſt confounding matters ſo perfectly diſtinct in themſelves: a caution, which the author of the treatiſe now before us ſeems not to have kept ſteadily in view; and the neglect of which, in other writers, has given birth to the moſt deformed and noxious productions of ſpeculative imagination.

ART. XXIV. *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape*, in the years 1798-9. By Joſeph Acerbi. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 776. London. Mawman. 1802.

BOOKS of travels are intereſting, either from the information which they afford concerning diſtant countries, or from the picture which they exhibit of the traveller's mind, and of the impreſſions made upon it by the ſcenes through which he paſſed. While ſome authors in this department of literature, as Volney and Savary, have confined themſelves entirely to the former of thoſe ſubjects—and others, as Johnſon, Southey, and Mrs Woolſtoncroft, have chiefly turned their reader's attention to the latter—the traveller, whoſe volumes now lie before us, chooſes a middle courſe; and endeavours to combine a deſcription of the countries which he ſaw, with the narrative of his own adventures, and the delineation of his feelings. Accounts of this kind are, of all others, the moſt engaging: it is from ſuch a mixture of incident and diſcuſſion with facts, that the works of Brydone and Moore derive their charms and their value: and, although far inferior in every reſpect to either of thoſe excellent writers, Mr Acerbi has, by adopting their plan, given to his book an intereſt, which neither the extent or novelty of his information, nor the profundity of his remarks, nor the elegance or livelineſs of his ſtyle, could have beſtowed.

Our author is a gentleman from the north of Italy. In his journey through Sweden and Finland, he was accompanied by a countryman of his own; and in the moſt difficult part of his undertaking, his journey from Torneâ to the North Cape, he was attended by Colonel Skioldebrand, a Swediſh officer, who has favoured the world with ſeveral excellent drawings of Scandinavian ſcenery.

One half of the firſt volume is occupied by Mr Acerbi's remarks upon the climate and government of Sweden, the ſtate of the arts, of literature, and of ſociety in that country, and ſeveral details upon its hiſtory and antiquities. After the very ample information upon all theſe points, which we already poſſeſs, in the works of Coxe, Catteau, and the ſtill more recent publication of the two French travellers, this part of our author's book may perhaps be regarded as ſuperfluous. His obſervations are diſtinguiſhed by no originality or uncommon ſagacity; his information, though arranged in chapters, is ill digeſted, and devoid of lucid order; he directs our attention to ſubjects either ſufficiently known, or too trivial to deſerve notice; and paſſes over various topics, which come ſtrictly within the plan of a general account of Sweden, and have never yet been diſtinctly treated beyond the limits of that country. Thus, while whole chapters are devoted to unintereſting details upon the ſtate of painting and ſculpture in Stockholm, and the merits of its obſcure artiſts, no account whatever is given of the ſtate of agriculture in Sweden, or of the finances of that country, which have, for the laſt twenty years, been in ſo ſingular a ſituation, and been productive of ſo many violent meaſures on the part of the government. The revolution of 1772 has been amply detailed in various publications; more particularly, in the excellent work of Mr Sheridan: But we ſhould have expected from Mr Acerbi, ſome account of the conſummation of that revolution in 1789, and ſome detail of the proceedings at the diet of Gefle, and of the various intereſting anecdotes on both of theſe topics, which are in the mouth of every well-informed Swede at this day.

Our author tells us, p. 170. vol. i. that it is inconſiſtent with his plan to give a ſtatiſtical account of Sweden; but we cannot well imagine a more dry ſtatiſtical account than that of Gothenburg, and of the iſlands of Aland. His ſtatiſtical information upon many of the trading towns on the eaſt ſide of the Gulf of Bothnia, is minute and uſeleſs: it might have been given with equal diſtinctneſs, in the conciſe and luminous form of tables, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to detail, in a general work upon Finland, all the minutiæ of cuſtomhouſe accounts. Mr Acerbi's remarks on the ſtate of polite ſociety in Stockholm, are not very lively, and very far from being good-natured. No *Frenchman* could

could have returned, with more ſupercilious and captious criticiſm, the attentions which he received. Our author's account of the Swediſh univerſities, and the ſyſtem of education in general, is the moſt intereſting part of the firſt branch of his work. In his obſervations upon the literary characters of the capital and of Upſala, we could have wiſhed that he had been leſs dogmatical and ſevere in the judgments which he paſſes—more ſparing of his jokes and anecdotes, which can ſerve no purpoſe to readers unacquainted with the parties, and muſt give unneceſſary pain to thoſe who are concerned. This is the moſt delicate part of a traveller's taſk, in relating his adventures, and deſcribing men, as well as man. Thoſe who, by their exalted ſtation, act in the eyes of all the world, and thoſe who challenge public notice by their conduct, or of their own choice, are fair ſubjects for the author that would entertain his readers with anecdote and ſatire. Authors, too, or dilettanti who have puſhed themſelves into high places in the ſcientific world, and introduced an ariſtocratic ſpirit into the republic of letters, are proper objects of public criticiſm. But here, the line ought carefully to be drawn; and he that overſteps it, enters the regions of ſcandal or of goſſiping. To juſtify the ſeverity of our cenſures, we muſt take the liberty of noticing the manner in which Mr Acerbi has deſcribed ſeveral perſonages, who have neither challenged publicity by their works nor by their lives, and the ſhade of whoſe voluntary retirement (we have the authority of Mr Acerbi himſelf for the remark, p. 132. note) ought always to be deemed inviolable.

In chapter 8. vol. i. Mr Acerbi tells us of one academician, that he is a cypher—and adds a dull joke, made by 'a wag,' upon this idea; of another, that he is an illuminatus and a devotee; of a third, that he ſerves as a butt to both academies. One man is young in years as well as in knowledge; another has ſurvived his fame as an operator. Old age ſeems, with our traveller, to claim neither tenderneſs nor reſpect: He laughs (but ſo heavily, that we imagine he laughs alone) at a baron, who has outlived his eyeſight; an oculiſt who has ſurvived his fame, and even the recollection of his exiſtence; and a profeſſor, who, in his dotage, has loſt the little knowledge that he once poſſeſſed.

Moſt of his anecdotes ſeem to have contained a little humour or ſingularity at ſome diſtant period; but to have loſt all pretenſions to theſe qualities, in paſſing through Mr Acerbi's memory. Thus, he tells us, that a profeſſor of Upſala, being oppreſſed with melancholy, ſo as never to ſtir from his chamber, ſent one day to a friend for ſome books to amuſe him; and his friend, knowing his taſte, ſent him a cheſt full of voyages

and travels. Talking of an admiral, he tells us, that when ſtationed at Carlſcrona, he uſed to draw caricatures of all who came to viſit him.

In treating of different public characters, he ſeems extremely eager to pick up every little ſarcaſm and tale which has been ferreted out by ſilly curioſity, or invented by malice. In writing a ſerious work, like the one before us, an author ſhould not too eaſily give credit and place to the ſtories which he hears in private circles. When Mr Acerbi thinks it worthy of his page to inform the world, that a financier was puniſhed for his oppoſition to the diſtilleries, by having a drunken wife; that a miniſter of ſtate was perſuaded he ſhould in a ſhort time be taken up into heaven, like Elijah, without paſſing through death; that a biſhop (preceptor to his Swediſh Majeſty) is a man of no learning, but ready to make any ſacrifice to his private intereſt; and that another prelate, high in favour and influence, is a believer *ex officio*, a ſuperſtitious zealot, or a hypocrite—we are inclined to think that ſuch reports may have been raſhly taken up from the enemies of the perſons in queſtion; and to wiſh that Mr Acerbi had not unneceſſarily admitted them into his book. But, when he tells us, ſeriouſly, that a man of talents, at the end of the 18th century, has publiſhed a demonſtration of the exiſtence of the devil in the human body—a claſſification of devils, and recipes for putting thoſe perſonages to flight—the hairy devil, for inſtance, by means of St John's wort—that the ceremony of exorciſm was performed at the baptiſm of the preſent Prince Royal—that a gentleman of great abilities, accompliſhments, and virtue, (to whom, by the way, our author lay under many obligations), firmly believes, that, by the influence of meſmeriſm, he can tranſport himſelf into heaven, hold converſe with his deceaſed relatives, and diſtinctly perceive their ſouls clothed in white jackets, (vol. i. cap. 19.);—truly, we are more than half inclined to ſuſpect Mr Acerbi of uſing *all* the privileges of a traveller; and only regret, that his inventive powers are not of a more amiable or amuſing caſt. Indeed, he has, in one paſſage, ſhown us clearly upon what light grounds he is willing to receive all ſatirical or malignant ſtories againſt men of high ſtation, either in the political or literary world. The ſilly anecdote which he thinks proper to inſert in page 102. vol. i. refers to the worthy Preſident of the Royal Society of London, and is an exaggerated edition of a falſehood contained in the dull writings of a contemptible ſatiriſt, whoſe profligacy of character (the want of genius is not his own fault) ſhould have prevented Mr Acerbi from believing a much leſs improbable tale upon his authority.

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We have dwelt, perhaps, longer than our readers may think neceſſary, on this topic: But it muſt be remembered, that although the names of thoſe perſons whom Mr Acerbi has vilified, are quickly forgotten by us, who ſee them now for the firſt time brought forward, yet this book muſt immediately find its way to the circles where the ſubjects of its ſarcaſms move; and we know that this imprudence in former travellers, has frequently been productive of very unpleaſant conſequences, both to the parties themſelves, and to ſucceeding viſitors.

In Mr Acerbi's invectives againſt the government and academies of Sweden, we can neither diſcover much reaſon nor conſiſtency. We are told in p. 86. vol. i. that Guſtavus III. ſo far from ſupporting the ſciences, treated them with neglect, if not contempt: But in p. 101, the zeal of that monarch for literature and ſcience is admitted; though our author explains it, by ſaying that it was affected and unnatural. In p. 102, he remarks, that Government directs the academies, and the academies the people; yet, in p. 107, he applies to thoſe bodies the ſarcaſm of Rouſſeau—that while the academicians think they are leading the public opinion, three fourths of the kingdom are ignorant of their exiſtence. For our parts, we can ſcarcely imagine how Mr Acerbi's diſlike to the conſtitution of 1772 can have ariſen; when we conſider that he cannot be ignorant of the hiſtory of Sweden from the death of Charles XII. to the acceſſion of Guſtavus III. He calls the Government, during that period, a limited monarchy. We are unwilling to quarrel about a word; but, according to the ſame nomenclature, the conſtitution of Venice muſt be ranged in the ſame claſs with that of Great Britain. He tells us, that abſolute governments are unfriendly to the growth of genius; but we can ſcarcely refuſe this character to the writers of the Auguſtan ages, either of Rome, or France, or England. He extols the tendency of the Swediſh ariſtocracy to produce great orators, whoſe talents (he adds) were called forth by the encouragements which the opportunities of ſelling themſelves to foreign powers preſented. In the ſame manner might he praiſe the very worſt governments of Italy or Aſia, for their tendency to excite ingenuity in the preparations of poiſons, ſtilettos, and bow-ſtrings. The foreign and domeſtic events, in the Swediſh ſtory, during the ſeven years war, may reconcile to the preſent conſtitution any one who does not labour under a nervous horror of the mere name of King: And, were we even to admit all that the enemies of Guſtavus have alleged, (and his enemies were only to be found in the Senate), we might ſtill approve of the change which he wrought; inaſmuch as the worſt form of domeſtic tyranny is vaſtly more tolerable than the mildeſt foreign yoke.

Our author devotes the remaining part of his firſt volume to his journey through Finland; a country, in many reſpects, extremely intereſting, and hitherto little viſited by travellers. In this part of his progreſs, we have followed him with great pleaſure. His narrative, though clumſy and monotonous in the ſtyle, is ſufficiently amuſing; and his information, though neither ſo full as we could have wiſhed, nor ſo original as might have been expected, is nevertheleſs of conſiderable value. We were ſurpriſed, however, to find, that he does not enter into the queſtion, of the very ſingular affinity which has been remarked between the Finniſh and Hungarian languages; and we regret that he has given no account of the ſyſtem of agriculture practiſed in the cultivated parts of that extenſive territory, and admirably adapted to its humid climate.

Although we can venture to recommend this part of the work to the attention of our readers, we muſt, at the ſame time, warn them not to expect greater profundity of obſervation, than that which diſtinguiſhes the remarks on Sweden. We beg leave alſo to inform them, that Mr Acerbi is afflicted with an antipathy to prieſts, which, however excuſeable in Italy, is extremely ridiculous (to ſay no more of it) in Scandinavia, where the purity of the clerical character is proportioned to the frugality of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Thus, in p. 191. vol. i. he is pleaſed to inſert the anti-clerical remarks of a peaſant with whom he converſed, and who turned the clergy into ridicule, ſays Mr Acerbi, with a very happy vein of humour. If we may judge of the man's humour by the ſpecimen here given, it muſt have been of a different family from that humour which is allied to mirth. Our author is alſo ſubject to very whimſical fits of benevolence. He bewails the poverty of a Finlander who happened to live near a handſome church; and, as a parallel caſe, he quotes a fact obſerved by him in Ireland, of a miſerable hovel founded (if we rightly comprehend him) upon a dunghill, and ſupported, on one ſide, by 'the wall, ten feet high, of his Honour's park,' p. 336. vol. i. It is not eaſy to perceive how, in the one caſe, the demolition of the church, for which our author ſighs, would improve the fortune of the peaſant, unleſs, indeed, the operation were performed after the French faſhion; and it is very obvious, that the Iriſh cotter would have loſt one ſide of his houſe, had the landlord choſen to throw down the wall of 'his Honour's park.' But our traveller's benevolence is ſomewhat more univerſal than the philanthropy of other men. He is not content with whining over the ills of his own ſpecies—hear how he mourns the woes of brutes, p. 281. vol. i.

'This ſpecies of ſport had not the ſame attraction for me, as the ſhooting of other birds. We were obliged to paſs the whole night in the

the woods; to liſten to the ſinging of the bird, with the invidious ear of a ſpy; to ſkulk and ſuppreſs our very breath, in order the better to catch the ſound of his voice: and when at laſt we heard him, it was neceſſary we ſhould employ all the craft and artifice of a traitor; take advantage even of the ſentiment of love in this poor creature; and all this for the baſe purpoſe of killing him by ſurpriſe. In the chaſe, as in every thing elſe, I love plain dealing; I love to make the birds fly before me; to purſue them, and to declare war before I fire upon them. One ſingle bird killed upon the wing, is worth ten aſſaſſinated on the branch of a tree.'

There is ſomething peculiarly melancholy in the inconſiſtency which diſtinguiſhes the doctrines of a certain claſs of modern writers. Our readers will obſerve, that Mr Acerbi has no manner of objection to the cruelty of murdering the defenceleſs bird; but then it is treacherous to take it by ſurpriſe. He loves to declare war, before he commences hoſtilities; but he loves alſo to attack a defenceleſs enemy. And the reader, who, from the tenor of the preceding paſſage, ſhould conclude that Mr Acerbi only kills when forced to it by ſome overruling neceſſity, would commit a very great miſtake; for that gentleman, in the expedition which he has narrated, was the ornithologiſt and entomologiſt of the party.

There is one kind of ſport which we cannot help thinking as cruel and treacherous, as that of ſhooting by ſurpriſe, although men only, and not birds, are its objects. It conſiſts in gaining admittance into literary and private circles; receiving all manner of aſſiſtance and polite attention; paſſing whole nights in ſuch ſociety; liſtening to the unreſtrained converſe of the ſocial hours, with the invidious ear of a ſpy; ſuppreſſing the breath of cenſure, in order to hear the more; taking advantage even of the ſentiments of friendſhip and hoſpitality: and all this for the baſe purpoſe of publiſhing what has been incautiouſly told, or taken by ſurpriſe. In travelling and in book-making, as in every thing elſe, we love plain-dealing. One ſingle joke or anecdote, that hurts no friend, and turns no virtue into ridicule, is worth ten obtained by indelicacy or ingratitude.

Such being our ſentiments, we cannot approve of the manner in which Mr Acerbi has ſpoken of Baron Silfverhielm *; (vol. i. p. 272.), who, although contaminated by the ſtain of nobility, is a man of talents and virtue, and laid our traveller under many obligations (p. 268-9.) As it is poſſible to unfrock a parſon in Sweden, as well as in Italy, we wiſh our author had omitted the various anecdotes which he has related of the poor prieſt of Muonioniſca (vol. ii. p. 21.); guilty, indeed,

* Mr A. always calls the Baron *Silfverkielm*. There is no ſuch name.

deed, of being a clergyman, but liberal, hoſpitable, and well informed (p. 17.); and, though poſſeſſed of theological books, yet, according to his own declaration, addicted as little as poſſible to the vice of reading them (ibid.) Nor ſhould we have been diſpoſed to blame him for indiſcriminate good nature, had he treated with leſs aſperity and petulance Profeſſor Thunberg, and others, (vol. i. p. 121.), to whoſe aſſiſtance, academicians, though they be, he afterwards informs us (vol. ii. p. 142) his work is indebted for moſt of the natural hiſtory which it contains.

The third part contains Mr Acerbi's travels from Torneâ acroſs the iſthmus of Scandinavia, to Alten Gaard on the Frozen Ocean, and thence to the North Cape. This is the part of his journey in which our traveller endured the greateſt hardſhips, and paſſed through ſcenes leaſt explored by ſtrangers. But, from the barren nature of the ſubject; the unintereſting character of the natives; the perpetual recurrence of the ſame difficulties and toils—the narrative is leſs amuſing, and the information leſs valuable and diverſified, than that which the more beaten track of the Bothnian coaſt offered in the firſt volume. As the objects which preſent themſelves become leſs varied and attractive, it is not to be expected that our author's talent for obſervation or reflection ſhould improve. Yet, let not the reader ſtop in diſguſt, when he meets with ſuch copious diſquiſitions upon nothing, as that contained in p. 51. vol. ii. After mentioning, at great length, the inconvenience ſuffered, during his dinner, from the attacks of muſquitoes, he pauſes to meditate and inquire; and gives vent to the ideas that fill his mind, in the following ſoliloquy:

'I cannot, at this moment, account to myſelf, why we did not think of ſetting up our tent, under which we certainly ſhould have enjoyed greater comfort, and have been leſs tormented by the inſects. Perhaps it was, that we did not expect to remain long in *this place*, and becauſe the erection of our tent always took up ſome time; or it might be too carefully packed up—or perhaps we had not the *means* at hand of erecting it. It often happens, that a perſon does things for which he afterwards can aſſign no direct reaſon, though, at the time, he may have had ſatisfactory grounds for his proceedings.'

The conſtant occurrence of the muſquitoes becomes almoſt as troubleſome and fatiguing to the reader, as they were to the travellers. We have them in every chapter; almoſt in every page. They meet us in all forms: ſometimes in the meat, ſometimes as ſubjects of diſſertation; frequently in allegory, as imps, or as enemies in battle array.

As our author approaches the great end of his toils, he riſes to a ſublimer tone; but ſometimes he ſinks a little too ſuddenly; as,

is, for inſtance, in the following paſſage, where, after deſcribing the ſolitary dwelling of a merchant at Haveſund, he exclaims,

'Dreadful place to live at! The only attraction in theſe abodes, is fiſhing, and the love of gain. The nearer one approaches the North Cape, the more nature ſeems to frown; vegetation dies, and leaves behind it nothing but naked rocks.'——Vol. ii. p. 110.

We muſt, however, except from the general cenſure which we have been obliged to paſs on the ſtyle of our author's reflections, the following very fine paſſage, deſcribing the feelings with which he ſurveyed the ſcenery of the North Cape, where he arrived exactly at midnight,

'Here every thing is ſolitary, every thing is ſteril, every thing ſad and deſpondent. The ſhadowy foreſt no longer adorns the brow of the mountain. The ſinging of the birds, which enlivened even the woods of Lapland, is no longer heard in this ſcene of deſolation. The ruggedneſs of the dark grey rock is not covered by a ſingle ſhrub. The only muſic is the hoarſe murmuring of the waves, ever and anon renewing their aſſaults on the huge maſſes that oppoſe them. The northern ſun, creeping, at midnight, at the diſtance of five diameters, along the horizon, and the immeaſurable ocean in apparent contact with the ſkies, form the grand outlines in the ſublime picture preſented to the aſtoniſhed ſpectator. The inceſſant cares and purſuits of anxious mortals, are recollected as a dream; the various forms and energies of animated nature are forgotten; the earth is contemplated only in its elements, and as conſtituting a part of the ſolar ſyſtem.'——Vol. ii. p. 111.

This is, at once, fine and bold; we believe it to be alſo a juſt painting of ſcenery, and a natural tranſcript of ſentiment.

The travels conclude with a brief account of the journey homewards to Uleâborg. Upon the whole, we have little objection to that part of the narrative which properly belongs to Mr Acerbi himſelf; for it is now fair to obſerve, that we by no means believe him to be the author of the work, as it appears before the Engliſh public. We can diſcover, in various parts, errors and inaccuracies, which are to be accounted for only upon the ſuppoſition, that the traveller has done little more than furniſh the materials for theſe volumes; and that he has been unfortunate in his choice of a *redacteur*. The errors in the orthography of many proper names—the fillineſs of various reflections—the indelicacy of many anecdotes and jeſts (conſidering that the book is addreſſed to a father, as a ſpecimen of his ſon's improvement)—the ignorance of local circumſtances in various trifling particulars, which, however, the traveller himſelf muſt have known, as in the note of p. 8. *Vol. I.*;—theſe, and other conſiderations, induce us to divide the cenſures we have beſtowed, between Mr Acerbi and his editor,

editor, whoſe name does not appear. At the ſame time, we muſt expreſs our unqualified diſapprobation of the practice, now ſo prevalent among travellers, of devolving upon profeſſed authors the important taſk of ſpeaking for them to the public; a practice, deſtructive of accurate deſcription, not very favourable to fidelity of narration, and altogether inimical to the intereſt with which we delight to read the accounts, however unpoliſhed, of actors and eye-witneſſes. We had almoſt forgotten to mention the doggrel Engliſh rhymes, with which the editor, taking advantage of Mr Acerbi's ignorance of the language, has thought proper to fill his pages. Nothing in the name of verſe was ever preſented, with fewer pretenſions to merit of any kind.

Beſides the travels, the volumes now before us contain a treatiſe on Lapland, drawn up, chiefly, from the account publiſhed by the miſſionary, Leems, in 1767, Daniſh and Latin. Indeed, with the exception of a little jeſting, at the miſſionary's expence, and ſome additional remarks, chiefly on the natural hiſtory of the country, this treatiſe is a tranſlation from Leems. It occupies the greater part of the ſecond volume, and follows the original, ſection by ſection. This is the leſs neceſſary, ſince that work is by no means ſo rare as Mr Acerbi ſuppoſes: We believe there is ſcarcely a library in Europe without a copy of it.

The plates, which accompany Mr Acerbi's travels, are in general good: the winter ſcene in Stockholm, and the two views in the woods of Finland, ſtrike us as the beſt. The map prefixed to vol. ii. is very indifferent. The entry upon the gulf of Bothnia at Griſlehamn, is wretched; and the Finlandiſh bath has nothing to recommend it, but the naked accuracy of the repreſentation. The figures of the inſects, in vol. ii. are excellent.

The work concludes with ſpecimens of Finniſh and Norwegian muſic, and our author's Itinerary.

ART. XXV. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain.* By Henry Thornton, Eſq. M. P. London, 1802. pp. 320.

THE progreſs of commercial philoſophy has been much accelerated by the writings of practical men of buſineſs. In that, as well as in the other departments of civil knowledge, it is only from the actual courſe of affairs that the ſtateſman can derive his maxims of policy, or the ſpeculative inquirer deduce the concluſions of his ſcience: but the habits of both are incompatible with a perſonal knowledge of detail. It is neceſſary that the labour, of accumulating particular facts, ſhould be ſeparated from the more liberal

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taſk of generaliſing theſe into principles; and that they, who are qualified to combine larger views, ſhould be furniſhed, by the minute accuracy of others, with deſcriptions in which they may confide. In England, which is the native country of political œconomy, the works, contributed by profeſſional men, form a large depoſit of authenticated facts. For theſe we are primarily indebted to that diffuſed literature, which multiplies the demand for varied information, and has already liberaliſed the practitioners in almoſt every walk of induſtry. But the greater number of theſe publications have been ſuggeſted by ſuch occaſional events, in the fluctuation of our commercial proſperity, as rouſe a general intereſt, and direct the curioſity of the public to that quarter of the great machine, in which the derangement is ſuppoſed to have taken place. It is in this manner, that every period of dearth has contributed in ſome degree to alleviate ſubſequent years of ſcarcity, by the inſtruction which it yielded againſt popular prejudice. Thoſe numerous tracts, in which alone the detailed hiſtory of our foreign commerce can be traced, at leaſt during its earlier progreſs, appear to have been prompted by the frequent diſturbance, which the balance of exchanges ſuffered, from the alternations of war and peace. The immediate conſequences of the South-Sea ſcheme, and of the many wild projects that raged about the ſame time, were ſomewhat compenſated by the more diſtinct knowledge, which they ultimately furniſhed, with reſpect to the bounds of commercial adventure. It was in a ſimilar manner, from the embarraſſments occaſioned in the reign of King William by the reformation of the coin, that our politicians firſt derived a clear and ſteady light on the ſubject of metallic circulation. And the operations of that curious ſyſtem, by which the uſe of precious coin is now almoſt ſuperſeded, remained in a great meaſure unknown to all but the bankers and traders of London, until the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments at the Bank of England produced that copious information, which, in various forms, has been communicated to the public.

Of all the publications, which that momentous event has occaſioned, the moſt valuable unqueſtionably is this of Mr Thornton. With no oſtentatious profeſſions, and with no admixture of ſuperfluous matter, it contains the largeſt portion of new information that has for a long time been offered to thoſe, who, either for the pleaſures of ſpeculation, or with a view to public life, are engaged in the reſearches of political œconomy. The inſtruction, however, that may be derived from the work, is not to be obtained by a curſory or paſſive peruſal. The author has ſo little management in the diſpoſition of his materials, and is frequently ſo much embarraſſed in the explanation of arguments, that his reader

reader must undertake the trouble of reducing theſe to a more preciſe ſtatement, as well as of digeſting the general ſubject in a more diſtinct form. Even in point of accuracy, his reaſonings are not to be truſted with the ſame confidence to which his information is entitled; for, if examined with care, they will ſometimes be found defective: nor can it excite any ſurpriſe, that the ſame opportunities, by which a perſon has been eminently inſtructed in the facts of ſuch a ſubject, ſhould have proved unfavourable to thoſe ſpeculative habits, which exerciſe the powers of accurate and comprehenſive inference. At the ſame time, from our own experience, we may caution the reader of Mr Thornton, that he ſhould not too haſtily conſider as an erroneous deduction, what he may find to be only the confuſed ſtatement of a juſt argument. For the work indicates, throughout, an author unpractiſed in compoſition. In moſt of the details ſeparately taken, there is that degree of perſpicuity and eaſe, which ſhows him to have been fully poſſeſſed of the ſubject; though he rarely attains preciſion and diſtinctneſs of expreſſion. But the various diſcuſſions, being unſkilfully arranged, throw no light on each other, and we can never ſeize a full view of the plan. So imperfectly is the order of inveſtigation defined, that ſometimes an inquiry is prematurely anticipated, ſometimes inconveniently poſtponed; and the author has been frequently conſtrained by his conſciouſneſs of this imperfection, to repeat the ſame diſquiſition in different places. Theſe defects appear to have ariſen, in ſome meaſure, from his having varied his deſign, after he was engaged in the execution of the work; for he tells us that his firſt intention

—'was merely to expoſe ſome popular errors which related chiefly to the ſuſpenſion of the caſh payments of the Bank of England, and to the influence of our paper currency on the price of proviſions. But in purſuing his purpoſe, many queſtions occurred which it ſeemed important to diſcuſs, partly on account of their having ſome bearing on the topics under conſideration, and partly becauſe they appeared to be of general importance, and had either been left unexplained, or had been inaccurately ſtated by thoſe Engliſh writers who have treated of paper credit. This work has therefore aſſumed, in ſome degree, the character of a general treatiſe.'—*Introd.*

It is to be regretted that it did not receive in every reſpect the form, as it contains the valuable ſubſtance, of a general treatiſe. Moſt of the prolixity, and ſome of the obſcurity, that oppreſs the reader in its preſent ſhape, would have been avoided, if the temporary topics which formed his original object, had been ſunk into a ſubordinate digreſſion, inſtead of being ſuffered to interweave themſelves with more general inquiries through the whole train of the diſcourſe. Adhering to this diſtinction, we

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ſhall attempt an abſtract of its principal contents; and that we may obſerve an order, which will both afford a clear view of his doctrine, and admit of ſuch remarks being introduced as we think neceſſary, we ſhall conſider, *firſt*, The principles which he has adopted on the general theory of paper credit; *ſecondly*, His account of that ſyſtem of credit and of paper-money which is eſtabliſhed in this country: *thirdly*, His explanation of the difficulties to which the Bank of England was ſubjected in 1797; and *fourthly*, His opinion with regard to the influence of our preſent paper currency upon the preſent ſtate of prices.

I. Although ſome general truths, reſpecting the operations of paper money, have been aſcertained, the analyſis of that very intricate ſubject is far from being complete. Even the fundamental principles are ſtill involved in ſome degree of obſcurity, and writers of equal authority have thus been led to vary in many of their deductions. It may be uſeful, therefore, to preſent a full view of the opinions, which are profeſſed by Mr Thornton. In this, we ſhall not entirely confine ourſelves to the three preliminary chapters, in which he has attempted to arrange his general doctrine; becauſe ſeveral of the moſt important principles are not developed in that ſketch, but receive an incidental explanation in the courſe of his ſubſequent reaſonings.

1. The origin, and the ſolid foundation of every ſyſtem of paper-money, Mr Thornton has correctly placed in that credit, which ſubſiſts among commercial men with regard to their mercantile tranſactions. By this mutual truſt, they are brought under pecuniary engagements to each other; and it is the expreſſion of theſe engagements in writing, that creates the firſt and largeſt portion of circulating paper. By reducing them to a written form, the inſecurity, that attends verbal obligations, is avoided by the creditor; and an advantage is obtained, on the other hand, by the debtor, in having that confidence, which is entertained both of his funds and of his prudence, expreſſed in a regular and tranſmiſſible document. Promiſſory notes and bills of exchange, as ſuch documents have been called, were ſoon diſcovered to be ſuſceptible of a more extended uſe, than that of recovering debts to the original creditor. They admitted, like other inſtruments of debt, and more eaſily than moſt others, of being transferred; and, in conſequence of this facility, they came gradually to circulate as a repreſentative of value, that is, as an effective medium of exchange, in almoſt all payments of a large amount. After their utility in this function had been aſcertained, it was an obvious improvement to adapt them by a ſmall change of their form, to thoſe ordinary payments in which the precious metals had always been employed; and to ſubſtitute, by this ſimple contrivance, a very cheap inſtrument

ſtrument of commerce in the place of a very expenſive one. The promiſſory notes of bankers, which are payable on demand, have accordingly for a long time paſt performed, in this country, the ordinary purpoſes of exchange in almoſt all tranſactions of a ſmall amount, as well as in ſettling the ſmall balances of larger tranſactions.

This deſcription of circulating paper differs, in one material circumſtance, from the opinion of Mr Boyd, who, in his recent publication, has expreſsly denied that bills of exchange, or any other negotiable paper, form a part of the circulating medium. 'The latter (Mr Boyd has ſaid) is the circulator; the former are merely objects of circulation.' This verbal antitheſis, it may be remarked, is calculated to ſuggeſt a very erroneous principle; for, even in theory, no definite boundary can be marked between the circulating medium, whether paper or metallic, and the commodities of which it facilitates the exchange. The language of Mr Thornton is more conſiſtent with a juſt view of the ſubject. All negotiable paper is, by its form, the repreſentative of value; and is therefore qualified, more or leſs perfectly, according to its varieties of form, to ſerve the purpoſes of money. It is convertible into caſh, and on the faith of this convertibility it paſſes immediately as caſh. The precious metals themſelves do not paſs as money, except on the faith of their convertibility into commodities. Paper-money, in one form, may circulate leſs quickly than in another, and may not be ſo readily convertible into ſpecie; but its eſſential character is the ſame. Not to mention thoſe bills drawn upon London, by which all the great payments of our foreign and domeſtic commerce are effected; a vaſt number of ſmaller bills circulate among the traders of the country, who ſucceſſively indorſe them to each other. While ſome of theſe are from day to day withdrawn, they are continually replaced by others; and the average number of ſuch bills, floating in the general market at once, forms unqueſtionably a portion of the circulating medium. By omitting them, we ſhould leave ourſelves a very imperfect idea of the extent, the operations, and the conſequences of our paper ſyſtem.

2. In common with all other writers, Mr Thornton appears to admit that the convertibility of paper into ſpecie is the baſis, upon which that ſyſtem muſt be founded. He is not indeed quite explicit; and there is much reaſon to regret, that he has not been at more pains to elucidate this principle, and the limitations with which the ſtatement of it may be qualified. That the immediate convertibility of paper into gold is an indiſpenſable condition of its credit, as we are taught by the language of ſyſtem, has been diſproved by the recent hiſtory of the Bank of England; which has happily quieted the apprehenſions, to which

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our beſt informed politicians yielded, on account of the event of 1797. The maintenance of credit during a ſhort interval of ſuſpended payments, was a caſe, indeed, which might have been foreſeen from theory, and was not wholly unknown to our previous experience. But that a reſtriction of this kind ſhould have been continued for more than five years, without any depreciation of the paper from a failure of confidence, is a fact which has falſified all reaſonable prediction, and forms an exception to the moſt confident maxims of all former economiſts. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to conſider how far we are required to limit, by the reſult of this experiment, a principle which had been generaliſed prematurely. In this, we receive ſlight aſſiſtance from Mr Thornton *.

The convertibility of paper into ſpecie, without delay and without loſs, may be neceſſary in two reſpects: to maintain the credit of the paper, by precluding that depreciation which proceeds from a failure of confidence; and to preſerve the value of the paper from that depreciation, which originates in an exceſs of circulating medium. The neceſſity of immediate acceſs to gold, for the credit of the paper, may be ſuperſeded, it appears, by a full perſuaſion on the part of the public that the paper is ſecured by ample funds. But this can have no effect in reſtricting the quantity, which is, on the contrary, encouraged by this very confidence of the public. Mr Thornton, accordingly, expreſſes his opinion, that gold coin is the ſtandard by which the value of all paper money muſt be regulated; and that, in order to maintain an uniformity between them, there ſhould always be a conſiderable fund of bullion in the country, and a certain degree of interchange of the paper for precious coin. This principle is ſo implicated with all the inveſtigations of his treatiſe, and is of itſelf ſo important, that we are ſorry he did not think of illuſtrating it more fully, and of reducing it, if poſſible, to more ſpecific terms.

3. He has explained, however, with great clearneſs, another part of the theory of money; the different effects of a quick or a ſlow circulation. Such of our readers, as have attended to the hiſtory of opinions in political ſcience, will recollect, that a conſideration, which now ſeems quite obvious, was long overlooked by the moſt acute and profound inquirers. Monteſquieu and Hume fell into ſeveral miſtakes, from not adverting to the degree in which the repreſentative power of money is augmented, by a more rapid tranſmiſſion; and although the principle may be alluded to, in a few paſſages of Smith's work, he appears to have been unaware of its extent. We doubt if even the writers,

* Pp. 70. 187. 258. 279.

by whom it has been more recently urged, have traced all the effects of its operation.

The quantity of money, neceſſary for performing a certain number of exchanges in a certain time, may be conſidered as nearly in the inverſe ratio of its velocity of circulation. Whatever, therefore, tends to accelerate the general rate, contributes, ſo long as the number of exchanges remains unaugmented, to economiſe the neceſſary quantity. And if, by the operation of any cauſe, its movement be retarded, the want of an additional quantity will be felt. From the ſame propoſition it likewiſe follows, that, if one kind of money is ſuſceptible of a more rapid circulation than another, a ſmaller quantity will be required of the former than of the latter, to carry on a given number of exchanges in a given time.

Mr Thornton has juſtly obſerved *, that, in a commercial country, whatever the circulating medium conſiſts of, it is apt to vary in its rate of circulation. A high and proſperous ſtate of mercantile confidence quickens it; and it is apt to be retarded during the intervals of diſtruſt and alarm. Every merchant, who lies under pecuniary engagements, muſt not only arrange the punctual fulfilment of theſe, but muſt reſerve a farther proviſion againſt contingencies. During an interval of alarm, he of courſe makes this reſerve rather greater than in ordinary times; and at a period of great confidence he ventures to keep it rather leſs. We ſhall perceive, in the ſequel, what application Mr Thornton has made of theſe deductions.

He has likewiſe obſerved †, with regard to paper money in particular, that ſome kinds of paper circulate more ſlowly than others. Bills of exchange, for example, bear intereſt, and become daily more valuable to the holder. Bank notes, on the contrary, like guineas, occaſion a daily loſs to the poſſeſſor, becauſe no intereſt accrues. There is thus a reaſon for detaining the one, and for parting with the other as ſoon as poſſible. Commercial people will endeavour to keep their neceſſary proviſion for future payments, rather in bills, than in bank notes.

4. The moſt important, perhaps, of all queſtions reſpecting the operations of paper money, relates to its effect upon the price of commodities. Mr Thornton admits, in the moſt explicit manner, that, in this particular, there is no difference between a currency of paper and one conſiſting of the precious metals; and that in both caſes, if the quantity of circulating medium is permanently augmented, without a correſponding augmentation of internal trade, a riſe will unavoidably take place in the price of exchangeable articles. Indeed this is a principle upon which all

* P. 47. † P. 41.

all the writers on commerce, both practical and ſpeculative, are agreed: they have thought it ſo undeniable, as to require no particular illuſtration; and have rather aſſumed it as an obvious truth, than as a propoſition which depended on inference. On this idea, is founded Mr Hume's well-known argument againſt banks; and it is equally implied in Smith's ſatisfactory confutation of that objection: it forms the foundation of thoſe preſumptions, from which Mr Boyd has lately inferred an improper increaſe of Bank of England paper; and it is implicitly admitted likewiſe by Mr Thornton, one great object of whoſe book is to perſuade the public that there has been no ſuch increaſe.

Dr Smith, our readers will recollect, has refuted Mr Hume's notion, that paper money raiſes prices, by referring to what he conſiders as a general fact in the theory of circulation; that every addition of paper to the currency diſplaces an equivalent quantity of gold. From different parts of Mr Thornton's work a few remarks may be collected, which place this principle in a more correct point of view. The language, in which Smith has deſcribed the diſplacement of gold, is not calculated to convey a very diſtinct conception of the manner in which it really takes place. The quantity of goods in the market (he ſays) being preciſely the ſame after the paper is iſſued as before, the ſame quantity of money will be ſufficient to circulate them; the channel of circulation remaining preciſely the ſame, whatever is poured into it beyond the ſum that is ſufficient to fill it, cannot run in it, but muſt overflow: the ſum that overflows is too valuable to lie unemployed at home; it will therefore be ſent abroad, and, as the paper cannot go abroad, the gold will be exported *. If this ſtatement be literally underſtood, it involves a ſtatement which is contrary to hiſtorical fact; for, by what proceſs did the diſcovery of the American mines operate upon prices, except by cauſing a much greater quantity of money to run in the channel of circulation, than had previouſly been ſufficient to circulate the ſame quantity of goods? Mr Thornton has juſtly remarked, that the channel of circulation can never be ſaid to be full, becauſe employment is ſtill afforded to a larger quantity of circulating medium by means of an advanced price of goods. 'This advanced price of goods is the ſame thing as a reduced price of coin; the coin, therefore, in conſequence of its reduced price, is carried out of the country for the ſake of obtaining for it a better market †.' Thus, the immediate effect of an addition to the paper currency is a riſe of prices, which leads to an exportation of gold. The gold is not immediately diſplaced, becauſe the circulating medium admits of no aug-

mentation,

* Wealth of Nations, I. p. 436. † P. 211.

mentation; nor thrown out of the channel of circulation, becauſe that can hold no more; nor ſent abroad, becauſe it would otherwiſe have been altogether unemployed at home. Dr Smith, it is evident, overlooked the intermediate event; and, becauſe the real explanation did not ſuggeſt itſelf, had recourſe to the exceptionable ſtyle of metaphorical deſcription.—Mr Thornton has another remark *, which ſuggeſts a juſt correction of that general poſition, by which we exclude altogether any permanent operation of paper-money in raiſing prices, while there is gold in circulation that may be diſplaced. The ſame exportation of gold, which remedies the temporary riſe that takes place in the particular country where paper has been iſſued, has a tendency to increaſe the ſupply of precious metal in the general market of the world, and thus to occaſion a general riſe of prices, in which that particular country muſt participate. The whole quantity of bullion, of which Great Britain has ſpared the uſe by adopting a different medium of domeſtic exchange, is added to the general ſtock of the mercantile commonwealth, as much as if an equal quantity had been brought additionally from America; and the ſaving of that annual loſs, which would have been occaſioned by the waſte of Britiſh coin, is equivalent to an increaſe in the annual produce of the mines.—But, on the other hand, it muſt be remembered, that the uſe of paper money tends, in ſome degree, to *lower* the price of commodities. In proportion as the inſtruments of commerce, or the machinery of manufactures, are of a leſs expenſive conſtruction, the articles, which they contribute to produce, may be afforded at a lower rate. To employ paper money inſtead of gold, is to ſubſtitute a very cheap inſtrument of commerce in the room of a very expenſive one. That ſyſtem of credit, alſo, of which the limits are greatly extended by the uſe of paper, tends, as Mr Thornton has obſerved †, to reduce prices, both by enlarging competition, and by ſaving the trouble and expence of weighing, counting, and tranſporting money. The larger tranſactions of commerce are, by theſe means, greatly facilitated; and in this inſtance, as in every other, it is the true intereſt of the conſumer that merchants ſhould be permitted to adopt their own plans of economy.

Although, with theſe modifications, he admits the poſition of Dr Smith, that ſucceſſive additions of paper to the currency will ſucceſſively diſplace equivalent portions of gold, this muſt evidently ceaſe to be true when the circulating medium already conſiſts almoſt entirely of paper. In ſuch circumſtances, the ſucceſſive augmentations, that may take place, are not compenſated by any correſponding diminution in another part of the circulation;

* P. 304. † P. 315. and p. 17.

tion; and the rise of prices, that immediately ensues, is not reduced by a subsequent exportation of gold. While the currency remains in this augmented state, without an increase of trade to absorb the excess, prices will remain high; and if the quantity of paper should still be continually increased, the prices of commodities will continue to rise. The price of bullion must be affected in the same manner, as that of every other article. And in a country, where a system of paper currency has gradually supplanted an ancient system of gold coin, the market price of gold bullion may thus come to exceed that price which was adopted, under the ancient system, by the regulations of the mint.

We perfectly agree with Mr Thornton, that, in a country where gold constitutes an indefinitely small portion of the circulating medium, an excessive issue of paper will raise the market price of gold above its mint price. But the manner, in which he has described the process by which this is effected, appears to us so erroneous, that we shall lay before our readers the passage in which he has explained his opinion. It is rather long for an extract: But it forms a detached dissertation complete in itself, and we could not easily have selected a shorter passage, that would have afforded so just a specimen of the author's general manner. It is unnecessary to point out to our readers, by particular references, the familiar perspicuity with which the facts are separately stated, and the perplexity with which they are combined into a train of reasoning.

'I proceed, in the next place, to show in what manner a general rise in the cost of commodities, whether proceeding from an extravagant issue of paper, or from any other circumstance, contributes to produce an excess of the market price above the mint price of gold.

'It is obvious, that, in proportion as goods are rendered dear in Great Britain, the foreigner becomes unwilling to buy them, the commodities of other countries, which come into competition with ours, obtaining a preference in the foreign market; and, therefore, that in consequence of a diminution of orders from abroad, our exports will be diminished; unless we assume, as we shall find it necessary to do, that some compensation in the exchange is given to the foreigner for the disadvantage attending the purchase of our articles. But, not only will our exports lessen, in the case supposed; our imports also will increase: for the high British price of goods, will tempt foreign commodities to come in, nearly in the same degree in which it will discourage British articles from going out. I mean only, that these two effects (that of a diminished export, and that of an increased import) will follow, provided that we suppose, what is not supposable, namely, that the time when the price of goods is greatly raised in Great Britain, the course of exchange suffers no alteration. For the following reason I have said,

that this is not ſuppoſable. Under the circumſtances which have been deſcribed, of a diminiſhed export, and an increaſed import, the balance of trade muſt unavoidably turn againſt us; the conſequence of which muſt be, that the drawers of bills on Great Britain, in foreign countries, will become more in number than the perſons having occaſion to remit bills. This diſparity between the number of individuals wanting to draw, and of thoſe wanting to remit, as was remarked in a former chapter, muſt produce a fall in the price at which the overabundant bills on England ſell in the foreign market. The fall in the ſelling price, abroad, of bills payable here, will operate as an advantage to the foreign buyer of our commodities, in the computation of the exchangeable value of that circulating medium of his own country, with which he diſcharges the debt in Britain contracted by his purchaſe. It will thus obviate the dearneſs of our artcles: it will ſerve as a compenſation to the foreigner, for the loſs which he would otherwiſe ſuſtain by buying in our market. The fall of our exchange, will, therefore, promote exportation, and encourage importation. It will, in a great degree, prevent the high price of goods in Great Britain from producing that unfavourable balance of trade, which, for the ſake of illuſtrating the ſubject, was ſuppoſed to exiſt.

'The compenſation thus made to the foreigner, for the high Britiſh price of all articles, is neceſſary, as an inducement to him to take them; ſomewhat in the ſame manner as a drawback, or bounty on exportation, is the neceſſary inducement to take thoſe particular goods, which have been rendered too dear for the foreign market, by taxes laid on them in this country. In each caſe, the Britiſh conſumer pays the high price, and the foreigner is ſpared, becauſe otherwiſe he will not accept our commodities.

'The fall in our exchange was juſt now defined to be an advantage gained in the computation of the exchangeable value of that foreign circulating medium with which the foreigner diſcharges his debt in Great Britain, a debt paid in the circulating medium of this country. It implies, therefore, a high valuation of his circulating medium, and a low valuation of ours: a low valuation, that is to ſay, both of our paper and of the coin which is interchanged with it.

'Now, when coin is thus rendered cheap, it by no means follows, that bullion is rendered cheap alſo. Coin is rendered cheap through its conſtituting a part of our circulating medium; but bullion does not conſtitute a part of it. Bullion is a commodity, and nothing but a commodity; and it riſes and falls in value, on the ſame principle as all other commodities. It becomes, like them, dear, in proportion as the circulating medium for which it is exchanged is rendered cheap, and cheap, in proportion as the circulating medium is rendered dear.

'In the caſe, therefore, which has now been ſuppoſed, we are to conſider coin as ſinking below its proper and intrinſic worth, while bullion maintains its natural and accuſtomed price. Hence there ariſes that temptation, which was formerly noticed, either to convert back into bullion, and then to export; or, which is the ſame thing, to export, and then convert back into bullion; or, which is alſo the ſame thing,

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to convert back into bullion, and then ſell to the Bank, at the price which would be gained by exportation, that gold which the Bank has purchaſed, and has converted from bullion into coin.

'In this manner, an increaſe of paper, ſuppoſing it to be ſuch as to raiſe the price of commodities in Britain above the price at which, unleſs there is ſome allowance afforded in the courſe of exchange, they will be received in foreign countries, contributes to produce an exceſs of the market price above the mint price of gold, and to prevent, therefore, the introduction of a proper ſupply of it into the Bank of England, as well as to draw out of its coffers, that coin which the directors of the Bank would wiſh to keep in them.' p. 200. *

Although the whole of this long paſſage is profeſſedly employed, to explain in what manner an increaſe of paper produces an exceſs of the market price of gold above its mint price, a ſufficient explanation of that fact is diſtinctly given in a ſingle ſentence of the fifth paragraph: Bullion, like all other commodities, becomes dear in proportion as the circulating medium, for which it is exchanged, is rendered cheap. No other account of the fact can be given; and no farther explanation will be required. Our author, however, has intermingled with this the ſtatement of another very different fact; that fall of the foreign exchange, which might be expected to follow an exceſſive increaſe of our paper-money, and of which he ſeems to have formed an erroneous conception. The miſtakes, which are involved in the preceding diſquiſition, appear to have ariſen from his overlooking the diſtinction, of which in other parts of the work he is aware, between the bullion or general price of goods, and their local price in paper-currency. When the bullion price of our goods riſes, that oſcillation of the commercial balance, which Mr Thornton has imperfectly deſcribed, will certainly be produced, by the tendency of an unfavourable exchange, to encourage exports, and by the reciprocal tendency of an increaſed exportation to reſtore the equilibrium of exchanges. But it is not the bullion price of goods, that is raiſed by an increaſe of

* In a ſubſequent paſſage, the doctrine is thus ſummed up—'Let the manner in which an extravagant iſſue of notes operates, in producing the exceſs, be recollected. It raiſes, and probably by ſlow degrees, the coſt of Britiſh goods. It thus obſtructs the export of them, unleſs a compenſation for the high price is afforded to the foreign buyer, in the rate of exchange; and the variation in our exchange produces a low valuation of our coin, compared with that of bullion. The ſtate of the exchange, then, is the immediate cauſe of the evil in queſtion.' p. 242. The reader, who may wiſh to verify our criticiſms by examining the original work, will find the ſame doctrine urged, pp. 271. & 281.

paper-money; which only occaſions a riſe in the *paper* or *currency* price, and occaſions that ſort of riſe in the price of bullion as well as in that of all other commodities. The bullion price of theſe will remain, therefore, preciſely the ſame; and although our goods acquire at home a nominal increaſe of value, they are not rendered dearer to the foreign merchant, who pays for them ultimately in that bullion which is the common meaſure of his currency and ours. In this point of view, the increaſe of paper-money appears to have no effect on the balance of exports and imports. There can be no doubt, however, that it will, notwithſtanding, have a conſiderable effect on the apparent courſe of exchange. By that increaſe, our currency ſinks in its bullion value, and a given ſum of it will no longer purchaſe the ſame quantity of bullion: but the foreign currency, which is not ſuppoſed to have undergone a change, preſerves its own bullion value, and a given ſum of that will ſtill purchaſe the ſame quantity of bullion as before. The proportion, therefore, of the bullion value of our currency to the bullion value of foreign currency, is altered; and, in order to preſerve the ſame apparent rate of exchange, there ought to be a correſponding alteration of the numerical tables in which that rate is expreſſed. As long as the ancient mode of computation remains ſtill in uſe, the apparent or computed rate of exchange will be different from the real one; and, whatever may be the actual ſtate of credit or debt, the exchange will always be calculated ſo much leſs in our favour, or ſo much more againſt us, in proportion to the depreciation which has taken place in the bullion value of our currency. Our general exchanges might thus appear unproſperous, at the very time that the balance of trade was greatly in our favour; and if the iſſue of paper continued to increaſe, the exchange would appear to become more and more unfavourable, although the balance of exports and imports had remained unaltered. The difference, therefore, between the two caſes, which Mr Thornton appears to have confounded, is very diſtinct. When the local riſe of the price of goods conſiſts in an actual increaſe of their bullion price, a real fall of the foreign exchange will generally take place, and will *occaſion*, by the demand for bullion to be exported, a fluctuating exceſs of the market price above the mint price of gold. But when an exceſſive iſſue of paper-money produces a nominal riſe of prices, a nominal fall of the foreign exchange will always take place, and is a *conſequence* of that ſteady exceſs of the market price of gold above its mint price, which originated immediately in the exceſſive iſſue of paper. The importance of the error, into which we imagine Mr Thornton to have fallen, will juſtify the length of theſe obſervations; to which we ſhall only add, that the operation of an exceſſive paper-currency,

rency, upon prices and upon the courſe of exchange, muſt be the ſame as that of a debaſement of the coin, either by waſte, or by the recent fraud of government *.

5. We ſhall conclude this firſt part of our abſtract with ſome criticiſms on another paſſage, in which Mr Thornton has not given a very ſatisfactory confutation of a popular prejudice, which however prevails ſo much, that the real fallacy of it ought to be explained.

'Some perſons are of opinion, that when the cuſtom of buying on credit is puſhed very far, and a great quantity of individual dealings is in conſequence carried on by perſons having comparatively little property, the national commerce is to be conſidered as unſupported by a proper capital; and that a nation, under ſuch circumſtances, whatever may be its oſtenſible riches, exhibits the deluſive appearance of wealth.

'It muſt, however, be remembered, that the practice of buying on credit, in the internal commerce of the country, ſuppoſes the habit of ſelling on credit alſo to ſubſiſt; and to prevail, on the whole, in an exactly equal degree. In reſpect to the foreign trade of a country, the practice of dealing on credit indicates poverty or riches, in proportion as the credit generally taken is longer or ſhorter than the credit given. The cuſtom which tradeſmen have of ſelling to the conſumers on credit, is alſo an indication of wealth in the commercial world: the traders muſt poſſeſs a ſurplus of wealth, either their own or borrowed, which bears an exact proportion to the amount of debts due to them by the conſumers. Thus, that practice of trading on credit which prevails among us, ſo far as it ſubſiſts between trader and trader, is an indication neither of wealth nor of poverty in the mercantile body; ſo far as it reſpects our tranſactions with foreign countries, is an indication of extraordinary wealth belonging to the merchants of Great Britain; and ſo far as it reſpects the trade between the retailer and the conſumer, implies a deficiency of wealth in the conſumers, and a proportionate ſurplus of it among commercial men. The exiſting cuſtoms imply, that, on the whole, there is among our traders a great abundance of wealth.' p. 18.

This paſſage has all the formality of analytical reaſoning, but furniſhes no anſwer to the objection which the author profeſſes to obviate; for no inference, againſt that objection, can be derived from the diſtinctions which he has marſhalled in ſuch methodical order. Overlooking, in his attempt to diſpel a popular error, the real miſconception from which it proceeds, he has unwarily aſſumed another principle no leſs fallacious. The credit, which this country gives to foreigners, is unqueſtionably the conſequence of accumulated capital; but we have no proof of the aſſertion, that the credits of our home trade are equalized; and we are

* See the Wealth of Nations, II. p. 215.—This important diſtinction, and the argument that is here founded upon it, we have ſince taken an opportunity of illuſtrating more at large, in the Review of Lord King's Tract. See No. IV. Art. XI.—*Note to the Fourth edition.*

are quite unable to underſtand his inference, that the credit, which traders allow to the conſumers, implies in the latter a deficiency of wealth. But it is unneceſſary to examine theſe poſitions more cloſely, becauſe we have no doubt that the balance of credits would be found, as a meaſure of national wealth, no leſs erroneous, and ſtill more unmanageable, than that eſtimate of the precious metals which was long ago abandoned. At any rate, a more direct mode muſt be ſought of correcting the very falſe opinion, that a nation, in which the ſyſtem of commercial credit is eſtabliſhed, 'exhibits only a deluſive appearance of wealth.'

It is the operation of credit, not directly to augment the national capital, but to diſtribute it among thoſe who undertake to employ it productively. The actual ſtate of credit, therefore, does not indicate the amount of that capital, but the manner in which it is diſtributed. At different times, a part of the national capital may be entruſted in the hands of traders more or leſs qualified to employ it prudently, and in that reſpect it may occaſionally be expoſed to a leſs or greater degree of hazard. During a period of exceſſive confidence, therefore, inſtead of conſidering 'the national commerce as unſupported by a proper capital,' we are to conſider a part of the national capital as injudiciouſly employed. The imprudent inveſtiture of loans, however, is evidently a very different thing from the creation of fictitious capital. The latter cannot be effected by mercantile credit; and the former is an evil, which, though the ſyſtem is occaſionally liable to it, can never be of very long duration. That ſyſtem is reared up, by the neceſſities of commerce, for the moſt effective employment of capital; and thoſe neceſſities adjuſt it, with tolerable exactneſs between the limits of enterpriſe and caution. Wherever it has long been eſtabliſhed to a great extent, there cannot be a more unequivocal proof, both of the ſolidity of the national capital, and of the prudence as well as ſkill with which it is employed.

II. Such, unqueſtionably, muſt be the conviction of every perſon who puts himſelf in poſſeſſion of the information that is contained in Mr Thornton's book, with reſpect to the preſent circumſtances of our own country. It is upon this branch of the ſubject, that his communications are moſt ſatisfactory.—The details might indeed have been rendered ſtill more minute, without violating the conſiſtency of his plan; but ſtudents of political philoſophy will highly value the ſketch, rude as it is, which he has drawn of our eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. While nothing can more immediately contribute, than the publicity of that ſyſtem, in all its operations, to extend and ſtrengthen the confidence on which it is ſolidly built; ſuch diſſected exhibitions of our commercial œconomy prepare, with neceſſary knowledge, thoſe more active citizens who undertake the diſcuſſion of the national

counſels.

counſels. And the ſpeculative politician, in receiving the legitimate materials of his ſcience, may applaud the diligence that ſecures, while the original is yet entire, a delineation of that ſtructure, which, after the revolutions of trade, will be ſeen only in the records of hiſtory. We ſhall attempt no more than a ſuperficial outline of the deſcription that might be formed, out of Mr Thornton's materials.

The Bank of England may be conſidered as the main-ſpring of that complicated mechaniſm, by which the commercial payments of this country are tranſacted; and by which that comparatively ſmall ſum of money, with which they are performed, is kept in perpetual and regular circulation. The ſubordinate parts of this machine conſiſt of about 70 private banking houſes in London, and about 386 banks diſperſed over the country. By the joint operation of theſe various money dealers, almoſt all large payments, founded on commercial bargains, are ultimately ſettled in London, with the money which iſſues from the Bank of England. This money conſiſts, in ordinary times, partly of precious coin, partly of bank notes. From its large capital and extended iſſue of paper, that Bank indirectly ſupplies the whole kingdom with as much gold as is required for circulation. Its notes are iſſued in loans, granted either for the accommodation of the public treaſury, or for that of merchants by diſcount of their bills; and in conſequence of a common agreement among the bankers, no notes of any private houſe are current in London. All the large payments of that metropolis are, in this manner, effected by the paper of the Bank of England; and they are chiefly tranſacted by the private bankers, who, according to a conjectural eſtimate, make daily payments to the amount of four or five millions, and have probably in their hands a very large proportion of the whole of the notes circulating in the metropolis *.

The commerce of London itſelf is immenſe, not only as a ſeat of populous and luxurious conſumption, but as a ſtation of manufactures, and an emporium of maritime trade. The number of payments, occaſioned by ſuch various tranſactions, is farther increaſed by the dividends which the national creditors receive on the great ſum of our public debt. But in addition to all theſe payments, originating within the capital itſelf, bills are drawn upon London, and remittances are ſent there to provide for them, from all quarters of the kingdom. Even foreign drafts, on account of merchants in the country, are, with ſcarcely any exceptions, made payable in London. And thus a great proportion of

* Pp. 60. 74. 154.

the pecuniary engagements, to which the whole commerce of the kingdom gives birth, are ultimately ſettled there *.

This transference of the country payments to London, has, in ſome degree, ſubſiſted for a long time; the practice, once begun, was likely, from its great advantages, to be gradually extended; and of late years it ſeems to have been reduced to a regular and very commodious ſyſtem. It was much facilitated by the multiplication of country banks, during that period of high proſperity and confidence which immediately preceded the late war. The formation of theſe, all over the country, was actively encouraged by the private bankers of London; and indeed the exiſtence of a great national bank, which, like that of England, muſt provide a conſtant reſervoir of gold, naturally ſuggeſts the creation of ſmaller eſtabliſhments. Upon the formation of ſuch banks in the country, many traders of all deſcriptions, who had formerly maintained a direct correſpondence with merchants in London, fell into the practice of tranſacting their buſineſs with the metropolis, through the banker in their own neighbourhood with whom they kept their caſh. On their account he drew largely upon a banker in London, who agreed to execute the extenſive country buſineſs he had thus acquired, at a much lower commiſſion than what had formerly been paid by the ſeveral country traders to their ſeparate correſpondents. The rate of commiſſion was reduced, in conſequence of the diminiſhed trouble as well as riſk: the labour of keeping accounts, writing letters, receiving and paying bills, was now transferred toone houſe, which had before been divided among many; and a new ſecurity was afforded to the tranſactions between the metropolis and the country, by the interpoſed credit of wealthy and reſpectable country banks †.

The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a ſyſtem of banks, and the transference of ultimate payments to one particular place, are in the natural courſe of that progreſſive ſubdiviſion of labour, which extends itſelf over an opulent and induſtrious country. The receipt and payment of money, inſtead of being conducted at home, are transferred, by every trader, to his banker, who deviſes means both of abridging his own labour, and of economiſing the uſe of money, eſpecially of that coſtly part of it which conſiſts of ſpecie. By his ſkill and ſucceſs in attaining theſe objects, he manages an important part of trade, at an expence far inferior to what the merchants themſelves muſt have incurred, had they continued to conduct it ſeparately by their own clerks. In proportion, likewiſe, as the amount and number of payments and receipts is augmented in one particular place, the buſineſs of paying

* P. 59. † Pp. 60. 155. 160.

ing and receiving is more eaſily and cheaply tranſacted; the guineas or bank notes required, though more upon the whole, are fewer in proportion to the ſums paid and received. So complete, accordingly, and ſo ſyſtematic is that economy in the uſe of notes, which long experience has introduced among the London bankers, that the preſent payments of that metropolis could ſcarcely be tranſacted, with due regularity, if the quantity of notes were to ſuffer any conſiderable diminution. In this, they are aſſiſted by the fitneſs of bills of exchange and government ſecurities to ſupply the place of bank notes; for the intereſt, that grows on ſuch negotiable paper, while it is detained, ſaves all the loſs which the banker would undergo from the detention of coin or notes; and there is a certain ſort and quantity of bills, on the converſion of which into money, he may rely almoſt as confidently as on the changing of a note into guineas, or of a guinea into ſilver. The ingenuity of theſe money-dealers, in ſparing the circulating medium, is aptly illuſtrated by a cuſtom which prevails among the city bankers. Each of them ſends a clerk, at an appointed hour in the afternoon, to a room provided for their uſe. Each clerk there exchanges the drafts on other bankers received at his own houſe, for the drafts on his own houſe received at the houſes of other bankers. The balances of the ſeveral bankers are transferred from one to another, in a manner which it is unneceſſary to explain in detail, and the ſeveral balances are finally wound up by each clerk into one balance. The difference between the whole ſum which each banker has to pay to all other city bankers, and the whole ſum which he has to receive from all other city bankers, is, therefore, all that is diſcharged in bank notes or money; a difference, evidently, much leſs in its amount than that to which the ſeveral differences would be equal *.

But the economiſed uſe of circulating medium is by no means the only collateral advantage, that ariſes from this ſyſtem of banks, connected in ſubordination to each other, with the great national Bank at their head. Although a very few of the country eſtabliſhments have occaſionally ſubjected themſelves to the charge of encouraging raſh ſpeculation, the ſyſtem, in its complex operation, has a real tendency to ſtrengthen as well as to enlarge the baſis of credit. Bankers poſſeſs, from their ſituation, very ſuperior means of diſtinguiſhing the careful trader from the improvident. The bill tranſactions of the neighbourhood paſs under their inſpection; and by this information they are enabled to meaſure out confidence very nearly in a juſt proportion. In fact, it is conſidered as a regular branch of their profeſſional experience,

* Pp. 28. 39. 55. *note.* 60. 75. 164.

ence, that they ſhould appretiate the credit of the various traders within their diſtrict of circulation; and this ſort of practical ſagacity they are underſtood to cultivate with great aſſiduity. It is ſaid to be the general practice of banks, to communicate ſuch intelligence for their mutual advantage. Each of them endeavours to limit, not only the ſum which any one trader ſhall obtain from themſelves, but the total amount alſo, ſo far as they are able, of the ſum which the ſame perſon ſhall borrow in different places. They endeavour, above all, to diſcourage bills of accommodation. While the tranſactions of country traders are thus ſurveyed by the banks of their reſpective diſtricts, thoſe of the country banks themſelves are ſubject to the view of the London bankers, their correſpondents; and theſe, again, are in ſome degree controuled by the Bank of England, which reſtricts, according to its own diſcretion, the credit with which they are accommodated. A ſeries of checks is thus maintained, which, though far from eſtabliſhing a complete ſecurity againſt all injurious ſpeculation, preſents a powerful obſtacle to its progreſs *.

But the Bank of England retains another check, of a highly important nature, over the banks in the country. The iſſue of its own notes is reſtricted, in ordinary times, by the obligation to convert them into ſpecie. The quantity of country paper, even during the preſent times, is limited by its accuſtomed convertibility into the notes of the Bank of England. This is the opinion of Mr Boyd † as well as of Mr Thornton; but the latter has more minutely explained the manner, in which he conceives the effect to be produced. If a particular country banker is imprudent enough to iſſue an extraordinary quantity of paper, while that of the Bank of England does not exceed the demands of London circulation, a local riſe of prices will be produced within the diſtrict of that country paper, but prices in London will remain as before. In this ſituation, the holders of country paper, in order that they may purchaſe goods where they are cheaper, will return that paper to the banker, demanding in return Bank of England notes, or at leaſt bills upon London. The exceſs of his notes will thus be continually returned upon the country banker, and he will at length find himſelf under the neceſſity of limiting his iſſue to that quantity, which the circulation of his own diſtrict can abſorb. The quantity of Bank of England paper may thus be ſaid to regulate the quantity of that which is iſſued by the country banks. It is not, that one uniform ratio is maintained between theſe two quantities; but that both are in the ſame proportion to the demand, that is created for

* P. 165. † Letter to Mr Pitt, p. 20. 2d *edit.*

for each, by the trade which it is deſtined to circulate. Whenever the Bank of England paper happens to exceed what is required for the purpoſes of London circulation, the country paper may become exceſſive in the ſame degree. And ſuch an exceſs of Bank of England paper may be produced, either by a diminution in the number of payments, while that of notes remains undiminiſhed; or by whatever has a tendency, while the number of payments remains unaugmented, to augment the number or the effective power of the notes in circulation *.

Having taken this general ſurvey of our ſyſtem of credit and circulation in its ordinary ſtate, while its movements are regular, we ſhall now direct our attention to the diſorders of which it is occaſionally ſuſceptible, either from external accident, or from inherent defects. In conſequence of the mutual connexion that ſubſiſts among its parts, and the ſubordination of all to the Bank of England, thoſe diſorders ſometimes pervade the whole ſyſtem, and embarraſs the operations even of the great eſtabliſhment at the head. It is of national importance, that that body ſhould be ready to adopt, under the preſſure of ſuch circumſtances, an enlightened and ſalutary policy.

How ſolidly ſoever the foundations of mercantile credit may be laid, both in public confidence and in the real ſecurity of reſponſible funds, it is apt to be ſhaken by that conſternation which is apt to ſpread, after a ſucceſſion of commercial bankruptcies, or during the alarms of war. At ſuch a period, it has been particularly found, that the notes of country banks, which chiefly circulate among conſumers and petty dealers, have fallen into diſtruſt with that large portion of the people. If one bank ſhould fail, a run upon all thoſe in the neighbourhood immediately takes place, and diffuſes general diſtreſs. Such of the country bankers, as are moſt prudent, adopt a preventive caution, by limiting, of their own accord, the iſſue of their notes; and all of them are forced to enlarge that fund of caſh, with which they may be prepared to anſwer demands. In conſequence of theſe operations, an additional quantity of gold and of Bank of England notes muſt be carried down from London into the country, both to ſupply that void in the channel of circulation from which the diſcredited country notes have been thrown out, and to form that additional reſerve which the bankers muſt keep in their coffers. But the money-dealers and traders of the capital will, in ſome degree, participate that conſternation to which the whole country has given way; it will appear to them alſo a neceſſary precaution, that they ſhould enlarge their

* P 216. &c.

their fund againſt contingencies, and keep a larger ſupply of Bank of England notes than they find neceſſary in ordinary times. By theſe multiplied hoards, as well as by the quantity of caſh ſent into the country, the circulating money of the metropolis muſt ſuffer a very great diminution. But it was previouſly no more than ſufficient to effect the neceſſary payments; and on the punctual diſcharge of theſe, the whole commercial credit of the kingdom depends. Unleſs the Bank of England, therefore, which is the ſource of circulating medium, ſhall, in theſe circumſtances, conſent to enlarge its iſſue of paper, a general ſubverſion and ruin of that credit may take place; but if it adopts ſuch a meaſure ſeaſonably, and in the proportion which the new demands of the circulation require, the miſchief may ceaſe after a ſlight and temporary inconvenience. Beſide this remedial policy, which can only be adopted after the evil has been felt to ſome extent, that body, in order to be prepared againſt ſuch an event, ought to keep at all times in its treaſury ſuch an additional quantity of gold, as may be ſufficient to meet this extraordinary demand, and to ſupply the place of thoſe country notes that are liable to be extinguiſhed. But although ſuch appears to be the real policy of that inſtitution, we can ſcarcely be ſurpriſed if it has not always very clearly underſtood it to be ſo, and has ſometimes evinced a reluctance to purſue this line of conduct. The taſk of ſupplying gold to all the country banks, under the expence with which the collection of it is frequently attended, may be conſidered indeed as impoſed upon the Bank of England by that monopoly, which compenſates this hardſhip by other advantages. But to enlarge the iſſue of their paper, at the very time that their fund of gold is diminiſhing, is a meaſure, which would confeſſedly be imprudent in every inferior eſtabliſhment, and which on that account the directors of the great Bank have not always perceived that they were warranted, by the peculiarity of their ſituation, to adopt, as the real means of checking the drain of their gold. Some of the circumſtances, which diſtinguiſhed the memorable year 1793, illuſtrate at once the ſoundneſs of the policy which is here deſcribed, and the very recent period at which the Bank ſtill ſhowed itſelf inſufficiently aware of it. In the diſtreſs of that year, the Bank of England was unwilling to extend its aid to the country banks, or to augment the iſſue of its own paper. Several opulent houſes, that applied for aſſiſtance, were refuſed diſcounts, becauſe they did not offer London ſecurities; but the important failures, which immediately enſued, proved that the relief of the country was neceſſary to the ſolvency of the metropolis. The preſſure originated in an extraordinary demand for guineas, in the country; but the want of bank notes in London ſoon became the principal evil. The notes, previouſly

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in circulation, were not below the uſual number; but that was rendered, by a ſlower circulation, inſufficient for the neceſſary payments. As the Bank of England did not think proper to enlarge the quantity of its paper, a remedy of exactly the ſame kind was adminiſtered by Parliament. A loan of Exchequer bills was directed to be made, to as many mercantile perſons, giving proper ſecurity, as ſhould apply; and it is a moſt intereſting fact, that credit began to recover itſelf ſome time before thoſe bills were actually delivered. The very expectation of this ſupply of an article, which almoſt any trader might obtain, and then convert into bank notes and guineas, diffuſed an idea of general ſolvency. The punctuality of the London payments being reſtored, the diſtreſs of the whole country was gradually removed. Of the five millions, which the Exchequer had been authoriſed by Parliament to advance, not one half was taken, and no part was loſt; on the contrary, a profit reſulted to Government, from the ſmall compenſation of additional intereſt, which was paid by the borrowers. This ſeaſonable meaſure was not underſtood at the time, and was oppoſed on ſome grounds of conſtitutional jealouſy; but the reſult of its operation has caſt a ſteady light on our actual ſyſtem of circulation, and on the true policy of the national Bank. In future ſeaſons of alarm, it may reaſonably be expected, that the directors of that body will prove leſs timid; as it is to be hoped, that experience has taught the country banks to enlarge their uſual proviſion of convertible funds *.

The moſt ſerious danger, to which the Bank of England itſelf is expoſed, is that of being drained of its ſpecie. It may be ſubjected to ſuch a drain, as is intimated in the preceding obſervations, in conſequence of that alarm which occaſions a great demand for guineas, either to be hoarded, or to ſupply the place of paper thrown out of circulation. Indeed, if the alarm is of long continuance, and the Bank maintains in circulation no more than its uſual quantity of notes, it may be altogether exhauſted of its guineas, however ſmall that quantity of notes may be; becauſe if theſe are always re-iſſued in loans upon the diſcount of bills, they may be perpetually returned upon the Bank in demand for more ſpecie. Let the alarm be great enough and of ſufficient duration; and the Bank, by maintaining only a million of notes in circulation, may, by the continual return of theſe, be exhauſted of fifty millions of guineas. But, in general, a more permanent cauſe of a run upon the Bank of England for ſpecie, is the exceſs of the market price of gold above its mint price. In former times, this was occaſioned by the debaſed ſtate of gold currency; and the Bank was obliged to ſubmit to the accumulated and provoking expence of coining

* Pp. 49. 71—96. 172—187.

new guineas, which were immediately melted down, that the bullion might be ſold to the Bank itſelf at the high market price. Since the gold currency was reformed, a temporary exceſs of the market price of gold above its mint price, has been produced by a temporary diſadvantage in the balance of foreign trade; that having been occaſioned ſometimes by the large importations of grain after a deficient harveſt, and more frequently by unproductive exportations to defray the expences of war, or the ſubſidies to foreign allies. In whatever manner the high price of gold is produced, immediate demands are made upon the Bank for guineas, in order to export them. Theſe it endeavours to replace, though gold cannot be purchaſed without a conſiderable loſs. A moſt unequal competition will thus be eſtabliſhed, between the Bank, on the one hand, which buys and *coins* at a great loſs, and the clandeſtine dealers, on the other hand, who melt and ſell at a great profit. It will no longer be neceſſary for the latter to export more gold, than what is above the immediate demand of the Bank: the operation will now be confined to London; the melters and coiners living upon the ſame ſpot, and affording conſtant employment to each other. If the unfavourable balance of trade, which has cauſed this high price of bullion, were not of a temporary nature, the Bank of England, by this continued accumulation of unproductive expence, might ultimately be reduced to very great diſtreſs. And if an unfavourable balance, originating in the expences of foreign warfare or alliance, ſhould at any time be loaded with the additional payments of a large importation of grain, while the embarraſſments of the national Bank were ſtill farther aggravated by domeſtic alarm and a general diſorder of mercantile credit; under ſuch a combination of inauſpicious circumſtances, the uſual means of prudence and the rules of ordinary policy might be expected to fail, and neceſſity would be left to juſtify thoſe deſperate meaſures which it might ſuggeſt *.

But this exceſs of the market price of gold above its mint price, may likewiſe be produced, as we formerly explained, by too great a quantity of paper-money. The Bank indeed, as it has alſo been ſhewn, has the power of reſtricting the country paper, by limiting its own notes to thoſe which are actually needed for the purpoſes of circulation. It has, therefore, the power in a great degree of preventing that high price of gold, and the conſequent drain of its own guineas, which proceed from an exceſſive circulation of paper. So long as the Bank is liable to payments in ſpecie, it has thus an evident intereſt to prevent its own paper, as well as that of the whole country, from being ſo exceſſive, as to occaſion a riſe in the price of commodities. To underſtand *this* clearly,

* Pp. 90. 115—153.

clearly, and to attend carefully to its operation, forms a very important branch of the policy of the Bank of England. As its notes are iſſued in loans to the merchants, it can only limit the extent of that iſſue, by reſtricting the amount of the loans.—Hence it appears, that the Bank ought to regulate the total amount of its loans, with a view to the quantity of circulating medium, independent altogether of the ſolvency and opulence of thoſe who with to become borrowers, and of the character of the bills that are offered for diſcount. There may be a diſpoſition among very rich traders, to borrow a ſum far exceeding what it would be proper for the Bank to lend, although it entertained no doubt of punctual repayment. But, by the laws that confine the rate of intereſt, and which ſtill remain in force after every competent judge has been long convinced of their uſeleſſneſs and inconvenience, the Bank of England is deprived of the moſt natural and ſimple means of reſtricting the amount of its loans. It is prohibited, even in time of war, from demanding an intereſt of more than five *per cent.*, which is the rate at which it diſcounts during peace. This has generally been found ſufficient, during peace, to limit the demand upon the Bank for loans; becauſe mercantile profits are then low, from the abundance of capital, and the activity of competition. The applications for diſcounts have often, during ſuch a period, fallen ſhort of what the Bank was really diſpoſed to afford. But in time of war, the rate of mercantile profit, from the ſcarcity of capital, is extremely high. There is an irreſiſtible temptation, therefore, to borrow from the Bank at a cheap rate, that the great profits may be gained upon a commercial employment of the money. Accordingly, in time of war, and eſpecially during the laſt years of it, the Directors have often been ſubjected to very earneſt and clamorous ſolicitations for diſcount. Were they permitted to raiſe their rate of intereſt, it would follow that of mercantile profit, and the demand upon the Bank for loans, would at all times be accompanied by an effectual principle of limitation. But under the exiſting prohibitions of law, the Directors are forced to have recourſe to the expedient of ſpecifying, according to their diſcretion, the total ſum which they will at any one time venture to lend to the merchants. According to a recent determination of their court, this ſum is ſpecified weekly, in order that they may have a frequent opportunity of varying it according to the fluctuation of circumſtances *.

To limit the total amount of paper iſſued, and to reſort, whenever the temptation of borrowing is ſtrong, to ſome effectual principle of reſtriction; never to diminiſh greatly the ſum in circulation, but to let it vibrate only within certain limits: to afford

* Pp. 147. 246. 283.

a ſlow and cautious extenſion of it, as the general trade of the country is enlarged; and to permit a temporary increaſe during an extraordinary period of difficulty or alarm: this, in the language of Mr Thornton, is the true policy of the directors of an inſtitution, placed in the circumſtances of the Bank of England *.

We have thus collected, from various paſſages of Mr Thornton's diſcourſe the general lineaments of that ſyſtem of credit and circulation which is at preſent eſtabliſhed; refraining from the inſertion of any criticiſms that might have interrupted the deſcription. Some parts of his account are not ſufficiently dilated, to convey preciſe information; and others, in which ſome reaſoning is implicated with the ſtatements of fact, cannot be admitted without heſitation. But we are not confident enough in our knowledge of the ſubject, to enter into theſe minute corrections. One general remark, however, which was ſtrongly impreſſed upon ourſelves by the facts of the preceding narrative, we cannot forbear to expreſs, although it does not lie within the ſcope of Mr Thornton's diſcuſſions. If the Bank of England muſt now be conſidered as a national eſtabliſhment, not merely influencing, by the ſuperior magnitude of its capital, the ſtate of commercial circulation, but guiding its movements according to views of public policy, an important revolution has taken place ſince the firſt erection of that corporation as a banking eſtabliſhment. That power of iſſuing the medium of exchange, with the opportunities it implies of varying its quantity and value, which, while precious coin was in uſe, was exerciſed under the immediate prerogative of the Crown, is now virtually inveſted in the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England. In the official character of that Board, ſome of the functions of ſovereignty are united to thoſe of a trader; and the opportunities of banking profits are blended with a truſt and charge of the public intereſt. It will be pleaſing, if theſe ſhall prove more happily compatible, than they have been found in other inſtances. The organization of this eſtabliſhment, poſſeſſed of ſuch means to controul the operations of commerce, as well as to facilitate the advance of financial ſupplies, may, into our political conſtitution already ſo complicated, introduce a new principle of action, the effect of which cannot be clearly diſcerned. Perhaps, an unbounded field will be opened for the extenſion of miniſterial influence. Perhaps, an unexpected controul may be gained to the people, over the views and meaſures of the executive.

III. In the foregoing view of the dangers to which the Bank is occaſionally expoſed, our readers muſt have already perceived the

* P. 295.

the account which Mr Thornton gives of the embarraſſments, that led to the memorable order of Council in February 1797. The ſuſpenſion of caſh payments was an event, in his opinion, to which the national Bank was liable from its very nature; the probability of which has been too ſtudiouſly concealed; and to the recurrence of which we may look forward *. The gold, in the coffers of the Bank, had been much reduced by the effect of an unfavourable balance of trade. The alarms of invaſion had led to the failure of ſome country banks in the North of England; this occaſioned a farther demand for guineas from the Bank, and a diminution in the circulating notes of London. The Directors aggravated the diſtreſs, and augmented the demand for guineas, by unadviſedly ſuppreſſing ſome of their notes, inſtead of enlarging the quantity †.

We cannot entertain a doubt, that theſe were the principal cauſes of embarraſſment; but that other circumſtances at the ſame time co-operated, which Mr Thornton has rather too anxiouſly avoided to mention. Under the unfavourable balance of trade, which he notices by this general expreſſion, we muſt include the effect of foreign ſubſidies. And we ſuſpect, that that diminution in the quantity of notes, which the merchants could command, was not altogether owing to an ignorance, on the part of the Directors, of the proper remedy for the exiſting evil. Mr Thornton indeed employs ſeveral elaborate pages ‡, to relieve the Bank from every degree of blame, on account of its loans to Government. But this appears quite ineffectual againſt the evidence, which was laid before Parliament, of the ſentiments which the Directors themſelves entertained. In various reſolutions of their Court, and in letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they ſtated the ſerious apprehenſions, as well as the actual embarraſſment, which they felt from their unprecedented advances on Treaſury bills; and, in their memorial to the Cabinet, they deſcribed it as an unconſtitutional mode of raiſing money, to which they were not warranted by their charter to conſent. After this, it is vain for any advocate of the Bank, now to maintain, that thoſe loans were altogether free from imprudence or culpability. At the ſame time we are ready to acknowledge, what was not very diſtinctly perceived in the firſt diſcuſſions of this event, that the loans to Government had no *direct* tendency to produce the particular diſtreſs, which was relieved by the reſtriction of payments. That conſiſted, unqueſtionably, in the progreſſive drain of ſpecie; which thoſe loans neither occaſioned nor increaſed, becauſe they were paid into the Exchequer in notes. This run upon the Bank for ſpecie, was chiefly occaſioned by the deficient quantity of money in circulation; which

* Pp. 146. 247. † Pp. 72. 95. ‡ Pp. 96—111.

Mr Thornton, however, has endeavoured to ſhew*, that the circulating paper of the Bank of England does not in fact amount now to a greater ſum than, upon an average of years, was in circulation before the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments. Upon an average of three years, ending in December 1795, their amount, according to the evidence laid before Parliament, was 11,975,573l. By a ſubſequent ſtatement preſented to the Houſe of Commons, they amounted, in December 1800, to 15,450,970l. From the difference between theſe two ſums, however, Mr Thornton inſiſts that we ought to deduct the amount of two millions, conſiſting of one and two pound notes, which have diſplaced, he alleges, in the circulation, an equal ſum of guineas. After this deduction, there ſtill remains the ſum of 1,475,397l., by which the Bank paper exceeded, in 1800, its average amount before the ſuſpenſion of caſh payments. But in the ſpring of 1801, the Governor of the Bank ſtated to the Houſe of Commons, that the Company had reduced its notes to a ſum leſs, by about a million and a half, than their amount in the preceding December. Whether this evidence, under all the aſſumptions which it involves, may be conſidered as completely ſatisfactory, in oppoſition to the preſumptions that are warranted by the general argument, we ſhall not venture to pronounce. We may ſuggeſt, however, to our readers, the propriety of adding to the foregoing ſtatement a fact, of which we are apprifed by Mr Thornton †, that the enumeration of *country banks* taken in 1800, differed from that taken in 1797, by the exceſs of 386 above 353. And to thoſe who recollect that Mr Boyd's pamphlet was publiſhed on 31ſt December 1800, it will not fail to occur as a circumſtance, which that gentleman might plauſibly urge as a confirmation of his reaſonings, that in the courſe of the three months immediately enſuing, the Bank thought it expedient to call in a million and a half of its notes.

We have expreſſed ourſelves with unaffected doubt, with regard to this alleged dependence of the preſent rate of prices on the preſent ſtate of paper currency, becauſe it appears to us a problem, of which a ſatisfactory ſolution has not yet been offered. According to that view of the queſtion, indeed, which ſeems to us the moſt correct as well as the moſt ſimple, a ſufficient anſwer will be aſſigned, if the exceſs of the market price of gold above its mint price ſhall be found to continue, notwithſtanding the permanent reſtoration of the balance of trade to its accuſtomed preponderancy in our favour. In the mean time, we ſhould be glad to ſee the fact itſelf, of which the origin and cauſe are thus anxiouſly ſought, perſpicuouſly ſtated under its moſt neceſſary diſtinctions and limitations. It may perhaps be in

† P. 154.

in the power of thoſe, who have paid attention to ſuch minute but valuable details, to date the firſt appearances of this recent increaſe of prices, and to trace its progreſſive diffuſion over all the relations of internal exchange. In ſuch a ſtatement, it would be neceſſary, likewiſe, to ſpecify in what proportion this riſe is locally confined to our own iſland, or common to us with the Continent of Europe; and to diſtinguiſh in what proportion that local riſe conſiſts of a real increaſe in the bullion price, and of a nominal increaſe only in the currency price.

ART. XXVI. *Illuſtrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.* By John Playfair, F. R. S. Edinburgh, and Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1802. 528 pp.

No ſpecies of phyſical reſearch, perhaps, is involved in greater intricacy, or productive of greater ambiguity of deduction, than that which reſpects the conſtitution and hiſtory of our globe. So boundleſs is the number, and ſo diverſified is the nature, of the facts neceſſary to the proſecution of ſuch an inquiry; and to ſo ſhort a diſtance are we yet removed from the period when mineralogical phenomena firſt derived explication from chemiſtry, that attempts to form a theory of the earth may ſtill be conſidered rather as exerciſes for fanciful and ſpeculative minds, than as ſources of improvement to uſeful ſcience. It cannot be denied, however, that obſervations accumulate but ſlowly when unaſſiſted by the influence of ſyſtem. The obſerver never proceeds with ſo much ardour as when he theorizes; and every effort to verify, or diſprove particular ſpeculations, neceſſarily leads to the evolution of new facts, and to the extenſion of the limits of real knowledge. Hence, it ſeems to be the buſineſs of philoſophy, rather to point out the imperfections, to detect the errors, and to reſtrain the preſumptuouſneſs of the theoriſt, than to extinguiſh altogether a ſpirit, which, however incomplete and inſufficient may be the materials on which it has to work, muſt at leaſt facilitate generalization, and render the approach to truth leſs tedious.

The Huttonian theory of the earth, which it is the object of the volume before us to explain and ſupport, is not referable to either of thoſe claſſes into which geological treatiſes have been commonly divided. Its author cannot be conſidered either as a *Vulcaniſt* purely, or a *Neptuniſt*, ſince he has aſſerted the agency both of fire and water, in his ſyſtem. That ſyſtem ſuppoſes the materials which compoſe our globe to have once exiſted in an elementary or unmixed ſtate, and to have acquired their preſent arrangement in conſequence of the continued action of water on former

former continents, of which they are the ruins. The conſolidation of theſe compound ſubſtances is aſſerted to have been effected by ſubterraneous heat; and we are to imagine the expanſive power of the ſame irreſiſtible agent to have ſince elevated the *ſtrata* from the bottom of the ſea, and to have given them the various inclinations to the horizon which they now exhibit. Thoſe ſubſtances which are unſtratified, (as metallic veins, granite, whinſtone, &c.) owe their origin to perfect fuſion; whereas, the ſtratified bodies have been, in general, only ſoftened by heat, or penetrated by melted matter. In the ſame manner as the preſent continents were formed from the diſintegration and corroſion of prior rocks, ſo are they ſuppoſed to be gradually giving back their materials to the ſea, from which new continents are hereafter to emerge, manifeſting a ſeries of changes ſimilar to the paſt.

Grand, ſimple, and original as is the view which this ſyſtem preſents, it cannot boaſt of being exempt from many forcible objections. It has, accordingly, drawn forth formidable opponents; and De Luc, Kirwan, Werner, with other eminent mineralogiſts, have headed the ſect of the *Neptuniſts*, and propoſed an hypotheſis wholly at variance with the leading poſitions both of the *Vulcaniſts*, and of the *Huttonians*. Let us ſee with what ſucceſs Mr Playfair vindicates the doctrines of the latter.

The very baſis of this theory depends upon a poſtulate, that might well be ſuppoſed to ſtartle a ſober inquirer, viz. the ſuppoſition of a perpetual central heat, capable of melting limeſtone by its intenſity, and of elevating continents by its expanſion. Now, this heat, Mr Playfair confeſſes, cannot be maintained, either by combuſtion, by friction, by the abſorption of the ſolar rays, or by any of the other cauſes from which heat is known to be derived: but of heat in ſuch circumſtances we have no experience; and it ſeems to be an evident violation of the firſt rules of philoſophiſing, to aſſume its exiſtence for the explication of any phenomena. Heat, generated and ſupported without combuſtion, and at a diſtance from all the other ſources from which heat is found to proceed, is a ſubſtance with which we have no acquaintance, and which we cannot admit to exiſt, merely becauſe ſuch a ſuppoſition would enable us to account for certain appearances. There would be nothing ſo eaſy, as to find an adequate cauſe for any phenomenon whatſoever, if we were only permitted to prove its exiſtence by that of the phenomenon in queſtion; and, if we are allowed to ſuppoſe an inexhauſtible heat, in a ſituation where our experience tells us that no heat could be either generated or maintained, it will not be eaſy to ſhew why we ſhould refuſe to believe, that a dragon eats up the moon in an eclipſe, or that the tides are occaſioned by the gills of a leviathan at the pole.

Mr

Mr Playfair ſtruggles very hard to get the better of theſe objections; and endeavours to elude them, by ſome very ingenious obſervations on the undefined and unknown nature of heat; and to obviate them altogether, by contending, that volcanoes and hot-ſprings ſhould be admitted as direct and explicit proofs of its actual exiſtence at the centre. It is needleſs to ſay, that neither of theſe topics affords him any very ſolid ſupport.

But even if the general poſtulate be conceded, and the exiſtence of a central heat allowed, there are many difficulties, it appears to us, in its application to the preſent theory. In the firſt place, it ſeems to follow, from the very conditions of its exiſtence, that ſuch a heat, if not conſtantly decreaſing, muſt at leaſt be uniform in its force and intenſity, as it is impoſſible to conceive any cauſe for its increment. The theory of Dr Hutton, however, neceſſarily ſuppoſes a great number of fluctuations, and ſome very capricious peculiarities of operation. The heat which elevated the continents, for inſtance, muſt have been withdrawn when they were allowed to ſubſide; and the force which raiſed an enormous maſs of ſtratified matter to an altitude ſuperior to that of the Andes, muſt have been dormant when the unloaded baſis, upon which they were depoſited, was able to keep its place at the bottom of the ocean. The moſt unaccountable peculiarity, however, in the operation of the Huttonian heat, is its limitation to the bottom of the ocean. The *whole* of the preſent land, it is poſitively aſſerted, was raiſed from the boſom of the waters, and is deſtined again to be covered with them. This heat, therefore, which heaved up our continents at firſt to an elevation incomparably ſuperior to that of the higheſt mountains that now remain upon the earth, is not to interpoſe at all to prevent their complete degradation; nay, when they are worn down almoſt to the level of the waters, it is not upon any account to reinſtate them in their former elevation: the whole of its expanſive power is to be confined to thoſe parts that are covered with the ſea; and theſe it is to delay liſting up, till a vaſt accumulation of ſubſtances, heavier than water, has made their movement more difficult and laborious. It is difficult to conceive any thing more fantaſtic and improbable, than thoſe laws of action; and yet, without ſuppoſing that the central heat is ſubjected to them, Dr Hutton can never make out his leading propoſition, that the whole of the preſent land has been formed out of the ruins of that which has diſappeared, and that the next generation of continents will be preceded by the ſubmerſion of the preſent *.

When

* It is no doubt true, that Mr Playfair, in his 21ſt Note, endeavours to ſhew, that the dry land is acted upon by this expanſive power, as well

When the very foundation of a theory is liable to ſuch inſurmountable objections, it is of leſs conſequence to enlarge upon the inconſiſtencies that are involved in its details. We ſhall ſpecify but two inſtances, in which the primary aſſumptions of Dr Hutton appear to be at variance with the fact. If it were true, in the firſt place, that the continents are crumbling faſt into the ſea, and that their ſpoils are forming vaſt ſtrata, over a bottom which is riſing at any rate by the expanſion of a central heat, it would follow, that the level of the ſea muſt be uniformly and conſiderably elevated by the combination of theſe two cauſes. In all the northern ſeas, however, it is admitted, that the waters have been ſubſiding for many centuries back; and Mr Playfair himſelf endeavours to explain away the few oppoſite appearances that may be quoted, by ſuppoſing that there has been, in thoſe places, an actual ſubſidence of the land. It ſeems evident, however, that for every foot of ſand, or mud that the rivers ſpread over the bottom of the ſea, its ſurface muſt receive a foot of elevation, and that the expanſive power that is to puſh theſe ſtrata up into new continents, muſt firſt raiſe the incumbent water on the ſhores of the old.

In the ſecond place, it appears to us to follow, as a neceſſary concluſion, from the theory of Dr Hutton, that the diameter, and the whole dimenſions of the globe, muſt be in a ſtate of conſtant increaſe; and that, if the proceſſes he deſcribes are to go on, as he alleges, for ever, the earth will continue to diſtend till it come into contact with the moon, and derange the ſyſtem of the univerſe. The continents are raiſed by an expanſive force, that lifts the ſtrata from the bottom of the ſea to a height greater than that of the higheſt mountains; and though they are worn down nearly to the new level of the waters, it is not pretended, that there is any actual ſubſidence of their baſis to an extent equal to its elevation. The expanſive force which is ſuppoſed

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well as the bottom of the ocean. But this is ſaid, we believe, without any warrant from the writings of Dr Hutton; and, in fact, either overturns the theory altogether, or leaves the objection, in point of principle, as formidable as ever. For it is very evident, that if the expanſive power act *equally* upon the land and the ſtrata at the bottom of the ſea, the latter can never riſe up into new continents, nor the former ever be ſubmerged; and if it be ſaid that the expanding heat, though it act in ſome degree upon both, yet acts *moſt powerfully* upon the ſubmarine ſtrata, it is equally plain, that there is here that very gratuitous ſuppoſition of *partial* operation, the unreaſonableneſs of which we have endeavoured to expoſe above.

poſed to have occaſioned the elevation, muſt preſent an effectual obſtacle to any tendency which the land may have to ſubſide after its weight and quantity have been thus diminiſhed. Thus, every inch which the heated matter gains by its expanſion, it is ſure to retain for ever: the elevated baſis is kept up by the ſame power that originally raiſed it; and though ſome part of the incumbent matter may change its place, and be rolled down into depths and hollows of the external cruſt, ſtill the cruſt itſelf has been permanently diſtended, and no part of the room gained by the expanſive matter of the centre is ever loſt or reſigned. Every new continent, therefore, is formed upon a circumference more extenſive than that which had preceded it; and if theſe changes are to follow each other in an infinite ſucceſſion, a proviſion muſt alſo be made for the infinite dilatation of the globe. Upon this concluſion, we need only obſerve, at preſent, that without ſuppoſing, moſt gratuitouſly, a proportionate increaſe in the intenſity of the heat, its expanſive power muſt be gradually weakened by the repetition of its expanſions; and that this dilatation of the earth's diameter, by protruding matter from the axis to the circumference, muſt induce a retardation in its diurnal motion, and diminiſh the number of days in its ſolar revolution. It is time, however, to leave thoſe general obſervations, and conſider in what manner Mr Playfair purſues the details of his theory.

Our author firſt proceeds to conſider the *materials*, *conſolidation*, and *poſition* of STRATIFIED bodies. In adducing proofs of their being compoſed of the remains of more ancient rocks, he thus defends Dr Hutton from the charge of having maintained calcareous matter to be originally of animal formation.

'He has indeed nowhere treated of the *firſt origin* of any of the earths, or of any ſubſtance whatſoever, but only of the transformations which bodies have undergone ſince the preſent laws of nature were eſtabliſhed. He conſidered this laſt as all that a ſcience, built on experiment and obſervation, can poſſibly extend to; and willingly left, to more preſumptuous inquirers, the taſk of carrying their reaſonings beyond the boundaries of nature, and of unfolding the properties of the chaotic fluid, with as much minuteneſs of detail, as if they were deſcribing the circumſtances of a chemical proceſs which they had actually witneſſed.

'The idea of calcareous matter, which really belongs to the Huttonian Theory, is, that in all the changes which the terraqueous globe has undergone in paſt ages, this matter exiſted, as it does now, either in the form of limeſtone and marble, or in the compoſition of other ſtones, or in the ſtate of corals, ſhells, and bones of animals. It may be true, that there is no particle of calcareous matter, at preſent exiſting on the ſurface of the earth, that has not, at ſome time, made a part of an animal body; but of this we can have no certainty, nor is it of any importance

ance that we ſhould. It is enough to know, that the rocks of marble and limeſtone, contain, in general, marks of having been formed from materials collected at the bottom of the ſea; and of this a ſingle cockle ſhell, or piece of coral, found included in a rock, is a ſufficient proof with reſpect to the whole maſs of which it makes a part.

'The principal object which Dr Hutton had in view when he ſpoke of the maſſes of marble and limeſtone, as compoſed of the calcareous matter of marine bodies *, was to prove, that they had been all formed at the bottom of the ſea, and from materials there depoſited. His general concluſion is, 'that all the ſtrata of the earth, not only thoſe conſiſting of ſuch calcareous maſſes, but others ſuperincumbent upon theſe, have had their origin at the bottom of the ſea, by the collection of ſand and gravel, of ſhells, of coralline and cruſtaceous bodies, and of earths and clays variouſly mixed, or ſeparated and accumulated. This is a general concluſion, well authenticated by the appearances of nature, and highly important in the natural hiſtory of the earth †.'

This is certainly a very admiſſible vindication of the Doctor, from the animadverſions of which he has been the ſubject, in regard to his ſuppoſed notions of the origin of calcareous matter; and, henceforward, the objections to thoſe notions ſhould be underſtood to concern only the diſciples of the French geologiſt.

We agree with Mr Playfair, that a deſtruction of the primitive mountains, and, conſequently, a tranſportation of their materials from one ſituation to another, is deducible from the Neptunian, as well as from the Huttonian hypotheſis; for, in imputing the formation of the ſecondary *ſtrata* to what have been called the primeval, the operation of the cauſes, ſuppoſed by Dr Hutton to have affected the *whole* of the globe, muſt be allowed, by his opponents, to be manifeſted in no inconſiderable *part*. In the European quarter, this reaſoning is peculiarly applicable, ſince the greater part of our own iſland, the northern departments of France, the whole of Flanders and Holland, and large portions of Germany and of the Ruſſian empire, exhibit no other than ſecondary and tertiary country. Dr Hutton, however, in denying the propriety of the diſtinction of mineral bodies into primitive and ſecondary, and in aſſerting that they were all alike produced from the degradation of rocks, more ancient than any which now exiſt, has ſubjected himſelf to a much more ſevere queſtioning than is incurred by the oppoſite theoriſts. So great and extenſive are the operations neceſſary for ſpreading the ſpoils of the land on the general bed of the ocean, and for arranging them in the various forms and aſſemblages in which we now ſee them, that a multiplicity of facts, and a variety of elucidations, are

* Theory of the Earth, vol. i. p. 23. 24. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 26.

are requiſite to eſtabliſh their poſſibility. Mr Playfair calls the attention of geologiſts to the following circumſtances—

'When the detritus of the land is delivered by the rivers into the ſea, the heavieſt parts are depoſited firſt, and the lighter are carried to a greater diſtance from the ſhore. The accumulation of matter which would be made in this manner on the coaſt, is prevented by the farther operation of the tides and currents, in conſequence of which, the ſubſtances depoſited continue to be worn away, and are gradually removed further from the land. The reality of this operation is certain; for otherwiſe we ſhould have on the ſea-ſhore a conſtant and unlimited accumulation of ſand and gravel, which, being perpetually brought down from the land, would continually increaſe on the ſhore, if nature did not employ ſuch machinery for removing the advanced part into the ſea, in proportion to the ſupply from behind.

'The conſtant agitation of the waters, and the declivity of the bottom, are, no doubt, the cauſes of this gradual and widely-extended depoſition. A ſoft maſs of alluvial depoſite, having its pores filled with water, and being ſubject to the vibrations of a ſuperincumbent fluid, will yield to the preſſure of that fluid on the ſide of the leaſt reſiſtance, that is, on the ſide towards the ſea, and thus will be gradually extended more and more over the bottom. This will happen, not only to the finer parts of the detritus, but even to the groſſer, ſuch as ſand and gravel. For, ſuppoſe that a body of gravel reſts on a plain ſomewhat inclined, at the ſame time that it is covered with water to a conſiderable depth, that water being ſubject not only to moderate reciprocations, but alſo to ſuch violent agitation as we ſee occaſionally communicated to the waters of the ocean; the gravel, being rendered lighter by its immerſion in the water, and on that account more moveable, will, when the undulations are conſiderable, be alternately heaved up and let down again. Now, at each time that it is heaved up, however ſmall the ſpace may be, it muſt be ſomewhat accelerated in its deſcent, and will hardly ſettle on the ſame point where it reſted before. Thus it will gain a little ground at each undulation, and will ſlowly make its way towards the depths of the ocean, or to the loweſt ſituation it can reach. This, as far as we may preſume to follow a progreſs which is not the ſubject of immediate obſervation, is one of the great means by which looſe materials of every kind are tranſported to a great diſtance, and ſpread out in beds at the bottom of the ocean.

369. 'The lighter parts are more eaſily carried to great diſtances, being actually ſuſpended in the water, by which they are very gradually and ſlowly depoſited. A remarkable proof of this is furniſhed from an obſervation made by Lord Mulgrave, in his voyage to the North Pole. In the latitude of 65 deg. nearly, and about 250 miles diſtant from the neareſt land, which was the coaſt of Norway, he ſounded with a line of 683 fathoms, or 4098 feet; and the lead, when it ſtruck the ground, ſunk in a ſoft blue clay, to the depth of 10 feet*. The tenuity and fineneſs of the mud, which allowed the lead to ſink ſo deep into it, muſt have

* Phipps's Voyage, p. 74. 141.

have reſulted from a depoſition of the lighter kinds of earth, which being ſuſpended in the water, had been carried to a great diſtance, and were now, without doubt, forming a regular ſtratum at the bottom of the ſea.'

Currents are conſidered by our author, as important agents in the diffuſion of the *detritus* of the land, and as being much connected with the trade winds, the figure of our continents, the temperature of the ſeas, and, perhaps, with ſome inequalities in the ſtructure of the globe. He argues, on theſe points, perſpicuouſly and ingeniouſly: but there are others (to which we ſhall now proceed) that are much more difficult of explication, and on which, we fear, Mr Playfair will not be found to approach ſo near to the ſucceſs of demonſtration. By far the moſt objectionable parts of the Huttonian hypotheſis, are thoſe which regard the *ſeparation*, *conſolidation*, and *diſturbance* of the *ſtrata*.

Upon the firſt of thoſe ſubjects, which appears to us to ſuggeſt a moſt formidable objection to the theory of Dr Hutton, we were ſurpriſed to find, that Mr Playfair has made no obſervation. The difficulty, however, is very obvious, and we confeſs, in our opinion, inſuperable. Dr Hutton alleges, that all the ſtrata of the preſent continents were formed at the bottom of the ſea, out of the ruins of more ancient land, crumbled and broken down by the action of the winds and the rain, and depoſited mechanically in the bed of the ocean, by the continued action of rivers, tides, and currents. Now, if this were the true hiſtory of the formation of the preſent ſtrata, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould all be compoſed of thoſe heterogeneous and mixed materials, that are found to conſtitute the mud and the gravel in the channels, and at the mouths of rivers, and that we ſhould never find in the ſame place a ſucceſſion of depoſites, entirely different from each other in ſubſtance and arrangement. A river rolls down materials from every part of its channel, and delivers into the ocean a miſcellaneous aſſemblage of ſpecimens from every maſs it has viſited. The ſtrata, however, which are ſaid to be formed from its contributions, are generally of an homogeneous and uniform ſtructure. The ſubſtances of which they are compoſed, are frequently but few in number; and the tranſition from one ſtratum to another, is always quite ſudden and diſtinct. The bed of the ocean, in ſhort, according to Dr Hutton, is covered over with a chaotic collection of flinty ſand, and aluminous and magneſian mud, and fragments of quartz, marble, ſchiſtus, and granite; and all theſe, and many other ſubſtances, are broken into minute portions, and mingled together, without order or arrangement. They are conſolidated there, by the action of heat and preſſure, and elevated at laſt into

into the ſtate which we behold. Theſe ſtrata, however, are found, upon examination, to exhibit no traces of that confuſed and arbitrary mixture from which they are ſaid to have ariſen. They conſiſt generally of diſtinct and ſeparate ſubſtances, and are found in contact with others to which they bear no reſemblance, either in quality or appearance. Beds of ſchiſtus, ſandſtone, lime, coal, clay, &c. are found alternated with each other, in large and diſtinct maſſes; and no conſolidated ſtratum, we believe, is made up of that medley of materials which the Huttonian theory would lead us to look for in them all. It may well be demanded of its advocates, therefore, upon what principles they account for the ſeparation and aſſemblage of theſe ſubſtances—by what power they ſuppoſe the mingled maſs of mud and gravel, brought down by the rivers, to have been ſorted and arranged into diſtinct ſtrata—and how, upon the ſame ſpot, thoſe ſtrata ſhould be ſo numerous, ſo different, and often ſo uniformly alternated? The ſyſtem of Dr Hutton, which admits no other origin of the ſtrata, but the *mechanical diffuſion* of the detritus from former continents, and excludes, of courſe, all idea of chemical affinity or participation, does not appear to us to afford any ſatisfactory anſwer to thoſe queſtions.

In defence of Dr Hutton's idea of the means by which *conſolidation* was effected, Mr Playfair begins with pointing out the inſufficiency of the Neptunian hypotheſis. His objections to the ſuppoſition of water being the agent, are not new; but they are fairly and very forcibly ſtated. He then goes on to remark, that,

'15. In order to judge whether objections of equal weight can be oppoſed to the hypotheſis of igneous conſolidation, we muſt attend to a very important remark, firſt made by Dr Hutton, and applied with wonderful ſucceſs to explain the moſt myſterious phenomena of the mineral kingdom.

'It is certain, that the effects of fire on bodies vary with the circumſtances under which it is applied to them, and therefore a conſiderable allowance muſt be made, if we would compare the operation of that element when it conſolidated the ſtrata, with the reſults of our daily experience. The materials of the ſtrata were diſpoſed, as we have already ſeen, looſe and unconnected at the bottom of the ſea; that is, even on the moſt moderate eſtimation, at the depth of ſeveral miles under its ſurface. At this depth, and under the preſſure of a column of water of ſo great a height, the action of heat would differ much from that which we obſerve here upon the ſurface; and though our experience does not enable us to compute with accuracy the amount of this difference, it nevertheleſs points out the direction in which it muſt lie, and even marks certain limits to which it would probably extend.

'The tendency of an increaſed preſſure on the bodies to which heat is applied, is to reſtrain the volatility of thoſe parts which otherwiſe

would make their eſcape, and to force them to endure a more intenſe action of heat. At a certain depth under the ſurface of the ſea, the power even of a very intenſe heat might therefore be unable to drive off the oily or bituminous parts from the inflammable matter there depoſited; ſo that, when the heat was withdrawn, theſe principles might be found ſtill united to the earthy and carbonic parts, forming a ſubſtance very unlike the reſiduum obtained after combuſtion under a preſſure no greater than the weight of the atmoſphere. It is in like manner reaſonable to believe, that, on the application of heat to calcareous bodies under great compreſſion, the carbonic gas would be forced to remain; the generation of quicklime would be prevented, and the whole might be ſoftened or even completely melted; which laſt effect, though not directly deducible from any experiment yet made, is rendered very probable, from the analogy of certain chemical phenomena.

16. An analogy of this kind, derived from a property of the barytic earth, was ſuggeſted by that excellent chemiſt and philoſopher, the late Dr Black. The barytic earth, as is well known, has a ſtronger attraction for fixed air than common calcareous earth has, ſo that the carbonate of barytes is able to endure a great degree of heat before its fixed air is expelled. Accordingly, when expoſed to an increaſing heat, at a certain temperature, it is brought into fuſion, the fixed air ſtill remaining united to it: if the heat be further increaſed, the air is driven off, the earth loſes its fluidity, and appears in a cauſtic ſtate. Here, it is plain, that the barytic earth, which is infuſible, or very refractory, *per ſe*, as well as the calcareous, owes its fuſibility to the preſence of the fixed air: and it is therefore probable, that the ſame thing would happen to the calcareous earth, if by any means the fixed air were prevented from eſcaping when great heat is applied to it. This eſcape of the fixed air is exactly what the compreſſion in the ſubterraneous regions is calculated to prevent; and therefore we are not to wonder if, among the calcareous ſtrata, we find marks of actual fuſion having taken place.

17. Theſe effects of preſſure to reſiſt the decompoſition, and augment the fuſibility of bodies, being once ſuppoſed, we ſhall find little difficulty in conceiving the conſolidation of the ſtrata by heat, ſince the intervals between the looſe materials of which they originally conſiſted may have been cloſed, either by the ſoftening of thoſe materials, or by the introduction of foreign matter among them, in the ſtate of a fluid or of an elaſtic vapour. No objection to this hypotheſis can ariſe from the conſiderations ſtated in the preceding caſe; the ſolvent here employed would want no pores to lodge in after its work was completed, nor would it find any difficulty in making its retreat through the denſeſt and moſt ſolid ſubſtances in the mineral kingdom. Neither can its incapacity to diſſolve the bodies ſubmitted to its action be alleged. Heat is the moſt powerful, and moſt general of all ſolvents; and though ſome bodies, ſuch as the calcareous, are able to reſiſt its force on the ſurface of the earth, yet, as has juſt been ſhown, it is perfectly agreeable to analogy to ſuppoſe, that, under great preſſure, the carbonic ſtate of the lime

lime being preſerved, the pureſt limeſtone or marble might be ſoftened, or even melted. With reſpect to other ſubſtances, leſs doubt of their fuſibility is entertained; and though, in our experiments, the refractory nature of ſiliceous earth has not been completely ſubdued, a degree of ſoftneſs, and an incipient fuſion, have nevertheleſs been induced.

'Thus it appears, in general, that the ſame difficulties do not preſs againſt the two theories of aqueous and of igneous conſolidation; and, that the latter employs an agent incomparably more powerful than the former, of more general activity, and, what is of infinite more importance in a philoſophical theory, vaſtly more definite in the laws of its operation.'

It is evident from the preceding extract, that the author means to make his great ſtand, in defence of this part of the Huttonian ſyſtem, on the aſſumption, that bodies may be made, by preſſure, to endure extreme heat without a diſſipation of their parts, or, in other words, without evaporation or combuſtion; and that compound bodies, the fixed parts of which are infuſible when ſeparated from the volatile, may admit of being fuſed when a ſeparation is prevented by compreſſion. Allowing this ſpeculation to be reaſonable, (and it is one without which, Mr Playfair muſt be well aware, the Huttonian theory cannot ſupport itſelf for an inſtant), there are ſtill many difficulties which it cannot ſolve, and which our author does not appear to have adverted to. If fuſion were the cauſe of conſolidation, why do we find ſoft, incompact clay, under *ſtrata* of limeſtone—a fact witneſſed in moſt limeſtone countries, but particularly evident in the promontory of Portland, in Dorſetſhire? Mr Playfair himſelf deſcribes the exiſtence of very fine ſand interpoſed between layers of talc and mica. He muſt alſo admit, that rocks of ſand-ſtone and breccia are incumbent on beds of looſe ſand in many parts of the world. How is the defect of conſolidation in the lower materials to be accounted for, when the conſolidating cauſe muſt have acted there more vigorouſly than on the upper?

It may be obſerved alſo, that, in taking it for granted that all the ſtratified bodies in the univerſe have been *ſoftened* by heat, without being reduced into actual fuſion, Dr Hutton has aſſumed a poſition that cannot be very eaſily conceded. The greater part of known ſubſtances paſs, by the action of heat, from a hard and ſolid to a fluid ſtate, very ſuddenly and directly. There are but a few that are capable of remaining for a conſiderable time in an intermediate condition of ſoftneſs and tenacity; and even theſe require the heat which is to produce this effect upon them, to be managed with great nicety and precaution. That ſo great a proportion of the ſubſtances that compoſe our globe, ſhould have been ſubjected to a heat ſo critically tempered, and curiouſly limited in its intenſity, appears, at firſt ſight, extremely improbable, and certainly does not become more con-

ceivable, by recollecting, that this regulated heat heaved up the whole maſs of the ſtrata, and reduced to fuſion a multitude of the moſt obdurate and refractory ſubſtances.

The phenomena of metallic veins are regarded by our author as favourable to the ſuppoſition which conſtitutes another leading maxim of the Huttonian ſchool, namely, that the *elevation* of the *ſtrata* was alſo cauſed by ſubterraneous heat. But, if the expanſive power of this heat was ſufficient for rending the great external cruſt of the earth, and forcing up liquid metal into the narroweſt ramifications of fiſſures on the ſurface, is it not probable that it would have been more than ſufficient for overcoming that compreſſion which impeded the extrication of volatile matter from the fixed? The actual poſition of the *ſtrata*, on which the author lays ſo much ſtreſs, appears to us to be a circumſtance of a very ambiguous kind, and reconcileable with the notion of ſubſidence, as well as of elevation: at any rate, it is not neceſſarily connected with the hypotheſis of ſubterraneous heat. There is much more force in the argument drawn from the circumſtances of ſome granitic veins. Dr Hutton himſelf firſt diſcovered veins of granite proceeding upwards from continuous beds of that ſubſtance, into ſuperincumbent *ſchiſtus*—a fact very curious and important in its nature, and ſcarcely ſuſceptible of any other explication than that which is propoſed by this theory. But, on the other hand, we cannot acknowledge the juſtneſs of the inference drawn from the phenomena of chalk hills, and of the concomitant *nodules* of flint. Dr Hutton expreſſed himſelf, on this ſubject, conciſely and obſcurely. Mr Playfair, ſo far from dilating on the Doctor's poſitions, or attempting to render them more intelligible, contents himſelf with the following ſhort remark, viz.

'20. The round nodules of flint that are found in chalk, quite inſulated and ſeparate from one another, afford an argument of the ſame kind; ſince the flinty matter, if it had been carried into the chalk by any ſolvent, muſt have been depoſited with a certain degree of uniformity, and would not now appear collected into ſeparate maſſes, without any trace of its exiſtence in the intermediate parts. On the other hand, if we conceive the melted flint to have been forcibly injected among the chalk, and to have penetrated it, ſomewhat as mercury may, by preſſure, be made to penetrate through the pores of wood, it might, on cooling, exhibit the ſame appearances that the chalk-beds of England do actually preſent us with.'

The diſciples of Dr Hutton do not condeſcend to account for the regular ſtratification of flint, which is ſo often ſeen in the chalk hills of our iſland; nor for the general approach of theſe *ſtrata* to an horizontal poſition. Neither do they inform us, why the ſuppoſed projecting power was regularly intermittent, why

why the ſmalleſt nodules are found in the ſame level with the largeſt; or how the animal and vegetable *exuviæ* preſerved their ſtructure entire, in the midſt of ſuch a violent proceſs? Until theſe difficulties are ſolved, we muſt be permitted to conſider the phenomena of flint as more favourable to the theory of precipitation, than to that of forcible injection.

After having diſcuſſed the ſubject of ſtratified bodies, our author adverts to the concluſions deducible from the appearances of the UNSTRATIFIED, and alſo from thoſe which are common to both claſſes. He enters into an ample detail of facts, and contends, very confidently, for the igneous origin, both of granite and baſaltes. We wiſh we could ſay, that Mr Playfair has ſucceeded in removing all the objections urged againſt this hypotheſis.

The ſubject is by far too extenſive to be conſidered in this place: yet, we may obſerve, that we were very much ſtruck with an objection which Mr Playfair quotes from Mr Jamieſon, and to which he ſeems to us to have made rather a triumphant, than a ſatisfactory anſwer. Mr Jamieſon had aſked, how it happened that the granite, if projected in a fluid ſtate from below, did not overflow the country, as ſoon as it had penetrated the ſchiſtus above it, and how ſuch a theory could be reconciled with the exiſtence of Mont Blanc, and other granite mountains?—Mr Playfair has anſwered, that the ſchiſtus was not penetrated; that it was bent merely, and raiſed up; and that the granite was formed and cooled within it, as in a mould, and only appeared when the injuries of the weather had worn off this external coating. Now, we confeſs, that theſe appear to us to be very gratuitous, and very improbable aſſertions. Almoſt all the lofty mountains in the world are compoſed of naked granite at the ſummit. The ſchiſtus, by which they are frequently ſurrounded, is commonly found in a poſition almoſt vertical, and can ſcarcely be preſumed therefore to have ever *covered* their ridges; and there is no one inſtance, we believe, where granite can be traced in an eruption, where it can be ſhown to have burſt through, or run over the edges of the including ſchiſtus, and flooded the country below. That the incumbent ſtrata ſhould *ſometimes* have had ſtrength and tenacity enough to reſiſt the diſtending force of the melted granite within, and to be moved along with it in unbroken continuity, may reaſonably be admitted; but that, in *every* inſtance of violent and great elevation, theſe ſubſtances ſhould have preſerved their integrity in this manner, and never permitted any part of the included fluid to eſcape, appears altogether inconceivable. It would be eaſy indeed to ſhow, that without ſuppoſing in thoſe containing ſtrata not merely a great ſtrength and perfect flexibility, but an incredible elaſticity and power of diſtenſion,

it would have been impoſſible for the loweſt of the granite mountains to have been elevated, without rending its ſchioſtic covering, and diffuſing itſelf over it, like the lava of an ordinary volcano.

Our extracts muſt be terminated with the following retroſpect of the Huttonian geology, which the author has adorned with very eloquent language, and which is well calculated to faſcinate the imagination, by the novelty and ſublimity of the conceptions.

'114. Such, according to Dr Hutton's theory, are the changes which the daily operations of waſte have produced on the ſurface of the globe. Theſe operations, inconſiderable if taken ſeparately, become great, by conſpiring all to the ſame end, never counteracting one another, but proceeding, through a period of indefinite extent, continually in the ſame direction. Thus, every thing deſcends, nothing returns upward; the hard and ſolid bodies every where diſſolve, and the looſe and ſoft no where conſolidate. The powers which tend to preſerve, and thoſe which tend to change the condition of the earth's ſurface, are never *in equilibrio:* the latter are, in all caſes, the moſt powerful, and in reſpect of the former, are like *living* in compariſon of *dead* forces. Hence the law of decay is one which ſuffers no exception: The elements of all bodies were once looſe and unconnected, and to the ſame ſtate nature has appointed that they ſhould all return.

'115. It affords no preſumption againſt the reality of this progreſs that in reſpect of man, it is too ſlow to be immediately perceived: The utmoſt portion of it, to which our experience can extend, is evaneſcent, in compariſon with the whole, and muſt be regarded as the momentary increment of a vaſt progreſſion, circumſcribed by no other limits than the duration of the world. TIME performs the office of *integrating* the infiniteſimal parts of which this progreſſion is made up; it collects them into one ſum, and produces from them an amount greater than any that can be aſſigned.

'116. While on the ſurface of the earth ſo much is every where going to decay, no new production of mineral ſubſtances is found in any region acceſſible to man. The inſtances of what are called petrifactions, or the formation of ſtony ſubſtances by means of water, which we ſometimes obſerve, whether they be ferruginous concretions, or calcareous, or, as happens in ſome rare caſes, ſiliceous ſtalactites, are too few in number, and too inconſiderable in extent, to be deemed material exceptions to this general rule. The bodies thus generated, alſo, are no ſooner formed, than they become ſubject to waſte and diſſolution, like all the other hard ſubſtances in nature; ſo that they but retard for a while the progreſs by which they are all reſolved into duſt, and ſooner or later committed to the boſom of the deep.

'117. We are not, however, to imagine, that there is no where any means of repairing this waſte; for, on comparing the concluſion at which we are now arrived, viz. that the preſent continents are all going to decay,

decay, and their materials deſcending into the ocean, with the propoſition firſt laid down, that theſe ſame continents are compoſed of materials which muſt have been collected from the decay of former rocks, it is impoſſible not to recognize two correſponding ſteps of the ſame progreſs; of a progreſs, by which mineral ſubſtances are ſubjected to the ſame ſeries of changes, and alternately waſted away and renovated. In the ſame manner, as the preſent mineral ſubſtances derive their origin from ſubſtances ſimilar to themſelves; ſo, from the land now going to decay, the ſand and gravel forming on the ſea-ſhore, or in the beds of rivers; from the ſhells and corals which in ſuch enormous quantities are every day accumulated in the boſom of the ſea; from the drift wood, and the multitude of vegetable and animal remains continually depoſited in the ocean: from all theſe we cannot doubt, that ſtrata are now forming in thoſe regions, to which nature ſeems to have confined the powers of mineral reproduction; from which after being conſolidated, they are again deſtined to emerge, and to exhibit a ſeries of changes ſimilar to the paſt.

'118. How often theſe viciſſitudes of decay and renovation have been repeated, is not for us to determine: they conſtitute a ſeries, of which, as the author of this theory has remarked, we neither ſee the beginning nor the end; a circumſtance that accords well with what is known concerning other parts of the economy of the world. In the continuation of the different ſpecies of animals and vegetables that inhabit the earth, we diſcern neither a beginning nor an end; and, in the planetary motions, where geometry has carried the eye ſo far both into the future and the paſt, we diſcover no mark, either of the commencement or the termination of the preſent order. It is unreaſonable, indeed, to ſuppoſe, that ſuch marks ſhould any where exiſt. The Author of nature has not given laws to the univerſe, which, like the inſtitutions of men, carry in themſelves the elements of their own deſtruction. He has not permitted, in his works, any ſymptom of infancy or of old age, or any ſign by which we may eſtimate either their future or their paſt duration. He may put an end, as he no doubt gave a beginning, to the preſent ſyſtem, at ſome determinate period; but we may ſafely conclude, that this great *cataſtrophe* will not be brought about by any of the laws now exiſting, and that it is not indicated by any thing which we perceive.'

Notwithſtanding the ability and ingenuity of this illuſtration of the ſyſtem of Dr Hutton, its author, we think, is far from having eſtabliſhed that ſyſtem on an immoveable baſis. It is a ſyſtem, indeed, built on poſtulates ſo bold, and involving operations ſo prodigious, ſo capricious, and ſo incapable of exemplification from actual experience, that we do not conceive it ſuſceptible of any complete or ſatisfactory defence. We are compelled, nevertheleſs, to give Mr Playfair great credit for his induſtry of reſearch, and diligence of inveſtigation. He has brought together many uſeful and important facts; his arguments are often

ten forcible, and always ingenious; his language is perſpicuous and elegant; and, how deficient ſoever in ſolid ſupport he may have left his own hypotheſis, he has ſucceſsfully expoſed the inſufficiency and difficulties of others.

The ability with which he has combined the complicated materials of his ſubject, and the correct and luminous order he has obſerved in the ſtatement of a looſe and analogical argument, have given a preciſion and ſcientific unity to the ſyſtem of Dr Hutton, in which it was formerly deficient. The taſk, therefore, both of its advocates and its adverſaries, will be hereafter comparatively eaſy; ſince it is ſcarcely poſſible for any queſtion to remain, either as to the tenets it maintains, or the arguments by which they are to be ſupported.

The work is therefore highly worthy of peruſal, and deſerves to be conſidered as by far the moſt able elucidation and vindication of the Huttonian theory, that has yet been preſented to the public.

ART. XXVII. *The Criſis of the Sugar Colonies;* or, an Inquiry into the Objects and probable Effects of the French Expedition to the Weſt Indies, and their connexion with the Colonial Intereſts of the Britiſh Empire: To which are ſubjoined, Sketches of a Plan for ſettling the Vacant Lands of Trinidada. In Four Letters to the Right Honourable Henry Addington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. London: Hatchard. Pp. 222. 1802.

SINCE the ceſſation of hoſtilities in Europe, the minds of men, engroſſed for the laſt twelve years by objects more immediately intereſting, have been anxiouſly turned towards the ſituation of America, where a cataſtrophe has been juſtly apprehended of a nature ſtill more unexampled in the hiſtory of the ſpecies, than any of thoſe mighty changes which have ſhaken the foundations of ſociety in the old world.

Immediately after the ſignature of the preliminaries, which led to the congreſs of Amiens, the French Uſurper diſpatched a formidable armament to the Weſt Indian poſſeſſions of the republic; where, in conſequence of the confuſion produced by various revolutionary tumults, a negro chief had obtained the ſupreme command by his diſtinguiſhed talents, and ſupported his pretenſions by much the ſame means that enabled the Corſican chief to hold the ſceptre of the mother country.

The lamentable events which had taken place in St Domingo, were not important to France alone. Similarity of ſituation rendered the republican colonies in the Weſt Indies a ſpectacle highly intereſting to all the powers who poſſeſs territories cultivated

by

by negro ſlaves; and they viewed the new effort that was now to decide the fate of the revolted iſlands, with the ſame anxiety which the ſtruggles of ſocial order and anarchy had excited in the European commonwealth.

At this intereſting juncture, the work now before us was haſtily compoſed. It is addreſſed, in four letters, to the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer. It contains a ſpirited, though not very elaborate, picture of the important criſis which the ſlave trade appears to have produced; a few ingenious and plauſible ſpeculations on the deſtination and probable reſult of the French expedition; and an attempt to appreciate the comparative conſequences of its ſucceſs or failure to the intereſts of the Britiſh iſlands; and to point out the line of colonial policy which we ought now to purſue, both towards France and our own poſſeſſions.

Theſe letters were written ſome weeks before the news of Leclerc's arrival had reached Europe, and they were publiſhed on the day after the firſt diſpatches of the General were known in England; ſo that the author has a fair claim to the praiſe of ſagacity, in ſo far as he may appear to have anticipated the events with which it has ſince pleaſed the conſular government to make the public acquainted.

However much we may be inclined to differ from our author in the moſt of his deductions, we willingly acknowledge the pleaſure we have received during a very attentive peruſal of his work. He appears to be intimately acquainted with the complicated relations of the ſubject; and ſpeaks on many points from perſonal obſervation. His mode of reaſoning, though diffuſe, is often ſtriking and ingenious. If his arguments are ſometimes incumbered with declamation, they are, however, fully and honeſtly laid before the reader; and, on a ſubject ſo momentous in every view, involving the higheſt queſtions of policy, as well as the diſcuſſions moſt intereſting to humanity, it would be difficult, perhaps not very commendable, to write without ſome degree of warmth and animation. The ſtyle of our author is flowing and copious; ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by force and energy, but ſeldom remarkable for elegance or correctneſs: frequently loaded with clumſy, or vulgar, or gaudy ornaments—with metaphors which perplex and fatigue—compariſons which do not illuſtrate, or but feebly apply—and ſimiles in which all reſemblance is loſt. Although the remark may appear rather hypercritical, we cannot withhold our diſapprobation from that inattention to the juſt diviſion of labour, which throws upon a title page the duty uſually performed by a table of contents: Such diſplays are adapted only to the readers who acquire their knowledge of books from peripatetic ſtudy at the windows of bookſellers ſhops.

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Of the various parts of this compoſition, which diſplay a falſe taſte—a predilection for circuitous modes of expreſſion—and an unchaſte propenſity to adopt tinſel imagery, we may ſelect the following deſcription of the difference between the induſtry of the free man, and the drudgery of the ſlave.

'When we bow to the golden ſceptre of reaſon, obedience has many facilities, and its pains many mitigations. Nature is not thwarted more rudely than the rational purpoſe demands; and the mind, while it urges on the material frame, cheers it in return with refreſhing and invigorating cordials.

'Look at the moſt laborious peaſant in Europe, and, if you pleaſe, the moſt oppreſſed: he is toiling, it is true, from painful neceſſity; but it is neceſſity of a moral kind, acting upon his rational nature; and from which brutal coercion differs as widely as a naúſeous drench in the mouth of an infant, from the medicated milk of its mother.

'Is the impelling motive, fear of want, or dread of a maſter's diſpleaſure; yet he ſees, on the other hand, the approbation and reward attainable by exertions, whereof the degree, at leaſt is for the moment ſpontaneous: Self-complacency alleviates his toil, and hope preſents to his view, the hearty well-earned meal, the evening fire-ſide, and perhaps the gratifications of the huſband, or the father, in promoting the well-being of thoſe deareſt to his heart. Is his work fatiguing; he is at liberty, at leaſt, to introduce ſome little varieties in the mode, or breaks in the continuity of it, which give him ſenſible relief: He can reſt on his ſpade, or ſtay the plough a moment in the furrow; can gaze at a paſſing object, or ſtop a brother-villager to ſpend a brief interval in talk.' P. 49. 50.

Sometimes our author labours to expreſs more than his own fertility, or the limited powers of language allow. He then ſtalks forth upon ſtilts; and either hides himſelf in the thick darkneſs of metaphyſics, or ſtrains at a quotation, or flies to the laſt reſource of the wretched—a caſe in point. Take the following ſpecimens:

'It might be admitted, even without danger to the argument, though I am ſorry to ſay not without doing violence to truth, as well as probability, that this coarſe actuation of the phyſical powers of the human frame by an external mind intereſted in their effect, was in general not puſhed to exceſs; but was an impulſe as leniently and wiſely regulated, as that of reaſon, when guided by the ſympathies of the ſoul with the body to which nature has allied it.' P. 51. 52.

In p. 176. after a long invective on the criminalty of extending the ſlave trade to our new poſſeſſions, he ſums up all, by ſuppoſing the other nations to addreſs Great Britain, 'with ſome little variation, in the words of our own poet,'

'O

'O Britain, infamous for *avarice!*
An iſland in thy morals more depraved
Than the whole world of rationals beſide;
In ambient waves plunge thy polluted head,
Waſh the dire ſtain, nor ſhock the Continent.'

We have many objections to our author's ſtyle; but ſuch doggrel as this (happily we know not to whom it belongs) reconciles us to any thing. Contraſting the wild Indian with the enfranchiſed Negro, in point of induſtry, he ſays—

'The one is a wild, but vigorous youth, who will not eaſily ſubmit to the drill; the other a rickety *infant*, in whom, from unnatural reſtraint, the muſcles of voluntary motion are contracted. The former may revolt from the yoke of diſcipline, but the latter muſt be taught to walk.' P. 54.

The reſemblance here is perplexed by ſo many croſs analogies oppoſing each other, that no definite idea of likeneſs remains. A written ſtyle may employ interrogatory, exclamation, and even imprecation; but we can ſcarcely tolerate prayer within prayer, unleſs in the moſt violent effuſions of extemporaneous eloquence.

'Forbid it that ſentiment to which may Engliſhmen never become inſenſible! forbid it the ſenſe of national dignity and virtue!' P. 175.

One who is always running after flowers will ſometimes make a falſe ſtep. In order to convey the idea of a white man's inferiority to a negro, in the warfare of the Weſt Indies, our author compares the conteſt to that of an aeronaut with an eagle, p. 69. A lover of compariſons, who wiſhed to maintain the very oppoſite doctrine, would probably uſe this figure, to pourtray the ſuperiority of diſcipline and art over natural advantages.

As our author cannot reſiſt the temptation of gaudy ornaments, and far-fetched illuſtrations; ſo neither does he always make that proper ſelection of epithets, which is eſſential to a nervous and manly ſtyle. Thus, he tells us, in p. 171, that the echo of the loud clamour of the national conſcience of this commercial country was heard, &c. And this national conſcience has an eye, as well as a tongue; for, in p. 109, we are informed, that the frightful aſpect of the deformed monſter (the Slave Trade) has been laid bare before the eye, &c. But nothing, in theſe pages, is more unpleaſant, than the aid which the writer conſtantly ſeeks from *marks of admiration* (!): When he wiſhes to eke out his phalanx of indignant or contemptuous expreſſions, he brings up the rear of his periods with thoſe auxiliaries, ſometimes in double rank, and ſometimes three abreaſt, according to the ſtrength of the poſition which he purpoſes to attack. For

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our part, we declare ourſelves impregnable to all ſuch offenſive operations. They belong not to the author, but the printer. Stratagems like theſe remind us of the emphatic marks, which females, who are given to compoſition, make under every other word, or the italics that ſtud each page, when their works are permitted for a ſeaſon to viſit the world.

After all, we find, even in the ornamental part of the 'Criſis,' many paſſages ſufficiently ſplendid, to redeem the faults which we have taken the liberty of pointing out. The compariſon of the French armament to the Trojan horſe, is finely conceived:

'Like the Trojans, who, ſallying from their gates to enjoy their ſudden and unhoped for peace, were ſoon arreſted by the ſight of the ſtupendous horſe, we gaze with wonder on this great effort of our recent enemy, the poſthumous birth of war, and, as in their caſe,

Scinditur incertum, ſtudia in contraria vulgus.

While many are loud in expreſſing their raſh approbation, and even exhort us to aſſiſt in fixing this portentous force in the colonial citadel, others ſuſpiciouſly exclaim

——in noſtros fabricata eſt machina muros;
Inſpectura domos, venturaque deſuper urbi.' P. 5.

The imagery, in the following paſſage, is bold and appropriate to the tropical ſcenery of the Weſt Indies:

'From the deluſions of theſe wizard ſcenes, let the conſiderations here ſet before you be your ſafeguard; for, if they have any force, thoſe gaudy proſpects have no more reality, than the verdant fields, which tempt the feveriſh patient in a calenture to plunge into the ocean.' P. 153.

And the indignant eloquence of the paſſage, where he tears to pieces the fancied reſiſtance of the colonial legiſlatures, would be almoſt perfect, were thoſe adventitious marks of force lopped off, which come from the printer:

'The objection was not leſs extraordinary, than a threat or inſinuation, with which it was ſaid to have been accompanied, that of reſiſtance by the white coloniſts *(riſum teneatis?)*—reſiſtance againſt the Mother Country, whoſe protection, beſtowed at an immenſe expence, not only of treaſure but blood, alone can ſave them a ſingle day, not only from foreign enemies, but from the continual dangers of that wretched interior ſyſtem which they ſo pertinaciouſly defend!!!—The palſied bed-ridden patient might as rationally threaten violence to his nurſe, for putting ſuſtenance into his mouth!' P. 128-9.

We have premiſed theſe remarks upon the ſtyle of this very intereſting performance, that we might remove, in the firſt inſtance, all obſtructions, and be able to proceed, without interruption,

ruption, in conſidering the matter of which it conſiſts. We ſhall accordingly lay before our readers, a ſhort and general analyſis of the doctrines which our author maintains; and ſhall examine, at the ſame time, the foundation upon which they reſt.

I. The firſt letter begins with ſeveral congratulations to the Miniſter upon his ſucceſsful career ſince his unaccountable elevation to office; and ſome high compliments to his moderation and wiſdom, in bringing about that event, which one ſet of politicians have termed a truce, and others have dignified with the '*dulce nomen pacis*.' Our author then proceeds to the firſt object of his inquiries—the probable views of Bonaparte in the Weſt Indian expedition. After deſcribing the ſtate of negro labour under the old ſyſtem, he concludes, that the inſtantaneous, and, as it were, phyſical impulſe of the cart-whip, is the only incentive to work which the Africans in the iſlands can feel, unleſs when they are divided and employed in ſolitary occupations; and, even then, the terror of the laſh is only a little leſs immediate. We muſt here ſtop to correct a miſtatement in this part of our author's reaſonings. He obſerves, that the taſk, which he calls *graſs-hunting* (commonly known by the name of *graſs-picking*), occaſions more puniſhments in the Engliſh iſlands than all the other offences put together, p. 12, 13. Graſs-picking is only known in the windward iſlands. In Jamaica, and, we believe, in St Domingo alſo, the abundance of ſeveral very luxuriant kinds of graſs, as Scots graſs, Guinea graſs, &c. in the proviſion grounds, renders the odious duty, now alluded to, wholly unneceſſary.

Our author proceeds to demonſtrate, at conſiderable, perhaps unneceſſary length, that the milder, and far leſs efficacious ſyſtem of military law, has ſucceeded to the proprietary dominion of the maſter, aboliſhed in St Domingo by inſurrection, and in Guadaloupe and Cayenne by the frantic acts of the French revolutionary Government. We have ſaid, that ſo much argument to prove the ſubverſion of the maſter's authority in theſe iſlands, appeared to us ſcarcely neceſſary. After adducing a variety of reaſons to prove this poſition, from p. 15, to p. 25. he brings forward, p. 35. an official document, publiſhed by the French government, in which the matter is ſtated explicitly. We ſhould have thought the citation of an expreſs authority, in every view ſo unexceptionable upon a point like this, ſufficient evidence of what every man, who has attended to the hiſtory of Weſt Indian affairs during the laſt twelve years, muſt have been perfectly prepared to believe. The reſtoration of the ancient ſlavery of the negroes, our author conceives, is the grand object of the preſent expedition to the colonies; dictated alike by the peculiar genius of the Firſt Conſul, the preſſing exigencies of the

the republic, and the intereſts of a powerful body of individuals in the mother country.

In this concluſion, we entirely agree with him. Although above ſix months have elapſed ſince the publication of his work, the French government has thought proper to communicate ſo very little to the world, either of its plans, or of the operations carried on in St. Domingo and the windward iſlands, that the nature of its intentions, and the ſucceſs of its attempts, are ſtill left, in a great meaſure, to be gathered from circumſtantial evidence. With the exception of a few meagre details taken out of the diſpatches of that officer whom Bonaparte has ſpared from his military embaſſies for the Weſt India ſervice, we as yet are in poſſeſſion of no information beyond what the author of the Criſis had to build upon; and although his concluſions have received ſome additional ſolidity from the little that has tranſpired, in the main they ſtill reſt on the foundations which he was enabled to lay.

II. In the ſecond letter, our author examines the probability of the expedition ſucceeding in that attempt, which he had ſhewn to be the moſt likely object of its deſtination. It is by no means impoſſible, he admits, that a nominal dominion may be obtained over St Domingo, by fomenting diviſions among the negro leaders, gaining over ſome of them to the Republican cauſe, and taking poſſeſſion of the chief places on the coaſt. But the natural indolence of the negroes, a ten years experience of freedom, and the horror of reflecting on their former bondage, at once render their labour in a free condition unavailing, and rivet their averſion to reſume the yoke. The number of theſe men trained to war; the conſtant failure of the French Government to ſeduce any conſiderable bodies of them from the common cauſe; the adaptation of their conſtitution to tropical labour, always fatal to Europeans; their intimate acquaintance with the nature of the country, full of woods, and broken by ſcars and ſteeps; their ſuperior agility and ſkill in ſurmounting ſuch difficulties; their power of ſubſiſting on the moſt trifling quantity of proviſions the moſt eaſily procured, beſides the ruinous expence of all military operations carried on in that diſtant quarter:—all theſe circumſtances conſpire to render the complete conqueſt of the negroes in the field extremely difficult. But, even after they ſhall have been reduced to ſubjection, the moſt arduous taſk remains. That undefined and nameleſs terror of the negro for the white man, which conſtituted the principal ſecurity of the maſter, has now diſappeared. The ſpell is broken, which, more than principle, or reaſon, or inferiority of powers, kept the moſt numerous obedient to the ſmalleſt claſs of the community. To reſtore it, is impoſſible; and the idea of re-

re-eſtabliſhing that domeſtic ſlavery, of which it was the foundation, is chimerical and abſurd. Our author therefore concludes, that in its grand object, the expedition will certainly fail.

And here we find ourſelves under the neceſſity of differing very widely from him. That the taſk which the policy and the neceſſities of the French government have impoſed upon the army of St Domingo, is full of difficulty, and even of danger, we will readily allow. But we remember how pregnant with difficulty and danger of every ſort, the ſervice confided to Hoche was; how ſanguine the royaliſts and their abettors were, for years, in their expectations of its failure; by how many perils the republic was then beſet, which diverted its force to every ſide; and by how changeful a domeſtic government its reſources were directed.—We ſee La Vendee reſtored; the remains of the Chouans pacified; the hopes of the Royaliſts in that quarter extinguiſhed; and we are forced to acknowledge, that it is not merely ſituations of uncommon riſk and difficulty, which can baffle the perſeverance, and overcome the fortunes of France.—We recollect the hiſtory of the Peruvian revolt, and of the ſervile wars in Campania and Sicily; and conſider that inſurrections of colonies and provinces, as well as domeſtic rebellions, may be quelled. But, above all, when we caſt our eyes over the very ſcene where the great drama that we are contemplating is diſplayed; we find various facts which, more ſtrongly than a thouſand fine-ſpun reaſonings, clearly evince the poſſibility of reducing to their cane-pieces, coffee-grounds, and ſpice walks, the moſt fierce and licentious of the African rebels.

In the celebrated rebellion of 1772, the Braziliaus were joined by the negroes, and carried on a kind of regular warfare againſt the Portugueſe. Something of the ſame ſort took place in the Spaniſh colonies of South America, nearly at the ſame time. The conſtant ſtate of warfare in which the maroons of Dutch Guyana have remained with the whites for above a century, has cauſed the colony to be ſurrounded with a regular cordon of troops, and a chain of military poſts. Various inſurrections have diſturbed the peace of the ſettlements. Sometimes the negroes have been completely ſucceſsful, as in the year 1763, when the colony of Berbice was wholly in their poſſeſſion: it was quickly reſtored, however, and the revolters actually ſubmitted, before the arrival of the force deſtined to reduce them. The formidable rebellion of the Jamaica ſlaves, in 1762, is well known; and in almoſt every iſland in the Archipelago have repeated inſurrections broken out, ſometimes the reſult of plans laid with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and very widely extended; always accompliſhed by

by the horrors of African warfare, and uniformly quelled after a ſhort ſtruggle, in which the diſcipline and the policy of Europeans overcame the vaſt numbers and ferocious ſtrength of a ſavage people, and reduced them to their accuſtomed habits of fear and labour. In thoſe inſtances of rebellion, indeed, the evil had neither ſpread ſo far, nor taken ſo deep a root, as it unhappily has done in St Domingo. But, then, the affairs of that iſland have attracted a degree of attention from the government of France, proportioned to their vaſt importance; and the negroes are oppoſed by a force ſuited to the difficulty and hazard of the ſervice.

It is in vain, that our author paints to us the inſtinctive dread of the ſlaves, as a peculiar principle, a myſterious charm, which, if once broken, cannot be reſtored. We believe it to be the ſame kind of ſpell which keeps men in obedience to abſolute governments; which is latent in the magic rod of a Pruſſian or Auſtrian officer; which may, indeed, be ſuſpended by accidental occurrences; but, if ariſing from the relative ſituation and peculiar circumſtances of the rulers and the governed, will ſpeedily be replaced, and regain its powerful influence.

But, admitting that the negro's feelings towards his maſter, are of the peculiar and myſtical deſcription which our author has given of them—that they are reducible to no principles, and unconnected with the rational nature of man: Can they, we would aſk, be more anomalous and capricious than the emotions of the maniac, who trembles at the nod of his keeper, from ſome ſtrange, ideal, and inexplicable dread—then, in a paroxyſm of his diſeaſe, ſhakes off this unaccountable obedience—but ſoon, exhauſted by the effort, returns to paſſive ſubmiſſion? Nay, were the charm as eaſily diſſolved as the preſſure of an incubus, we ſhould be inclined to expect a relapſe, even after ſome ſudden movement had relieved it, if the conſtitution remained in that prediſpoſing ſtate which firſt induced the diſeaſe. In ſhort, of whatever nature that principle may be, which keeps the African labourers in ſubordination to the white inhabitants—whether, as our author deſcribes it, of a peculiar nature—*ſui generis*—or, as we are rather diſpoſed to believe, ariſing from the influence of ſuperior policy, and cloſer union among the maſters, we have adduced examples of its being ſuſpended, and to all appearance deſtroyed. Its reſtoration, in all thoſe caſes, is no leſs certain, than utterly inconſiſtent with our author's opinion: and we conclude, that the powerful means employed by the French Government, may again bring about the ſame event, and defer, for ſome years, that fate to which the Weſt Indian colonies ſeem to be doomed, by the thoughtleſs avarice, and impolitic cruelty, of thoſe who have planted and peopled them.

III.

III. Although, in the foregoing part of his ſpeculations, our author had been led to view, as impracticable, the project of reducing the negroes to their former ſituation; in his third letter, he proceeds to conſider, independently of his preceding inferences, the conſequences likely to reſult to the Britiſh iſlands, firſt, from the total failure; next, from the partial ſucceſs: and, laſtly, from the complete execution of the Firſt Conſul's plan.

If France, ſays he, loſes all footing in her Weſt Indian poſſeſſions, the formation of a negro commonwealth would be dangerous to our colonies; not ſo much from example, which, on the minds of the negroes, ſtill debaſed by ſlavery, can have very little effect; but from that ſpirit of conqueſt which diſtinguiſhes all infant ſtates, and which, in the circumſtances of the caſe now ſuppoſed, will be peculiarly natural, as well as powerful. The blacks, who, as yet, have only begun their military career, will be diſciplined during the ſtruggle that muſt precede their complete emancipation; and, on every ſide to which they may turn, they will view nations of their brethren languiſhing in chains. Again: If France ſhall either be ſatisfied with diſplacing the preſent government of the iſlands, or ſhall find herſelf forced to make a compromiſe, and leave the negroes in the ſtate of ſubjects, but free citizens; in St Domingo alone, ſhe will be able to raiſe 200,000 warriors, whom ſhe cannot better employ, than in attacking the Britiſh colonies. Inſtead of extenſive poſſeſſions, defended with great loſs of men and treaſure, ſhe will have ſettlements rendered impregnable, by the new ſyſtem, to every foreign attack; garriſons, from whence ſhe may pour into the ſurrounding iſlands armies of negroes, vaſtly ſuperior to Europeans in tropical warfare, and certain of being joined by numerous auxiliaries, whitherſoever the force of their arms may be turned. Laſtly, if the plan of reducing the negroes to their former ſtate ſhould, contrary to all calculation, unfortunately ſucceed, large military eſtabliſhments will be neceſſary to maintain the ſlavery that ſhall have been reſtored: Our ancient enemy will, therefore, have a conſtant pretext for keeping up, in thoſe parts, a force ſufficient for the purpoſes of invaſion; and, ſtill more formidable than theſe European troops, will be the negro auxiliaries, by whoſe aſſiſtance the conteſt with the great body of their brethren muſt be carried on, and who muſt be retained in the ſervice of Government, after that conteſt ſhall have been terminated. A chain of formidable military ſtations, will therefore be eſtabliſhed, each of them placed to windward of a part of the Britiſh iſlands. To defend her Weſt India colonies, in this ſituation, the whole ſtanding army of Great Britain would be inadequate. Our fleets, had we the entire maſtery of thoſe ſeas, would be unable to protect the coaſts of Jamaica alone. While France quietly waits for an opportunity of attack,

our men are daily conſumed, and our treaſures exhauſted. Foiled in one attempt, her ſituation is no worſe than before; and our ruin is proceeding with a rapid pace. Nay, ſhould any doubt ſtill remain, while the balance wavers, the haughty Gaul may toſs the ſword of negro freedom into his ſcale, and ours will kick the beam.

We have now ſtated the ſubſtance of our author's third letter as ſtrongly as we are able; and, without omitting any of his arguments, have aſſembled, into one point of view, the whole of his ſpeculations and inferences. Various criticiſms might be made upon this part of his work. The reaſonings are by no means diſtinctly carried on. Thoſe which properly belong to one hypotheſis, are frequently claſſed among the ſtatements that ſupport another ſet of concluſions; and, in ſome inſtances, the facts and general principles brought forward to elucidate the author's doctrines in one ſuppoſed caſe, are inconſiſtent with his poſitions under another aſſumption. But, without dwelling upon minuter obſervations of defects, we muſt enter our diſſent, in the general, to this, as to the former part of his deductions.

We conſider it as very clear, that the exiſtence of an independent commonwealth in the Weſt Indies, by whomſoever compoſed, and in whatever manner eſtabliſhed, is incompatible with the ſecurity of the other iſlands, and inconſiſtent with the maintenance of their colonial or provincial relations. To ſay nothing of the ſuperior energy and firmneſs of an independent adminiſtration; the increaſe of reſources which an abolition of colonial law would produce; the danger of that contagion, which political, as well as individual example, generally excites in communities ſimilarly circumſtanced, or the proximity of the ſtations from whence the enemy muſt draw all his ſupplies:—Let us only conſider, that, in the caſe we are ſuppoſing, the European power whoſe colonies might be conquered, would have no chance of bringing about their reſtoration, by operations carried on in a different quarter. America could not then be conquered, or regained, or defended in Germany. That diffuſion of intereſts, by widely extended poſſeſſions, would now be wanting, which has for ages maintained the actual dominions of nations almoſt exactly *in ſtatu quo*, after every conteſt, by multiplying the chances of equal and oppoſite ſucceſs, and balancing the fortune of war in different parts of the world. Equivalents, and indemnities, and reſtitutions, could not enter into a treaty with ſtates which have no foreign territory; and the baſis of negotiation muſt be actual poſſeſſion.—But if, inſtead of a European community, we ſuppoſe that an unmixed nation of Africans ſhall obtain independent poſſeſſion of any iſland, how vaſtly is the common danger of all the colonies increaſed!—We will acknowledge

that

that it is not from the ſpirit of conqueſt, ſo much as from the love of plunder and depredation, and, above all, from the contagion of example, that we apprehend the rapid extermination of the whites, by ſuch a ſavage republic. A ſtate compoſed of Europeans alone, might, by the ſuperiority of policy, diſcipline, and ſcience, ſtand againſt all the efforts of an African neighbour; but colonies chiefly peopled by negroes, and governed by a handful of whites, can hope for nothing but a chance of ſinking peaceably into the ſituation which the negro commonwealth, in the ſame part of the world, ſhall have obtained through maſſacre and devaſtation.—Inaſmuch, then, as we conceive, that a total extirpation, or expulſion, or ſubjugation of the white inhabitants in the Weſt Indies, would be a more awful cataſtrophe than the univerſal eſtabliſhment of colonial ſupremacy, or the conqueſt of the whole iſlands by any one European power; and, inaſmuch as we believe that conſummation to be involved in the failure of the French expedition, we conſider the welfare of all the European nations who poſſeſs negro colonies, to be intimately connected with the ſucceſs of the republican arms; and view the intereſts of the whole, as in this caſe, one and the ſame. The negroes are truly the Jacobins of the Weſt India iſlands—they are the anarchiſts, the terroriſts, the domeſtic enemy. Againſt them it becomes rival nations to combine, and hoſtile governments to coaleſce. If Pruſſia and Auſtria felt their exiſtence to depend on an union againſt the revolutionary arms in Europe, (and who does not lament that their coalition was not more firm and enlightened?) a cloſer alliance is imperiouſly recommended to France, and Britain, and Spain, and Holland, againſt the common enemy of civilized ſociety, the deſtroyer of the European name in the new world.

We have the greateſt ſympathy for the unmerited ſufferings of the unhappy negroes; we deteſt the odious traffic which has poured their myriads into the Antilles: but we muſt be permitted to feel ſome tenderneſs for our European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconſiſtent ſpirit of canting philanthropy, which in Europe, is only excited by the wrongs or miſeries of the poor and the profligate; and, on the other ſide of the Atlantic, is never warmed but towards the ſavage, the mulatto, and the ſlave.

Admitting all that has been urged againſt the planters and their African providers, we are much of the opinion which Lord Bacon has expreſſed in the following ſentence:—'It is the ſinfulleſt thing in the world to forſake a plantation once in forwardneſs; for, beſides the diſhonour, it is the guiltineſs of the blood of many commiſerable perſons.' Eſſays, XXXIV.

Suppoſe, now, that France has completely ſucceeded in her colonial meaſures, and, with whatever perfidy or cruelty, has reſtored the ſlavery of the negroes; it ſurely requires no great acuteneſs, or inſpiration, to foreſee, that her dominion, in the conquered iſlands, will be extremely weak and precarious—that all her force will be fully employed at home—and that, even if the fallen ſtate of her navy, her languiſhing manufactures, and her almoſt annihilated commerce, did not require the repoſe of peace, her moſt vulnerable part would be the weſtern wing of her empire, newly reſtored to obedience, and furniſhed with the ſame materials which had lately involved it in conflagration.—The operations of war, whether offenſive or defenſive, will long be apprehended with dread, in the plains which have been ſubjected to the unbridled fury of negro maſters; and the reſtoration of the French colonies, in a ſtate of weakneſs and diſorder, with the hopes of regaining their highly profitable commerce, will be a new pledge for the pacific conduct of the republic.

Our author has propheſied, that the iſlands will be ſo many garriſons to our enemy, who, on pretence of keeping his poſſeſſions in obedience, will maintain a formidable force in thoſe quarters from whence he may attack the neighbouring colonies: And he aſks, triumphantly, 'Who ſhall dictate to the Conſul, what eſtabliſhment of troops and ſhips he is to place in his Weſt Indian territories?' We anſwer, That this is no new danger ariſing from the preſent criſis of affairs; that it is a danger not peculiar to the Weſt Indian colonies; that every power may, if able and willing to keep up a high peace eſtabliſhment, either at home or abroad, find abundance of pretexts for the meaſure; that the only remedy for ſuch an evil, is to increaſe our own peace eſtabliſhment—to deprive the enemy of all pretexts for war, by our prudent and temperate conduct—to watch his motions with a careful eye—and, if the magnitude of his reſources enable him to over-match us in the colonies, to give up our diſtant poſſeſſions, and truſt, for the continuance of our commerce, in the induſtry and ſkill of our people at home, the expertneſs of our ſeamen, and the extent of our trading capital. But we apprehend very little danger from the moſt powerful eſtabliſhment which France can maintain in thoſe iſlands, where, at all times, the higheſt exploits of the Britiſh arms have been achieved; and, ſo long as our troops have only to contend with European armies in the field, without the incalculable dangers of negro rebellion, we ſee nothing very alarming in the proſpect.

Our author draws his principal arguments of anxiety, from the negro troops which the reſtoration of order in St Domingo will leave at the diſpoſal of France. He ſeems, however, in the firſt

firſt place, greatly to overrate the numbers of theſe auxiliaries. He calculates the black population of St Domingo at half a million; and of theſe he eſtimates that 200,000 can be called into the field. —A calculation more careleſs and inaccurate we have ſeldom met with. The beſt informed writers ſtate the diminution of the negro population in St Domingo to have been enormous. Edwards *, in 1796, calculates the loſs during the ſix preceding years at 300,000. Laborie † eſtimates the numbers, in 1797, at much leſs than one half of the numbers in 1789. Since the year 1797, the wars of the negroes and people of colour, and the licentious government of the blacks, not to mention the military operations of the Britiſh and French forces, muſt have prevented any increaſe of numbers, by births, from adding to the total amount. But, admitting that the population is rightly ſtated by our author, how does he diſcover that the proportion of negroes fit to bear arms is two in five? Of imported negroes, no doubt, the females bear a ſmall proportion to the males, and the aged to the young: But the negroes in St Domingo and Guadaloupe muſt now be almoſt all creoles; ſo that the proportion of one to four is the very utmoſt that can be allowed for thoſe able to bear arms: And is it not evident, that the events of the laſt twelve years muſt have diminiſhed this proportion, and cut off a much greater number of males than females, and of able-bodied than weak or decrepid men?

But, in the ſecond place, whatever the numbers of the French negroes may be, the employment of them againſt the neighbouring colonies, can only be rendered ſurely ſucceſsful, by the adoption of meaſures equally dangerous to the power which invades, and to the power which is attacked. The aſſiſtance of inſurrection muſt be called in; otherwiſe, the negroes who have never thrown off the yoke will prove much better troops, under the command of their Britiſh and Dutch maſters, than the rebellious ſlaves of the French. If, on the other hand, the republicans attack us by their favourite weapon, inſurrection, they can only conquer poſſeſſions plundered and ruined, given up to the inſurgent negroes in full ſovereignty, and as dangerous neighbours as their own iſlands would be to ours, were the government of the republic to remain unreſtored.—We are not at liberty to preſume, that any power will purſue meaſures ſo evidently deſtructive of its own exiſtence. If the French yoke is re-eſtabliſhed in the Weſt Indies, we have the beſt poſſible reaſon for believing, that it will be harmleſs to our own empire—the clear intereſt of France to maintain it. So long as the com-

 merce

* Hiſt. of W. Indies, iii. 257.

† Coffee planter of St Domingo, App. p. 129.

merce of the Antilles ſhall form the chief branch of the French trade, and ſo long as France ſhall poſſeſs the moſt valuable ſtake in that quarter of the world, her neighbours there have the beſt pledge for her repugnance to the adoption of any meaſures which may lead to the eſtabliſhment of the negroes in a ſtate of independence: it is the pledge that ſecures the obſervance of every treaty between nations—it is the pledge that enſures the independent exiſtence of the moſt powerful ſtate in Europe.—If, on the other hand, France ſhall find the maintenance of her dominion in the Weſt Indies impoſſible; if ſhe muſt at laſt ſubmit to the negro yoke; we apprehend it is in vain to inquire what will be her conduct in her laſt moments; ſince the deſtruction of all the European colonies will then be inevitable; and it will be a matter of extreme indifference, whether the criſis is accelerated by a French or by a negro government.

IV. From the ſketch which we have already given of our author's opinions upon the connexion of the colonial intereſts of Great Britain, with the various events to which the expedition of General Leclerc may lead, our readers will eaſily perceive, that he conſiders the re-eſtabliſhment of ſlavery in the French iſlands, as the alternative moſt dangerous to the Britiſh ſettlements. According to this principle, in the fourth and laſt letter, he points out the line of policy which Great Britain ought to purſue in the Weſt Indies. The ſtricteſt neutrality, he obſerves, is recommended, on the one hand, by the danger of involving ourſelves in a new war; and, on the other, by the riſk of exaſperating the negroes, and haſtening that criſis in our own affairs, which nothing but the continuance of diſorder in the republican colonies can delay. The decided prejudices (as he calls them) of the planters, will render it neceſſary to preſerve this neutrality, by active meaſures of precaution on the part of Government. The employment of black troops, alſo, is indiſpenſably neceſſary, notwithſtanding the riſk attending ſuch an eſtabliſhment, and the ſtrong prepoſſeſſion of the coloniſts againſt it. Beſides the military ſervice of theſe corps, the conſequences of their formation, will, in other points of view, prove highly beneficial to our colonial ſtrength.

But the only effectual ſecurity of our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions, muſt be looked for in the *effectual* melioration of the condition of the negroes. As our author admits, that this muſt greatly diminiſh the profits of the planter, he obſerves, that it can ſcarcely be expected from the wiſdom or the virtue of the colonial legiſlature.—But there is no alternative; and he maintains, that the Britiſh Parliament ought, without heſitation, to interfere. The legiſlative ſupremacy of the mother country he proves to be undeniable: it ſtands eſtabliſhed in the declaratory act, which the ſtatute 1778 only repealed in ſo far as it related

lated to one particular branch of taxation. Neither can any objection, in the preſent caſe, be founded on the circumſtance, that the coloniſts are not repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament: for the negroes, who are equally ſubjects of the Crown, and whoſe intereſts are at leaſt as much concerned in the diſcuſſion, are not repreſented in the colonial aſſemblies. Beſides, Great Britain has defended and ſupported the colonies, not only againſt foreign enemies, but againſt the dangers ariſing from this very evil, of the ill-treatment of ſlaves, which of conſequence ſhe has now a full right to correct. Until the abolition was talked of at home, no meaſures were ever purſued by the coloniſts, for effecting any improvement in the condition of the negroes; and the regulations which were adopted in conſequence of thoſe diſcuſſions, have not (our author affirms) been enforced, at leaſt in ſeveral of the iſlands. In various important matters that involve the intereſts of the planters, they are not allowed any voice. Parliament, then, which in other caſes expoſes them to real hardſhips, ought, in this inſtance, to interfere for their true intereſts. —Our author is, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, a decided enemy to the ſlave-trade. He deprecates, more eſpecially, the extreme impolicy of extending that odious ſyſtem to the newly acquired iſland of Trinidada.

This fertile territory, is, by its ſituation, peculiarly expoſed to attack from Cayenne, the Dutch and Spaniſh colonies, and the French windward iſlands. It muſt be defended by a large and appropriate force, as our other iſlands would, from their leeward poſition, and the interpoſition of the French ſettlements, be unable to afford it any aſſiſtance. Hence, the obvious policy of the old Weſt India iſlands to avoid ſo great a diverſion of the national force in thoſe parts. It is no leſs the intereſt of Great Britain, at leaſt, to await the event of the preſent criſis, before ſhe allows new dangers to ariſe, and more wealth to be riſked, in that quarter. But, in another view, any extenſion of the ſlave ſyſtem is to be deprecated. The Houſe of Commons have never retracted the votes of 1792, when a majority reſolved, that this traffic ſhould be aboliſhed in 1796; and by far the greater part of the minority agreed, that it ſhould continue no longer than 1800. America, Denmark, and France, were diſpoſed to adopt what they conſidered as our firm intentions; and, if they have abandoned the plan, we may aſcribe the change to our own dereliction of this ſacred cauſe. Every principle, then, of policy, humanity, and good faith, binds the nation, at once to reject that vaſt and rapid extenſion of the traffic, which muſt attend the cultivation of Trinidada by ſlaves; and our author concludes his very intereſting work with the outlines of a plan, by which he propoſes to

ſettle the newly acquired territory.—The introduction of ſlaves being ſtrictly prohibited, he ſuggeſts that the vacant lands ſhould be granted to ſuch as chooſe to cultivate them by free negroes, imported either from our old colonies, or from Africa: That, as a farther encouragement, theſe negroes ſhould be bound to ſerve their importers for a term of years, at a fixed rate of wages: That a power of moderate chaſtiſement ſhould be allowed; but a line clearly drawn between this controul and the uſe of the cart-whip, as it characteriſes the preſent ſlave ſyſtem: And, finally, that magiſtrates of reſpectability, unconnected with the iſland, and reſponſible only in Britain, ſhould be appointed to enforce the regulations which this ſyſtem requires.—Of the ſucceſs of this plan, our author, after the manner of projectors, forms the moſt ſanguine expectations. The new iſland is to ſerve as a wide market for Britiſh manufactures—a nurſery and a ſtation for troops, who may always be ſent to the leeward colonies, when they happen to be attacked—a counterpoiſe to the power of France and her allies—and, laſtly, a 'farm of experiment,' where the poſſibility of emancipating the negroes, by ſlow and prudent means, may be ſafely and conveniently tried.

Having now laid before our readers the ſubſtance of all our author's doctrines, together with the reaſonings by which he ſupports them, we proceed to offer the remaining part of the remarks that have been ſuggeſted to us, by the peruſal of his work: And the length to which our criticiſms have already extended, muſt plead our apology, if we diſpatch the conſideration of what remains, with leſs fulneſs, than the high importance of the ſubject may appear to demand.

As the practical concluſions, which are contained in the fourth letter, are founded upon the principles eſtabliſhed in the preceding parts of the work, it may be expected, that, differing as we do moſt widely from our author in thoſe poſitions, we ſhould likewiſe recommend a very different line of policy towards the French government in the Weſt Indies, from that of which he has avowed himſelf the champion.

The greateſt of all dangers to the Weſt Indian powers lies, we apprehend, in the ſucceſs of the negroes: and the re-eſtabliſhment of the old ſyſtem in the French iſlands, can alone inſure the permanent ſuperiority of the Europeans, either there or in the other iſlands. Nothing, but the ſubdiviſion of the negroes, under the power of maſters armed with abſolute power, can prevent their acquiring that aſcendancy, to which ſuperiority in numbers and ſtrength will invariably lead. On the other hand, we have endeavoured to ſhow, that the complete ſucceſs of the French policy, while it removes, for the preſent, all the dangers of our ſituation, can never arm the republican government with power

power to injure the neighbouring islands.—Let us, then, at once adopt that system, which our common interests clearly point out: Let us not shrink back from the name of a French alliance—at least in the West Indies: Let us remember that we are, in those parts, exposed to a common enemy, whose yoke would be incomparably more severe than the dominion of Jacobinism itself—whose strength is more to be dreaded than the boasted Army of England, or the Grand Monarque in the plenitude of his power. And, as the aggrandizement of Russia would drive us, however unwilling, into an alliance with France in Europe; so let us make a common cause with her, where she cannot endanger our security—where we are threatened with a foe more terrible than Tartars or Cossacks. It is to be hoped, that the French troops may themselves succeed in the enterprize committed to their charge; because, in that case, their conquest will be more easily retained. But, if they shall stand in need of our assistance, let us recollect, that, in subsidizing the colonial treasury of France, we are preserving that trade, which supplies our fleets with seamen, and pours millions into our Exchequer: that the troops, which we send to assist the government of St Domingo, are fighting the battles of our own colonies, and defending, from all the horrors of negro warfare, one of the fairest portions of the habitable globe.

At the same time we are ready to admit, that the security which the subjugation of the French negroes will procure for the West India colonies can only be temporary. The danger may be delayed; but, so long as the slave trade remains—so long as new and untamed spirits are constantly brought into the islands—so long as the disproportion of the two races is increasing, and the more numerous body is treated with barbarous cruelty by the small community of white inhabitants—the seeds of destruction will remain—and the catastrophe, so nearly accomplished in the French islands, will, in a few years, extend to the whole Western Archipelago. We agree, therefore, with the author of the '*Crisis*,' in believing that the total abolition of the slave trade, the root of all the evils, is now imperiously required: And as we cannot hope to see this necessary measure adopted by the colonial legislatures, any more than we could expect to see a parish vestry amend the poor laws, or a board of general officers and commissaries put an end to a profitable war—we are decidedly of opinion, that the British Legislature is alone competent to the final discussion of the question, and that it becomes the puny governments of the islands to tremble and obey.

On the other hand, we differ with our author, in thinking that the regulation of the treatment of slaves ought to be undertaken by the mother country. The general question of abolition may easily be examined at a distance; and almost all the information that

that is neceſſary for the full diſcuſſion of it, has already been procured by Parliament. But the details of the ſlave laws require more minute and accurate acquaintance with a variety of particulars, which can only be fully known to thoſe who reſide upon the ſpot. To reviſe the domeſtic codes of the colonies, would be a taſk which no Parliament could undertake. Let it be left, then, to the care of thoſe who are themſelves moſt immediately intereſted in the good order and government of the iſlands, and whoſe knowledge of local circumſtances—of thoſe things which cannot be written down in reports, or told by witneſſes—is more full and practical.

But the colonial legiſlatures are as much intereſted in preventing the regulation of the ſlave work, as in preventing the abolition of the trade. We anſwer—Make it their intereſt to regulate the treatment of the negroes, as it is at preſent their intereſt to import them: aboliſh the trade, and leave the regulation to themſelves. Parliament can do the one; *they* only can enter into the other. The queſtion of abolition is ſimple; it is anſwered by a yea, or a nay; it requires no exerciſe of invention. The queſtion of regulation is complex; it is ſtated by a '*quomodo*;' it leads to the diſcovery of means, and the compariſon of meaſures propoſed. We pretend not to diſpute the ſupremacy of Parliament—we only deny its omniſcience. Without ſtanding up for the privileges of the colonies, we merely ſuggeſt their more intimate acquaintance with the details of the queſtion; and we aſſert, that the intereſt, both of the mother country and the iſlands, requires a ſubdiviſion of the labour of legiſlation—a delegation of certain duties and inquiries to thoſe more nearly connected with the reſult, and ſituated more within reach of the materials. If the importation of negro ſlaves is finally prevented, the ſtock on hand will be, in general, better taken care of. The preſervation of negro life, and the increaſe of numbers by breeding, is ſynonymous with humane treatment. The only taſk will be, to regulate the relative rights of the two claſſes—to prepare the civilization of the ſubordinate race, and to check thoſe cruelties which may ſtill appear in a few inſtances of inhumanity and impolicy. The intereſt which the coloniſts muſt feel in the preſervation and increaſe of their ſlaves, will render the delegation of theſe matters to the inſular aſſemblies ſafe and efficacious.

Notwithſtanding his antipathy to the colonial legiſlatures, the author of the Criſis has pointed out no effectual means of remedying the evils complained of. He aſſerts, that ſo long as the coloniſts make the laws, they will fail to execute them. He admits, at the ſame time, that laws have been made, which, if carried into effect, would have remedied, in a great degree, the abuſes of the ſyſtem: And he aſcribes the origin of theſe laws to the diſcuſſion of the ſlave trade in Europe.—Upon this we beg leave to obſerve,

ſerve, in the *firſt* place, that the ameliorated treatment, and the laws relating to ſlaves, may be, in a great degree, attributed to the ſlave-carrying bill of 1788—which had the effect of raiſing the prices of negroes *, and conſequently of drawing the attention of maſters more to the breeding ſyſtem: and that, if ſtatutes are actually made in communities where all the whites are not utterly corrupted—where ſome judges and men in office are diſpoſed to obſerve the laws—where the whole body of planters, and their dependants, are not combined as one man, without envy, or jealouſy, or the ſmalleſt oppoſition of intereſts; it is not very eaſy to imagine, how ſuch a farce can have been carried on; how all the members of the ſociety can have concurred to cheat the mother country, by making a variety of laws, without any ſerious intention of inforcing them; more eſpecially, as their conduct was carefully watched by a claſs of men eager to expoſe them, and minutely informed with reſpect to colonial occurrences.—But, in the *ſecond* place, it is incumbent on our author to ſhew, how a regulating act, by coming from the Eaſtern ſide of the Atlantic, and having the title of a Britiſh ſtatute prefixed to it, would be better obſerved than a colonial law. The ſame men who combined to make, and diſobey and neglect the latter, would not very implicitly execute and ſubmit to the regulation which a body 3000 miles off had made for them.—Our author propoſes no plan for remedying this defect. We apprehend, it is eſſential to his theory, and can only be obviated by the meaſure which we have ventured to recommend.

In thoſe parts of our author's reaſonings which we have hitherto examined, his practical concluſions are rather of a negative kind. We now come to the more definite and ſubſtantial part of his plan—the ſyſtem of colonization which he recommends for Trinidada. Here it is once more our misfortune to differ from him; and we ſhall, with all poſſible conciſeneſs, ſpecify our reaſons of diſſent. The voyage acroſs the Atlantic will neither change the colour of the Æthiopian, nor civilize him; nor alter his habits of indolence, nor inſpire him with a love of voluntary labour. Trinidada will therefore be rapidly peopled with two claſſes of men—a handful of Europeans—and a multitude of Africans, ſeparated from the former by their complexion, their manners, their way of life; connected with them by no common ties, but ſubject to their dominion; and labouring that they may reap—or idle and diſſolute, and preferring plunder, which is natural to them, before work, which they abhor. A moderate power of chaſtiſement, and a right of pre-emption in the labour of their imported negroes, is

* This increaſe of price amounted to no leſs than 5l. Sterling per head, on an average.—Report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789, Part VI.

is propoſed as an encouragement to the planters. This will either lead to the dominion of the cart-whip, or induce the inſurrection of the Africans. The freedom will either be nominal, or it will be incompatible with the ſecurity of the few white proprietors, ſurrounded by the myriads whom they have torn from their native land, and deprived of all their poſſeſſions and enjoyments.

But a body of thoſe men are to be raiſed by Government, and will be firmly attached to their liberators.—Our author forgets, that according to his own account of Touſſaint's government, military ſervice is held out as a puniſhment to the free negroes; and he does not conſider, that the corps which he deſcribes will view the government, not with gratitude for having given them liberty, but with reſentment for having exiled them from their country. The negro corps, in all the old ſettlements, have indeed generally been faithful to their employers, even in diſputes with their own countrymen. But free negroes, ſurrounded by their brethren in chains, are more likely to take the part of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed them with favour, than negroes forming part of a great population, altogether alike in liberty, as well as oppreſſion. It is eaſy to foreſee, that the plan of our author, if carried into execution, will be attended with more danger than the ſlave ſyſtem itſelf; that it will people Trinidada with two diſtinct races, which can never coaleſce, the whites and negroes—two ſeparate orders of men, whoſe intereſts are oppoſite, the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed; that the conſequence will be a ſpeedy ſubjugation of the leaſt numerous part of the community, and a renewal, in the Parian Gulf, of thoſe bloody ſcenes which were enacted a few years ago in St Domingo.

We ſhall take leave of this important ſubject, by bringing into one view the ſeveral propoſitions which we have taken the liberty of maintaining, in oppoſition to the doctrines laid down by our author.

In the *firſt* place, it appears, that the reſtoration of negro ſlavery, difficult as it muſt prove, is by no means a hopeleſs attempt, or a ſcheme which has never before ſucceeded, in caſes of formidable inſurrection.

Secondly, The intereſts of France, in the preſent criſis, coincide preciſely with thoſe of the other European nations, who poſſeſs ſettlements in the Weſt Indies; and moſt particularly with thoſe of Great Britain, whoſe ſtake in that quarter is the deepeſt.

Thirdly, The remedy for the evils of our ſituation, in the ſugar colonies, is only to be found in the effectual prohibition of the ſlave trade by the Britiſh Parliament, and the conſequent regulation of the ſlave ſyſtem by the colonial legiſlatures.

Laſtly, We conſider our author's ſcheme of cultivation, by free negroes, to be impracticable; and, for this, we are eaſily conſoled, by a conviction, that, if carried into effect, it would be infinitely

finitely more dangerous, and ſcarcely leſs cruel, than the old ſyſtem itſelf, with all its perils and horrors. At the ſame time, we muſt, unequivocally, expreſs our deteſtation of that faithleſs policy which would extend the ſlave trade to the new iſland. We heartily agree with our author in deprecating a meaſure, at once ſo thoughtleſs, ſo inconſiſtent, ſo mean. Although his Majeſty's preſent miniſters crept into power, by giving up the great queſtion of Catholic emancipation (to which ſome of them were pledged), we truſt they will not think of retaining their places by any acceſſion of influence that may be acquired through ſuch complicated folly and injuſtice, as the ſhameleſs meaſure to which we allude.

We rejoiced to ſee, in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, a diſpoſition to renew, upon this occaſion, the momentous queſtion of the ſlave trade. We ſincerely hope once more to behold the ſame ſplendid talents marſhalled in the cauſe of humanity and ſound policy, which formerly almoſt rendered it triumphant; and we expect to find that great ſtateſman, who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon all the former diſcuſſions of the queſtion, in oppoſition to his own perſonal intereſt, now dedicate a part of his leiſure to a conteſt, in every way ſo worthy of his powers. If, to this object, he ſhall devote ſo much of his time as the '*Catholic emancipation*' does not occupy, his country will have leſs reaſon to regret his retirement from office: and if his diſintereſted efforts in theſe two great cauſes ſhall be crowned with ſucceſs, we may almoſt be conſoled for his failure in ſubduing the enemies of monarchical government, and maintaining the ancient balance of Europe.—'*I decus! I noſtrum! melioribus utere fatis.*'

ART. XXVIII. *A Treatiſe on the Means of Purifying Infected Air, of Preventing Contagion, and Arreſting its Progreſs.* By L. B. Guyton, Morveau. Tranſlated from the French by R. Hall, M. D. London. Pp. 248. Octavo. T. Hurſt, Paternoſter-row. 1802.

IN a preliminary diſcourſe prefixed to this treatiſe, the learned author mentions ſome of the circumſtances which at different times had directed his attention to the means of deſtroying contagion. The zeal and perſevering aſſiduity with which he has proſecuted his inquiries into this intereſting ſubject, are highly meritorious; and it muſt be matter of no ſmall ſurpriſe to his readers, to learn, that his benevolent exertions have hitherto excited little public attention in France. The following paragraphs, while they evince the patriotiſm of the author, explain ſufficiently the object of the preſent publication.

'Upwards of twenty-five years have elapſed ſince I publiſhed a proceſs for purifying air impregnated with putrid and contagious exhalations. Two well authenticated and deciſive experiments atteſted its efficacy.

efficacy. It was adjudged by the Academy of Sciences, to be the moſt effectual of any that could be employed. I have not neglected, in caſes evidently contagious, which have, unfortunately, been but too frequent, to recommend it to the attention of Government. In a word, foreigners have publiſhed accounts of the beneficial effects which have reſulted from its employment; yet, in France, it ſtill remains almoſt unknown to the majority of thoſe who ought to practiſe it for their own ſecurity. The periodical journals daily inform us of the mortality of our hoſpitals, which carries off both the patients and their medical attendants; nevertheleſs, among the means employed to check the progreſs of this ſcourge, fumigation by the mineral acids is not ſo much as named: And notwithſtanding the *inſtruction* publiſhed by the Board of Health, we have not yet had a ſingle report of the meaſures taken to carry it into execution, nor of the effects from them.

'If there exiſt any hope of removing that careleſs indifference which ſtill abandons, in the ordinary routine of practice, an object ſo important as the preſervation of human life, it is doubtleſs to be found in offering a more profound diſcuſſion of the ſubject to thoſe who are capable of forming a deciſion from principles; and in fixing, by an aggregate of the moſt reſpectable teſtimonies, the opinion of thoſe who are to be perſuaded only by example, and who cannot proceed but in the trammels of imitation.—Such is the propoſed object of this undertaking.'

The author divides his treatiſe into four parts. The firſt contains *a conciſe narrative of the firſt trials of fumigation with muriatic acid.* From this narrative it appears, that in the Winter of the year 1773, the air in one of the principal churches in Dijon was ſo much contaminated by the putrid effluvia emitted from dead bodies lodged during an intenſe froſt in its ſepulchral vaults, that it became neceſſary to ſhut up the church. Various unſucceſsful attempts were made to purify the air, by the detonation of nitre, by fumigations with vinegar, and by burning in it perfumes and other odoriferous ſubſtances. It was at this period that Morveau was conſulted, and firſt carried into execution his proceſs for purifying air impregnated with putrid effluvia, by the vapours of the muriatic acid. The doors and windows of the church being carefully ſhut up, the vapours of this acid were diſengaged from common ſalt, by pouring on it a quantity of ſulphuric acid. The experiment ſucceeded completely; for, the day after the fumigation, not the ſlighteſt veſtige of any offenſive odour could be perceived.

Towards the end of the ſame year, an infectious fever had appeared in the priſons of Dijon, and had proved fatal to upwards of thirty perſons, when Morveau was again requeſted to ſuperintend the execution of a ſimilar proceſs, which was accordingly performed with the greateſt ſucceſs. Morveau, in theſe

theſe fumigations, was led to employ the muriatic acid, from his knowledge of the tendency which it has to unite with, and to neutralize ammoniac, a ſubſtance generated during the putrefaction of animal matters, and which he regarded as the vehicle of contagion.

Part Second, which contains *an account of the experiments made by foreigners, reſpecting the purification of air by fumigation with the mineral acids*, conſiſts chiefly of extracts from the very intereſting account given by Mr Menzies, of the experiments with the fumes of the nitrous acid, which he made on board of the Union hoſpital-ſhip at Sheerneſs, in 1795, under the particular direction of Dr Carmichael Smyth. It is not our province, nor are we called upon, by any thing in the preſent narrative, to decide upon the preciſe degree of merit that reſpectively belongs to each of theſe gentlemen, for the efforts which, at very different periods of time, they have made to diſcover an eaſy and expeditious mode of deſtroying contagion. It has been inſinuated, that the propoſal for acid fumigations originated, excluſively, with Morveau; and, that all the ſubſequent improvements in their uſe, are mere modifications of the proceſs which he was the firſt to employ. We confeſs, however, that we are inclined to entertain a different opinion. The firſt hint for the employment of the muriatic acid, to purify vitiated air, ſeems to have been given by Dr James Johnſtone of Worceſter, ſo early as the year 1758; but it does not appear that any uſe was ever made of this acid, in the way of fumigation, before the experiments performed by Morveau in the church and priſons of Dijon. It is obvious, from the account which Dr Smyth has given of the jail-diſtemper which prevailed at Wincheſter in 1780, that it was his intention to have employed the vapours of the nitric acid, for purifying the air of the hoſpital wards; but the miſtake he committed, in ſuppoſing that theſe vapours were to be diſengaged by the deflagration of nitre, proves inconteſtibly, that the nitrous acid had no ſhare in the very beneficial effects which his zeal and exertions had, by other means, produced. Had Dr Smyth been acquainted with the account given by Morveau, of his proceſs in the Journal de Phyſique, it would have been impoſſible for him to have committed that miſtake; ſince he muſt have known, that the nitrous acid is decompoſed during the deflagration of nitre; and that, in purifying the air of the hoſpital, the proceſs, which he employed, could produce no other than a mechanical effect. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, from obſerving, that Dr Smyth does not appear to have known * that Morveau had expreſsly mentioned the nitrous acid, in his account, as a ſubſtance, which, had

* See his Deſcription of Jail Diſtemper, p. 203.

had it been uſed, muſt have produced effects more powerful than thoſe of the vinegar employed.

Part Third is entitled, *Reflections on the effects of acid fumigations, and the opinions delivered on that ſubject.* In this treatiſe, Morveau uniformly conſiders contagious effluvia as the reſult of the putrefaction of animal ſubſtances, and the fœtid ſmell as a teſt of their preſence. This is a principle which pervades the whole of his work, and, in our opinion, vitiates the greater part of the experiments which he has made, and the reaſoning which he has employed. It is a principle, certainly, which ought not to have been aſſumed, unleſs after a very full induction of facts. The experiments which our author has made, to diſcover the principles communicated to the air, and the changes which that fluid itſelf undergoes by animal ſubſtances in a ſtate of putrefaction, are ſufficiently curious, and ſeem highly worthy of the attention of the chemiſt; but we have yet to learn what relation they have to the ſubject our author was engaged in proſecuting, and what light they can poſſibly throw on the nature of contagion. Till the identity of *putrid* and *contagious* exhalations is fully eſtabliſhed, we cannot reaſonably infer, that acid fumigation will deſtroy contagion, merely from their deſtroying fœtid exhalations. But ſo far is febrile miaſm from having a putrid ſmell, that it is not known to have any ſenſible ſmell whatever; and the ſame, we believe, may be affirmed of the contagious matter of the plague, of ſmall-pox, of meaſles, and perhaps of every other contagious diſorder. It is true, we are ignorant of the nature of theſe poiſons; but experience and analogy appear to concur in proving, that, ſo far from ariſing from putrefaction, their infectious qualities are deſtroyed by the affinities which prevail in that proceſs. The examples which our author adduces, of malignant fever ariſing, in various parts of the world, from the putrefaction of animal and vegetable ſubſtances, are of too vague a nature to form the foundation of any rational opinion. Some of them, indeed, as, that of the plague occurring at Venice, from the exhalations of putrid fiſh; and a malignant fever, at Delft, in Holland, from the ſtench of putrid cabbage; are too ridiculous to deſerve a ſerious conſideration. It was not without ſome degree of ſurpriſe that we found them quoted as illuſtrations of his doctrine, by a man of our author's information and diſcernment.

Morveau refutes, by very deciſive experiments, the error into which Dr Smyth, relying on the information of Mr Keir, had fallen, of ſuppoſing that the air of an apartment was rendered purer, or had oxygen gas added to it during the diſengagement of the nitrous vapours; and proves, by experiments equally well contrived

contrived and decisive, the superior expansibility of the vapours of the muriatic to those of the nitric acid.

In the course of this investigation, he is gradually led to abandon, in some measure, the use of the common muriatic acid, and to trust, for the destruction of contagion, to the more powerful agency of the oxygenated muriatic acid gas. The use of this acid, in the way of fumigation, had been suggested many years ago in France; but it was first introduced into practice, in the large wards of an hospital, by Mr Cruickshanks of Woolwich. Morveau has discovered a method of procuring this acid gas, which saves the operator the trouble of distillation. It consists in adding a mixture of nitric and muriatic acid, or, as it is usually termed, nitro-muriatic acid, to the black oxyd of manganese.

Towards the conclusion of this part of his treatise, Morveau enters into a long dissertation on the medicinal effects of oxygen, and of the preservative and contagious powers of the substances which contain this principle, either in a large proportion, or in a state of loose combination. The operation of medicines upon the human body, has hitherto been considered as a subject involved in great, if not impenetrable obscurity; but this obscurity vanishes before the prophetic eye of our author; and difficulties, which had formerly perplexed the most intelligent physicians, admit of an easy solution, from the well-known and powerful affinities of oxygen.

'Of all the principles (p. 145.) hitherto known, oxygen is the most simple, the most active, and that which changes, most completely, the sensible characters and intrinsic properties, of all bodies. And shall it then be inefficient in disorders! What, then, is it, which constitutes the curative virtue, that physical action of medicines, which physicians have, with reason, called occult, since they could only judge of it from experiment and observation, unless it is a change of combinations produced by affinities?

'This occult action, said the celebrated Venel †, forty years ago, *will be found to be chemical, if it shall ever be discovered.* What he predicted, has been already fulfilled in part, with regard to oxygen. It is not a theory; it is the evidence of facts, which has demonstrated, that oxygenated substances are medicinal, in proportion to the quantity of oxygen which they contain, and the facility with which they give it out to animal matters; so that, in the very extensive scale of medicinal agents, from the slightest alterative to the most powerful corrosive, this circumstance alone denotes all the degrees, and explains all the differences.

† Encycloped. article *Medicine.*

After having proved, by a ſufficiently large enumeration of facts, that oxygen coagulates the ſerum of the blood, cures lues, kills the itch, improves the appearance of cancerous ulcers, and ſuſpends diarrhœa during the laſt ſtage of conſumption; our author concludes his account of its virtues, with the following paragraphs, which evince how well qualified he is to be the herald of pneumatic medicine.

'I conceive (p. 190.) that I have collected a ſufficient number of facts and teſtimonies, to eſtabliſh, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that oxygen, and the ſubſtances capable of being uſed as vehicles for this principle, in a ſtate favourable to new combinations, really excites the action of life, augments the heat, re-invigorates the powers, awakens the ſenſibility of the organs, and thus imparts to all the movements, that regularity which preſerves order in the different functions of the animal œconomy.'

And again, p. 195.

'Thus it appears, that oxygen, and particularly the gazeous oxygenants, evidently produce two effects, of the ſame tendency; exerciſing, upon the contagious miaſmata, an affinity, by which they are decompoſed, and aiding nature in reſiſting that aſſimulative power which renders them dangerous. When employed in ſufficient quantity, and in a ſtate of expanſion capable of filling a large ſpace, they correct infected air, and deſtroy the principle of contagion. This is the object of the fumigations with the oxygenated muriatic acid. Should ſome noxious particles eſcape its chemical action; ſhould the means neceſſary to perform this proceſs be wanting; or, in ſhort, ſhould the danger not be ſo alarming, as to enjoin theſe extraordinary precautions, it may, in ſuch caſes, be uſed as a preſervative.'

After this long, but curious digreſſion, our author again reſumes his ſubject, by ſtating the following important queſtion—*Are the ſame means applicable in the different ſpecies of contagion?* Previous to the complete ſolution of this queſtion, it was neceſſary to aſcertain what it is that conſtitutes the principle of contagion. We doubt not but our readers will be greatly inſtructed by the information contained in the following paragraph.

'It is no longer (p. 208.) an unknown ſubſtance, a new element, which impreſſes its character upon contagious poiſons; it is nothing elſe than an increaſed activity of one of the ſimple principles, which ſo much abound in all animal ſubſtances. It is therefore unneceſſary to inquire any farther into the origin of this increaſed activity: it may be naturally explained by the familiar rule, that the more free the bodies are which have an affinity for each other, the more powerful is the affinity; and, by an example no leſs aſtoniſhing, the meaſure of this power is to be found in the union of the two ſimultaneous conditions of con-

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denſation and weak combination. It is therefore extremely probable, that it is azot condenſed, but at the ſame time ſlightly attached, which forms the principal character of all contagious poiſons; that they become ſpecific, from the particular nature, and different proportions of the ſubſtances which ſerve as their vehicle; but that their grand energy is, in every inſtance, the neceſſary reſult of the action of this principle, in a ſtate hitherto but little known:—in a word, that it depends upon a real *ſuperazotation.*'

Thoſe who have been able to follow the author through this ſomewhat intricate explanation, will doubtleſs be diſpoſed to agree with him in the opinion, that 'ſhould new inquiries tend to give this ſolution that complete proof which we have reaſon to expect from every thing that we already know of the reſults of the animal analyſis, the products of putrefaction, the formation of ammoniac and putrefaction, nothing farther will be wanting to eſtabliſh a ſolid theory reſpecting the ſucceſsful action of oxygenants in every caſe of contagion.' By reaſoning upon theſe principles, our author diſcovers, that the means by which contagion is to be deſtroyed, are as ſimple and obvious, as the theory by which he has accounted for its production.

'If, then, (ſpeaking of contagion, p. 206.) it is a compound ſubſtance, the elements of which are collected by the animal organization, it muſt be ſubject to the common law of all animal products. It is impoſſible that it ſhould reſiſt combuſtion: and ſuch, we have ſeen, was the reſult of the action of oxygen and the muriatic acid gas, which ſeems to direct the whole maſs of the oxygen it contains upon all the bodies ſubject to its affinities.'

P. 221. 'Thus, the application of principles the moſt evident; the reſults of experiments the moſt deciſive; the conſequences of obſervations drawn from the moſt authentic ſources; all concur to eſtabliſh this general concluſion. If the air, which ſupports animal heat and life, ſometimes becomes the ſource of the moſt cruel maladies, from the miaſmata with which it is charged; if, at a certain ſtage of putrefaction of the animal fluids, there is generated contagious virus—the germ of peſtilence: our progreſs in the ſtudy of nature has placed preſervatives at our diſpoſal—aeriform fluids, which reſtore to the air its ſalubrity—agents ſufficiently powerful to deprive theſe deſtructive germs of all power of developement. Such are the properties of oxygen, of ſuper-oxygenants, of acid fumigations, and, above all, of oxygenated muriatic acid gas.'

Part Fourth contains *an enumeration of the preſervative and anti-contagious agents, and remarks on the manner in which they ſhould be employed.* We ſhall give the bare reſults, without any commentary. Our readers, however, will recollect, that the anti-contagious powers of theſe agents have been eſtimated from their effects in deſtroying putrid or fœtid exhalations.

Water, cold or warm, carries off, by ablution, contagious matters; it weakens, but does not decompoſe them.

Lime decompoſes animal ſubſtances before putrefaction, and abſorbs carbonic acid; but produces little change on putrid odours.

The *combuſtion of reſinous*, and other *odoriferous ſubſtances*, only marks, for a moment, the contagious odours which float in the atmoſphere.

Fires may occaſion currents in the air, but can only decompoſe the contagious matters which come within the ſphere of their activity.

Gunpowder, like common fire, produces only a mechanical effect.

Vinegar does very well for purifying ſubſtances which admit of being immerſed in it; but it is neither ſufficiently volatile nor powerful, to be employed, with advantage, in large apartments.

The *mineral acids* check both vegetable and animal fermentation, and are capable of deſtroying contagious virus. The *ſulphuric acid* is the leaſt proper, on account of its fixity. The vapours of the *nitric acid* are not eaſily diffuſed through any large ſpace, and are eaſily condenſible. The *muriatic acid*, from its prodigious expanſibility, is the moſt advantageous; but it is the *oxygenated muriatic acid gas* which is to be regarded as the moſt certain preſervative from contagion. Morveau mentions, that the oxygenated muriat of tin had been propoſed by Vicq d'Azyr, in 1780, as a preſervative from the danger attending on exhumations. But, for a more particular deſcription of the preſervative and anti-contagious proceſſes, we muſt refer to the treatiſe itſelf. Morveau, we may add, ſuggeſts ſeveral improvements and cautions in the uſe of the proceſs followed by Mr Cruickſhanks.

In taking our leave of this treatiſe, we feel that we may be ſubjected to ſome cenſure, for the freedom of the preceding remarks. The very copious extracts which we have given, will ſecure us, we truſt, from the imputation of having wilfully miſrepreſented the facts, opinions, and reaſonings, which it contains. Notwithſtanding the unremitting attention Morveau appears to have given to this inquiry, and the great variety of materials which he has accumulated in his work, a regard for truth obliges us to declare, that we have found in it a much leſs *profound diſcuſſion of the ſubject*, than, from the well-known talents and information of the author, we were prepared to expect. We ſpeak of the execution, not of the object, of this work. It is impoſſible not to applaud the motives which have induced the author to give it to the public. We truſt that the conduct of the Britiſh Parliament, by rewarding, in this country, exertions ſimilar to

thoſe

thoſe of Morveau in France, will operate as an example to the rulers of that country, and induce them to confer ſome mark of national approbation on that learned individual, who has an undoubted claim to the merit of having been the firſt to employ acid fumigations in deſtroying putrid and contagious exhalations.

The benefits of the *practice*, we believe, are aſcertained beyond all poſſibility of queſtion; and the gratitude that is due for its introduction, ſhould not be diminiſhed, by any conſideration of the errors that may be involved in the ſtatement of the *theory*.

ART. XXIX. *A Letter to Dr Percival on the Prevention of Infectious Fevers:* and an Addreſs to the College of Phyſicians at Philadelphia, on the Prevention of the American Peſtilence. By John Haygarth, M. D. Cadell & Davies. London. 1801. 8vo. pp. 188.

THE author of this letter has been long favourably known to the public, by his valuable writings on ſmall-pox; and though the diſcoveries of Dr Jenner, with regard to the vaccine inoculation, may have, in ſome degree, ſuperſeded his former labours, we are happy to perceive he ſtill continues, with undiminiſhed ardour, to carry on the warfare he had commenced; and to meditate, in the preſent work, a new, and we hope, not unſucceſsful blow, at that many-headed monſter *contagion*. From this letter it appears, that, while Morveau was engaged in an attempt to ſubdue the malignity of all peſtilential exhalations, by the ſhort and efficacious methods which chemiſtry affords, this intelligent phyſician was no leſs uſefully employed, in inveſtigating the nature of febrile contagion, in ſo far as regards the laws by which it is communicated, and the means by which it may be prevented. Such of our readers as are already acquainted with the outlines of Dr Haygarth's Inquiry with regard to the ſmall-pox, and of his Plan to exterminate that diſorder, will enter readily into the train of inveſtigation, which he has purſued in the preſent publication.

This letter is divided into two parts. In the firſt, the author lays down, and endeavours to illuſtrate, certain preliminary principles, from which, in the ſecond part, he deduces a number of practical concluſions.

The facts, or caſes, upon which the whole of the reaſoning in this letter is founded, are exhibited in the form of tables. In theſe tables, the number of families infected, the patient's name, the date when attacked by fever, the date when fever began after being expoſed to infection, the number in the family infected, and the number which remained uninfected, are marked in ſeparate columns. This ſynoptical mode of recording and exhibiting

caſes in an inquiry of this ſort, is attended with many advantages: While it abridges the labour of the obſerver, it brings within a narrower and more diſtinct field of view the numerous facts, which, in narration, muſt have extended over many pages. The facts, which theſe tables contain, appear to have been obſerved with great accuracy; but we are doubtful, whether they are ſufficiently numerous, to warrant concluſions ſo very general, as thoſe which our author has deduced from them.

In this inquiry, Dr Haygarth, very properly, in our opinion, takes it for granted, that fever is an infectious diſeaſe. In the preſent ſtate of medical knowledge, indeed, it would not, we conceive, be at all more abſurd to deny the exiſtence of fever altogether, than to maintain that it is not propagated by contagion.

The proportion of perſons ſuſceptible of febrile infection, as calculated from the *data* contained in the tables, is much greater than, we believe, had been commonly ſuſpected. From the facts there recorded, it would ſeem that not more than one perſon in twenty-three eſcape, of thoſe who have been ſufficiently expoſed to the action of the contagion.

'The ſame mode of reaſoning (p. 33.) as was ſucceſsfully employed in the inquiry how to prevent the ſmall-pox, may be equally applicable to the preſent queſtion. It was there calculated upon the *datum*, that only one perſon in twenty is naturally exempted from the diſtemper: that if two together have eſcaped, the probability that they were never both expoſed to an infectious quantity of the poiſon, is above 400 to 1; if three in a family have eſcaped, above 8000 to 1.'—'If all the caſes (p. 35.) in ſucceſſion, where perſons have breathed the air of the chamber of a patient ill of a contagious fever, and yet have eſcaped infection, were eſtimated in this mode of calculation, the chances would be, not only of thouſands, but of millions, indeed many *millions* to one, that ſuch perſons had not been expoſed to an infectious doſe of the poiſon.'

In propoſing to aſcertain the quantity of febrile poiſon neceſſary to produce infection, Dr Haygarth remarks, p. 36—

'In this whole inveſtigation, you will, I am certain, keep in mind one medical truth—it cannot be called a theory, a term often applied to doubtful diſquiſitions—the larger the doſe of a poiſon or drug, the greater, in general, is the effect which it produces,' &c.

The illuſtration is ingenious, we confeſs; but we are ignorant how far we may ſafely truſt to it, in explaining the operation of contagious poiſons. If the principle contended for by Dr Haygarth were admitted, would it not follow, that the violence of an infectious diſeaſe muſt always be in proportion to the quantity of the poiſon introduced into the ſyſtem? Would not, for inſtance,

inſtance, the malignity of the caſual ſmall-pox always correſpond with the quantity of the poiſon applied; and, would not the number of puſtules, in the inoculated ſmall-pox, bear always a definite proportion to the number and ſize of the punctures which had been made, and the quantity of inoculating matter introduced? In reaſoning from analogy, we are frequently expoſed to many unknown ſources of fallacy; and we are never more in danger of being deceived, than when we attempt to explain one obſcure ſubject by another.

The ſphere of infection appears to extend only to a very ſmall diſtance from the body of a patient affected with fever.

[a] In 1777, I began (p. 8.) to aſcertain, by clinical obſervations, according to what law the variolous infection, and, in 1780 and 1781, according to what law the febrile infection, is propagated. I found, that the pernicious effects of the variolous miaſm were limited to a very narrow ſphere. In the open air, and in moderate caſes, I diſcovered that the infectious diſtance does not exceed half a yard. Hence, it is probable, that, even when the diſtemper is malignant, the infectious influence extends but to a few yards from the poiſon. I ſoon alſo diſcovered, that the contagion of fevers was confined to a much narrower ſphere. Upon theſe principles, which it is the main purpoſe of this letter to explain and eſtabliſh, I diſcerned the ſafety and wiſdom of admitting fever patients into ſeparate wards of the Cheſter Infirmary itſelf, inſtead of an adjoining building, as I had propoſed in 1774.'

This is a principle which we ſhould be glad to ſee fully eſtabliſhed, as it would ſave ourſelves and others from many anxieties which perhaps are groundleſs, and dangers which exiſt only in imagination. We muſt regret, therefore, that the author has not given a more ample detail of the facts upon which an opinion of ſo much practical importance is founded; as it does not ſeem to follow from the facts ſtated in the tables, nor indeed to be directly deducible from any thing contained in the other parts of the letter.

The infection communicated to ſeveral perſons at the Old Bailey in May 1750, by priſoners who had not the fever themſelves, and who were placed, during the whole time they were in court, at a conſiderable diſtance from thoſe who received the infection, ſeems to have occurred to Dr Haygarth, as an objection to the opinion, that febrile contagion operates only within a very narrow ſphere: But he endeavours to evade the force of this objection, by ſuppoſing, that the febrile poiſon is infectious at a greater diſtance than uſual, in air which has been vitiated by the reſpiration of a number of perſons crowded together. The production of fever, in theſe caſes, therefore, he regards as an exception to the law uſually followed by nature in the propagation

of contagion. We are not prepared to controvert the hypothesis by which Dr Haygarth solves the difficulty; but, upon a subject so obscure in its own nature, as the propagation of contagion, we should feel more indebted to the Doctor for an accumulation of new facts, than for any hypothetical explanations, however ingenious.

We confess we were a little surprised to find Dr Haygarth denying (at p. 54.), in so positive and unqualified a manner, that the clothes of visitors, &c. exposed to febrile miasms, can never acquire a pestilential quality, so as to communicate infection. He refers, in proof of this opinion, to his Inquiry and Sketch. We have perused the passages to which he refers, but without obtaining any additional information on the subject of febrile contagion. We happen indeed to have observed, very lately, two unequivocal instances, in which fever was communicated from one person to another, through the intervention of a third, who himself never had any symptom of the disease; and we are at a loss to conjecture in what way the poison could be conveyed, unless by the clothes. In one of the instances to which we refer, it was conveyed to a distance of more than three miles.

From the invisibility of febrile contagion, our author argues, that it must be dissolved in, and not merely diffused through the air; and he deduces, from that opinion, the following very important conclusion.

'If the febrile miasms (p. 57.) be dissolved in air, and attracted from it by clothes, they could not, *in the same circumstances*, on any known principle, be again attracted from clothes by air. This would be contrary to the law of elective attraction, which is as well founded as any in natural philosophy.'

This argument, which is intended as a kind of demonstration of the impossibility of infection being conveyed from air to clothes, and from clothes to air again, seems to be somewhat inconsistent with a suggestion contained in page 46—

'It may be a subject of consideration, whether the mischief produced by the contagion of prisoners in a court of justice, may not be ascribed to the increase of malignity in the febrile poison, when it has long lodged and *putrefied* in dirty clothes and confined air.'

The proposition, however, as stated by our author, is undoubtedly true; but there seems to be an unintentional *equivocation* in the words '*in the same circumstances.*' The laws of elective attraction, we allow to be as well founded as any in natural philosophy; but we deny that they operate in the manner described by our author. Air and clothes have both, by hypothesis, an affinity for the matter of febrile contagion. If clothes, therefore, be immersed

immerſed in air impregnated with this ſubſtance, they will imbibe a quantity of the poiſon, greater or leſs, indeed, according to the reſpective affinities of the clothes and the air. But it will not follow, from any law of electrive attraction with which we are acquainted, that if clothes, thus impregnated, be carried into a freſh portion of air, this air will not abſorb from them a greater or leſs portion of the poiſon. On the contrary, we maintain, that the poiſon will paſs from the air to the clothes, and from the clothes to the air again, till the affinities between theſe ſubſtances are brought to an equilibrium. Water and common air, Dr Haygarth muſt allow, have both an affinity for carbonic acid; but, becauſe water abſorbs a portion of this acid from air which contains it in abundance, are we warranted, either by experiment or obſervation, to maintain, that the water will not, in any circumſtances impart a portion of the acid to the air? We are ignorant of the affinities of the different articles of dreſs for febrile contagion. There may be ſome among them, for any thing we know, which imbibe it in a large quantity, though it may exiſt in them in a ſtate of very looſe combination. We ſubmit to Dr Haygarth, whether the number of thoſe, who, in the common intercourſe of ſociety, catch febrile infection, without ever coming into contact with a perſon ill of fever, or without being able to trace the way in which the infection had been communicated, ought not to induce a belief that the contagion is often conveyed by clothes, to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſource from which it originates.

We were ſomewhat amuſed with finding, in p. 58, a paragraph, bearing this very ſingular title—*Contagion dangerous at a greater diſtance than fermenting liquors or fire;* nor could we well conceive what the principle was which the author meant to lay down and illuſtrate, till we came to the following paſſages:

'But there is another theoretical opinion, delivered on the credit of a phyſician, whoſe memory I ſhall ever hold in the higheſt reverence, which appears to me ſo erroneous and ſo dangerous, as to require a full refutation.

'I received the following intelligence from undoubted authority. A celebrated profeſſor, when treating upon the cauſe of fever, in his lectures on the practice of medicine, expreſſed himſelf in the following manner—"Contagion is a matter always deriving its origin from the human body. It has been imagined, that contagions have been widely diffuſed, in the atmoſphere; but it has been proved, that when they are diffuſed, and at a diſtance from their ſource, they are rendered harmleſs. This is ſimilar to vapours of fermenting liquors and of fire; which, near to their ſource, are deſtructive of animal life, but, at a ſmall diſtance, become innocent,

innocent, either by mixture or diffusion. This appears to be the case in contagion." To refute this very dangerous and erroneous doctrine, it will be sufficient to remark, that, in a small, close, dirty room, neither a common fire, nor the fermentation of beer, has any fatal or even pernicious effect. Whereas, in a situation exactly similar, the febrile poison infects all who are exposed, except about one in twenty three, or a still less proportion.'

We apprehend that our author has in some degree misunderstood the meaning of the Professor; for if the principles which he himself has adopted be just, surely there can be nothing either very erroneous or dangerous in the doctrine delivered in the passages we have now quoted. The fermenting liquors, and fire, are obviously mentioned by way of illustration only; and the celebrated professor (Dr Cullen, we presume) coincides entirely in opinion with our author—that where contagions are widely diffused, and *at* a distance from their source, they are rendered harmless.

Dr Haygarth is of opinion, that fever is not contagious before the fourth day from the commencement of the attack. It were to be wished he had pointed out the facts upon which this principle rests; for, at present, it appears as if it were derived rather from the analogy which subsists between fever and small-pox, than from any well authenticated and decisive observations.

One of the most curious, and, to us, certainly one of the most original parts of the publication, is that in which our author endeavours to discover how long the poison of fever may remain *latent* in the constitution. From the tables it appears, that the period which elapses from the reception of the poison, till the commencement of the fever, varies from a few days to two months. We are doubtful whether the whole of the calculations with regard to this point rest on a foundation sufficiently solid, as we know of no way in which it is possible to determine when a person, living in a contagious atmosphere, has breathed an infectious dose of the poison. Perhaps this point can be determined, only, by observing when the fever appears in those who have had but a single, and, as it were, but casual intercourse with an infected person.

Few objections occur to us, to be made to the practical conclusions contained in the *second* part of this letter, which have not, in some measure, been already anticipated in our remarks on the principles from which they are derived. Most of these conclusions are of so consolatory a nature, that we wish to see them established beyond the possibility of doubt or of cavil. For the

the gratification of ſuch of our readers as may not have ſeen the letter, we ſhall give them in our author's own words.

'1. Medical, clerical, and other viſitors of patients in infectious fevers, may fully perform their important duties, with ſafety to themſelves.

'2. In any houſe with ſpacious apartments, the whole family, even the nurſes of a patient ill of a typhous fever, may be preſerved from infection.

'3. Schools may be preſerved from febrile infection.

'4. In an hoſpital, infectious fevers ought never to be admitted in to the ſame wards with patients, ill of other diſeaſes.

'5. When an infectious fever is in a ſmall houſe, the family cannot be preſerved from it, unleſs the patients are removed into a ſeparate building.

'6. In like manner, infectious fevers may be prevented in the army and navy.'

The fourth concluſion has not, hitherto, received that attention from thoſe who are entruſted with the management of the ſick in infirmaries, which its importance ſeems ſo obviouſly to demand. To introduce, with our knowledge, a patient ill of a fever into any ward, among thoſe who have not the diſeaſe, appears to us to be no leſs culpable than 'wittingly to allow the admixture of a ſmall proportion of a poiſonous ingredient, as arſenic, into the diet of an hoſpital.'

The propoſal, to have a large room ſet apart, in boarding-ſchools, hoſpitals, &c. for the reception of thoſe who may be occaſionally attacked by fever, or any other infectious diſorder, has our moſt hearty approbation. It muſt, were it carried into execution, prove the means of ſaving many from falling victims to contagion.

We concur, alſo, with the author, in thinking that the eſtabliſhment of fever wards in infirmaries, next to a perpetual attention to cleanlineſs, and a free ventilation in private dwellings, is the means, of all others, beſt calculated to arreſt the progreſs, and diminiſh the number of contagious diſeaſes.

In the courſe of this letter, Dr Haygarth alludes to the practice of acid fumigations; but as he does not particularly recommend them, we infer, that he places no very great dependence upon their uſe. We are, however, inclined to think, that though a due attention to cleanlineſs may render them, for the moſt part, unneceſſary in private houſes; yet that there are many ſituations in which their uſe ought not to be diſpenſed with. They cannot fail to be of advantage in fever wards, in jails, in hoſpitals, and in ſhips; in ſhort, wherever the febrile poiſon may be ſuppoſed to exiſt in a concentrated ſtate.

There

There is a caution, of great national importance, ſuggeſted by our author, which ſeems to be highly deſerving of the attention of thoſe who are entruſted with the management of the Navy—'Priſoners, taken out of an infectious jail, ſhould never be mixed with the crew of a ſhip, till a ſufficient time had elapſed to diſcover whether any latent poiſon had infected them.'

In the addreſs to the College of Phyſicians at Philadelphia, Dr Haygarth adduces very ſolid reaſons for believing the yellow fever to be contagious; and propoſes that meaſures, ſimilar to thoſe he has ſuggeſted with regard to fever in general, ſhould be adopted for its extermination.

We cannot take leave of this benevolent and intelligent author, without expreſſing to him our grateful acknowledgments for the pleaſure and inſtruction we have received from the peruſal of his letter; and inſinuating, at the ſame time, our perſuaſion, that this letter is intended merely as a prelude to a fuller inveſtigation, and more enlarged diſcuſſion of the ſubject of febrile contagion.

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ART. I. *Philoſophie de Kant, ou Principes Fondamentaux de la Philoſophie Tranſcendentale*, &c. The Philoſophy of Kant, or, The Fundamental Principles of Tranſcendental Metaphyſics. By Charles Villers, Fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen. One large volume 8vo. Metz, 1801. Sold by de Boffe, London.

HOWEVER numerous the ſtates, into which the great boundaries of nature, or the commerce of policy and of the ſword, have divided the human race, it has been a cuſtomary form of thought to conſider the ſciences as refuſing every geographical barrier; and we have heard of the republic of letters, till we almoſt believe it to exiſt. Amid thoſe deſolating hoſtilities, which repreſent man only as the enemy of man, there is a relief in this innocent coſmopolitaniſm, that atones in ſome degree the violence of national animoſity; and we willingly forget, that the great Republic, one and indiviſible, has in truth almoſt as many diviſions, with mutual jealouſies and mutual ignorance, as the political relations which it comprehends. It is not merely for the works of *the immortal Ilixofou*, as in the apologue of Goldſmith, that a traveller from the Chineſe wall may aſk in vain. There are in every country names as illuſtrious, which have been ſtopped, in the progreſs of their glory, by the unfortunate poſition of a mountain or a river; and, though we will not ſay with the commentator of Kant, that it is as difficult for *any good book*, as for the whole Auſtrian army, to effect the paſſage of the Rhine, a *ſyſtem of metaphyſics*, we will readily allow, is of almoſt as difficult tranſportation: nor would it have ſurpriſed us more, had the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles been fixed at Paris, than if, in perſevering attendance on the ſage of Königſberg, the experimentaliſts of the Inſtitute had abandoned their phyſics, and the gayer literary aſſemblies their romances and their epigrams, for the ſtudy of *tranſcendental æſthetics*, and all the refinements and abſtractions of *pure reaſon*. The tardineſs with which the diſcoveries of Newton, ſo ſimple, and ſo important, and ſo readily correſponding with the general habits of ſcience,

were adopted in that large province of the literary republic in our immediate neighbourhood, is well known; and we therefore feel no aſtoniſhment, that the glory of illuminating his countrymen, in *puriſms* and *ſuperſenſibles*, ſhould have been reſerved for M. Charles Villers, in the 9th year.

Of the very doubtful reception which awaits a work, on a ſubject ſo little in uniſon with the habits of Pariſian literature, its author is fully aware. The nature of thoſe habits he diſcuſſes at great length, and, contraſting them with the more metaphyſical turn of thought which prevails on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine, attempts to explain the difference by the force of literary primogeniture. Philoſophy and the belles-lettres ſtill aſſert their peculiar claim, where the rights of each were earlieſt allowed. In France, the inquirer into cauſes and effects came in late ſucceſſion to the poet and the noveliſt: in Germany, the poet and the noveliſt ſucceeded the ſage. The one country had already produced works of elegance, which were valued as claſſics by all Europe, when, to the greater number of its writers, the ſciences were almoſt unknown. Theſe formed the glory of more northern ſtates, which could boaſt of eminence in every branch of philoſophy, when, in literature, their praiſe amounted only to length of commentary and extent of erudition. We fear, however, that an explanation of this kind rather admits the difficulty, than removes it. We are told to look back to a diſtant age, but we gain no light from the review; for, if we muſt admit a greater tendency in France to the belles-lettres than to the ſeverer ſtudies, it is as eaſy to admit it without a cauſe at preſent, as at any former period; and if any other cauſe exiſt, it is abſurd to aſcribe the difference to mere chronologic dates. Celebrity will, indeed, excite to imitation; but the celebrity muſt have been firſt acquired. Nor, if it were true that the genius of a nation could be traced to its *ancient* fame, would a French metaphyſician have much to dread. He would addreſs a people, whoſe early habits were ſimilar to his own, who, in the ages of ſcholaſtic glory, as M. Villers himſelf confeſſes, attracted the diſputants of every nation, by the exquiſite ſubtleties of their own diſtinguiſhed ſchoolmen, and who aſpired to the empire of the gayer and ſofter feelings, only after they had perplexed, in idle but ingenious controverſy, the profoundeſt thinkers of Europe.

The fact, however, whatever be its cauſe, is certain. It is not in France, in its preſent ſenſualiſm of taſte, that the love of abſtract metaphyſics can ſpeedily be reviewed; and there is reaſon to fear, that, even in England, the reproach, if it be allowed to be a reproach, is in a great meaſure deſerved. We are, indeed, leſs diſpoſed to ridicule a ſcience, becauſe it is neceſſarily ſubtile, and has often been abuſed in fantaſtic refinements; but we are content to be dully indifferent, and can hear of a ſyſtem which

which has divided into patrons and oppoſers the whole thinking part of a large empire, without any public curioſity to become acquainted with its merits, or to know enough, even of its imperfections, to comfort ourſelves with the certainty that our neglect of it has been deſerved.

The illuſtrations which we are about to review, are dedicated to the National Inſtitute of France, as 'the Tribunal inveſted with Supreme Juriſdiction in the Empire of the Sciences.' Since the late revival of Roman titles, by the conſuls, ſenators, and prefects of the French, we have been ſo much accuſtomed to magnificence of official deſignation, that we are not aſtoniſhed at any pomp which may be aſſumed within the outline of their own map. But when, in a work of ſtrict ſcience, the author becomes ſo poetic in his adulation, as to raiſe imaginary empires, and give away their beſt offices to any patron who may chooſe to countenance his book, we cannot refrain from aſking him, by what commiſſion he has derived that right? *The ſupreme juriſdiction of the ſciences*, it certainly is not in the power of M. Villers, or of his bookſeller, to beſtow: and the nomination does not come with a very good grace from him, who has ſpent a large part of his work in proving, that the French are any thing but men of ſcience. It is but an awkward and unfriendly dilemma, to which the great theoriſt is reduced by his foreign commentator. He muſt either receive the approbation of a ſociety, which confeſſedly has yet to acquire the habits of abſtraction neceſſary to the juſt appreciation of his doctrine, or, if he do not receive it, he muſt ſubmit to ſee that doctrine condemned by the ſupreme court of Science, from whoſe deciſion there is no appeal.

In a long preface, ſome particulars are given of the life and works of the philoſopher of Königſberg. He is repreſented as having never withdrawn, in a life of nearly eighty years, from his native city, contenting himſelf, in the true ſimplicity of a ſage, with the occupations of ſtudy, and the ſociety of a few favoured friends. It is not merely as a metaphyſician that he claims to be conſidered; for there is ſcarcely a ſcience which he has not endeavoured to illuſtrate. 'He is a mathematician, an aſtronomer, a chymiſt: in natural hiſtory, in phyſics, in phyſiology, in hiſtory, in languages, and literature, and the arts; in all the details of geography, as they relate to the exact ſituation of the parts of the globe, their inhabitants and productions—every thing is familiar to him.' His commentator, zealous for his fame, contends that the planet *Herſchell* ought rather to have been known to aſtronomers under another name; as, twenty-ſix years before the diſcovery of that portion of our ſyſtem, its exiſtence had been predicted by Kant, in ſome 'conjectures on the heavenly bodies which probably exiſt beyond the orbit of Saturn,' publiſhed in 1755, in a work entitled, 'The natural hiſtory of the world, and theory of the hea-

vens, on the principles of the Newtonian philoſophy.' His conjecture was founded on the progreſſive increaſe of eccentricity in the orbits of the planets, according to their diſtance from the ſun; from which he conceived it neceſſary to the harmony of the ſyſtem, that, to prevent the ſudden diſproportion, there ſhould be other orbits of progreſſively increaſing eccentricity between Saturn and the leaſt eccentric of the comets. The firſt traces of that metaphyſical ſyſtem, which has given ſuch celebrity to his name, are to be found in his inaugural diſſertation *De mundi ſenſibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiis*, written in 1770, when he was appointed to a profeſſorial chair in the Univerſity of Königſberg. But it was in 1781 that the full developement of its principles appeared in his * *Review of Pure Reaſon*. This celebrated work was nearly ſix years publiſhed, before its importance was at all underſtood; and it is perhaps one of the moſt ſtriking inſtances of the reverſes of literary fortune, that the bookſeller, by whom it was publiſhed, was about to deſtroy the copies as waſte paper, when a ſudden demand required and exhauſted rapidly three new editions. The doctrine was ſoon preſented, under innumerable forms, by a multitude of commentators; among the earlieſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of whom were Reinhold, the ſon-in-law of Wieland, and the mathematician Schulze. Of its ſubſequent fortune, it is needleſs to ſpeak. Though we know little more of Kant, we at leaſt know, that his ſyſtem had, in almoſt every philoſopher in Germany, either an avowed partizan, or an avowed antagoniſt: but the Engliſh reader, better acquainted with the poets of that country than with its philoſophers, will be ſurpriſed to learn, that he has enjoyed the benefit of this ponderous ſyſtem, even in the lighteſt of his readings. With Schiller and Göthe we are all acquainted; and Schiller and Göthe are adduced as inſtances of poets, who have made to their delightful art 'a happy application of the principles of the tranſcendental philoſophy.' We wiſh that the nature of this application had been more particularly pointed out; for, to us, the ſtudy of mathematics appears as well fitted for giving poetic inſpiration, as the ſtudy of the categories. To think with paſſion, we muſt have adopted an external world, and diffuſed animation over it. It is the *empirical* and *tranſcendent* philoſophy, therefore, which alone can ſuit the poet; and theſe are the very ſyſtems which it has been the laborious endeavour of Kant to overthrow.

We ſhall now proceed to give a ſhort view of the opinions of this celebrated theoriſt; at the ſame time premiſing, that we are

* The German title of this work is *critik der reinen vernunft*; and the ſyſtem it contains is commonly known under the very abſurd name of the *critical philoſophy*, which, at leaſt to an Engliſh reader, is very little ſignificant of the peculiar proceſs of thought it is intended to denote. The *ſelf-reviewing* philoſophy would have been a term more diagnoſtic. But the other term has now almoſt preſcriptive right; and we have therefore retained it in the diſcuſſion which follows.

are unacquainted with his original works, and that the juſtneſs of our ſketch, and conſequently of our own objections, muſt therefore depend wholly on the fidelity of his expoſitor. To prepare this ſhort view, from the work before us, has been a taſk of no eaſy labour; for M. Villers, probably in the hope of gaining over the lighter fancy of his countrymen, has had little mercy for the methodical habits of ſober and contented inveſtigation. In his *preliminary remarks*, which occupy much more than half the volume, he has thought it neceſſary to intermix, with ſhort and broken portions of the ſyſtem, a perpetual epiſode of declamation on every incidental ſubject. There is no attempt to develope, in regular order, the parts of a great whole. After being made acquainted with the diviſions of *empiriciſm* and *rationaliſm*, and the ſuperiority of *tranſcendental* views, we are led away, by a ſimile or a metaphor, to the crimes of mobs, and encyclopediſts, and guillotines; to the ſaving virtues of the armies and the emigrants; and to the ſtill more powerful atonement of that great * Apollo of the Thuilleries, by whom the Python of Jacobiniſm was ſlain. To many of theſe digreſſive paſſages, it is impoſſible to deny the praiſe of that diffuſe ſpecies of eloquence, which often pleaſes us, in the alluſions to the ſame period of dreadful intereſt, that are interſperſed in the later writings of Laharpe. In literature, however, we can read, and pauſe, and return. But, in a work of ſevere inveſtigation, which profeſſes to introduce us to a new ſyſtem of the principles of all human knowledge, a ſimple ſtatement of the doctrines it includes, in that exact and regular ſeries in which they riſe from each other, would, to us, have been much more ſatisfactory, than all the ornaments which the richeſt and moſt rhetorical imagination could ſupply.

Philoſophy, in relation to the proceſs which it adopts, is conſidered by Kant as of three kinds. It is *dogmatical*, when it founds a ſyſtem on principles aſſumed as certain; *ſceptical*, when it ſhows the inſufficiency of thoſe principles which the dogmatiſt has aſſumed; and *critical*, when, after adopting the objections of the ſceptic, it does not reſt ſatisfied with doubt, but proceeds to inquire, from what principle of our nature the illuſions of the dogmatiſt have ariſen, and, by a minute analyſis of the *cognitive powers* of man, traces the whole ſyſtem of his knowledge through all the modifications of its original *elements*, by his *independent and fundamental forms of thought*. It is in this analyſis, that the ſpirit of the critical philoſophy is to be found; and, till the proceſs have become

* Période de boue, dimpiété et d'inhumanité, d'où devaient réſulter tous nos maux! Limon infect où devait prendre naiſſance le *Python* jacobin!—Mais reſpirons; celui qui devait le terraſſer a paru. Les mœurs, la pudeur et les chaſtes Muſes retrouvent en lui leur ſoutien; et l'antique *Apollon* de l'art, arrivé au même tems, ſemble n'être qu'un ſymbole dans la capitale de la France. P. 165.

become familiar, the whole ſyſtem muſt appear peculiarly unintelligible: but, when the reduction of all our feelings to their objective and ſubjective elements is well underſtood, though we may ſtill be perplexed by the cumbrous ſuperfluity of nomenclature, we are able to diſcover, through the veil that is caſt over us, thoſe dim ideas which were preſent to the author's mind. According to Kant, then, it is neceſſary, in inveſtigating the principles of knowledge, to pay regard to the two ſets of laws, on which the nature of the *object* and of the *ſubject* depends. It is from their joint reſult, as directing the *influence* of the thing perceived, and as directing the *ſuſceptibilities* of the percipient, that knowledge, which is thus in every inſtance *compound*, ariſes: and this compound of objective and ſubjective elements might be modified equally, by the change of either ſet of laws; as the impreſſion of a ſeal may be varied alike, by a change of figure in the gem, or by a difference of reſiſtance in the parts of the wax, which are expoſed to its preſſure. The ſubjective elements are by Kant denominated *forms;* and each function of the mind has its peculiar forms, with which it inveſts its objects, uniting with them ſo intimately, as to render apparently *one* that feeling, which cannot exiſt but as *combined* of different elements. Nothing therefore is known to us, *as it is;* ſince we acquire the knowledge of an object, only by the exertion of thoſe laws, which neceſſarily modify to us the real qualities of the object known. Philoſophy, therefore, in relation to its belief of external things, is *empirical* when it believes them to exiſt exactly as they appear to us in each particular caſe; it is *tranſcendent*, when, uſing reaſon to correct the falſe repreſentation of the ſenſes, it believes that the objects of our ſenſes exiſt in a manner *really* known to us, after this correction, though different from their immediate appearance in particular caſes. In both theſe views it has relation only to their *objectivity*, or to their qualities as independently exiſting in themſelves; and is therefore erroneous, as thoſe qualities cannot be diſcovered by us. It is *tranſcendental*, when, conſidering them in relation to our own powers, it inveſtigates the *ſubjective elements*, which neceſſarily, in the exertion of our independent laws of cognition, modify the qualities or elements of the object as perceived. Since it is thus impoſſible to know the *world as it is*, we muſt content ourſelves with the knowledge of the *phenomenal world*, and with that *reality* which is merely *ſubjective*. The ſyſtem of our world is thus *idealiſm*, but an idealiſm in which we may ſafely confide; though we muſt be aſſured of erring, whenever we aſcribe to it *objective certainty*. There exiſts, however, an independent ſyſtem of *noumena* *, or *things in them-

* This word is evidently an abreviation of the Greek νουμενα, which, in our opinion, would be much more applicable to external things, *after* they had undergone

ſelves, though we cannot know them as ſuch, from the unavoidable modification of every *objective element*, by our own forms of cognition. To determine what is ſubjective in each peculiar perception, the nature of the *ſubject* muſt be inveſtigated. This ſubject is *ſelf*, the being to which we give the name of I, when we ſay, *I* know, *I* will. It has three great faculties; *cognition*, by which we know; *volition*, by which we act; and *judgment*, which is in ſome meaſure intermediate, being neither wholly ſpeculative, nor abſolutely practical, but determining to action, and thus forming the bond of our knowledge and our will.

Pure cognition is divided into *pure ſenſibility*, *pure* * *intelligence*, and *pure reaſon*; the products of ſenſibility being *ſenſations*, the products of intelligence *conceptions*, and the products of reaſon *ideas*. This diviſion is not inconſiſtent with the abſolute fundamental unity of the cognitive being, that unity, of which we are conſcious in all the diverſity of our feelings, and without which *we* could not exiſt. The threefold action is even in ſome meaſure aided by the unity itſelf; for, from a law of our nature, we ſtrive, by a perpetual ſyntheſis of compariſon and arrangement, to bring the diverſity of our ſenſations, as nearly as poſſible, to the oneneſs of which we are conſcious in ourſelves.

Pure ſenſibility, comprehending all thoſe feelings in which *ſpace* and *time* are involved, is *external*, when it refers them to ſpace, and *internal* when it refers them to time. In itſelf nothing is *larger* or *ſmaller*, or *before* or *after*; for ſpace and time, the *forms of ſenſibility*, by which *a ſubjective world* ariſes to us, are not, in any degree, objective and real, but are modes of *our own* exiſtence as ſentient beings. It is impoſſible for us to imagine any body, which does not exiſt in ſpace: it is impoſſible for us to imagine any feeling, which does not exiſt in time. With the abſtraction of theſe, every thing to us periſhes; but the certainty of ſpace and time remains with us, though every object were conceived to be annihilated. Hence, ſpace is an indiſpenſible condition of the poſſibility of bodies, but bodies are not neceſſary to the poſſibility of ſpace. That it exiſts in ourſelves *a priori*, and independently of experience, is ſhown by the impoſſibility of acquiring it from without. Space includes three dimenſions. Sight, ſmell, taſte,

gone the *forms* of our *cognition*. If the terms muſt be adopted, we ſhould be inclined to reverſe the uſe of them, and call a *phenomenon* whatever affects the external ſenſibility, and *noumena* the ſubſequent *compounds* of perception.

* The original term is *verſtand*, *(entendement)* which may be more ſimply tranſlated *underſtanding*; but the term we have choſen, which is merely the Latin correſponding word with an Engliſh termination, however ſingular its uſe may at firſt appear, is preferred by us to its more common ſynonym, from the very circumſtance that it is leſs common. In the uſe of a term to which we have been long accuſtomed, there is much danger of error, when the limitation of its meaning is not preciſely the ſame; and *underſtanding*, in its uſual acceptation, is ſignificant, not of a ſingle function of the mind, as in the tranſcendental vocabulary, but of the union of all the intellectual faculties.

hearing, are evidently incapable of affording theſe; nor is touch, to which Condillac aſcribes its origin, more ſuſceptible. We gain the idea, ſays he, when our hand paſſes over a ſurface: but he has already ſuppoſed a ſurface and a hand; and what reſemblance is there of a ſimple feeling, to a body of three dimenſions? Nor can ſpace be ſuppoſed to ariſe from abſtraction, for by abſtraction we ſeparate only ſimple qualities: but ſpace is not a ſimple quality, capable of being perceived ſeparately in bodies; it is the neceſſary condition of their exiſtence, implied, in the firſt perception of the infant, which ſuppoſes an object external to itſelf. In every ſenſation there muſt be elements both objective and ſubjective: the ſubjective muſt be permanent as ourſelves, the objective fleeting as the occaſion. Space, therefore, being invariably preſent amid all the apparent changes of quality, is ſubjective in *us;* occaſioned indeed by the ſenſation, and riſing *in* it; but not an objective part of it, depending on *experience.* If that were its origin, we ſhould be allowed to conclude, only, that all the bodies yet known to us are extended, and not that all bodies muſt have extenſion. Yet the certainty of this we believe with equal force; ſince, ſpace being a ſubjective condition of knowledge, we feel that every impreſſion, by a law of our nature, muſt be inveſted with its *form.* On this, the *apodictic* or demonſtrative certainty of geometry depends: for, as pure ſpace is the form of the external ſenſibility of all men, the *extenſive properties* of pure ſpace muſt, to all men, be the ſame. It is a peculiar diſtinction of mathematical ideas, that they conſider not *intenſive* but *extenſive qualities*, all the degrees of which are equally capable of being rendered ſenſible, ſo as to correſpond exactly with a ſenſible object. Of degrees merely intenſive, as of the varieties of *force* in phyſics, and of *benevolence* in ethics, no delineation can be given.

The *internal ſenſibility*, by which we diſcover our own mode of being, with all the changes that take place within us, gives us the idea of time, in the ſucceſſion in which it repreſents to us our feelings. All the arguments which prove ſpace to be a form of our cognition, are equally applicable to time. By this, we inveſt our internal affections with ſucceſſion, as we created to ourſelves a ſubjective world by the inveſtiture with ſpace. From ſucceſſion we derive our idea of number; and time being, like ſpace, an univerſal form, the apodictic certainty of arithmetic is eaſily explained.

If we had ſenſibility alone, the world would be merely a number of detached beings: it would not be that great whole which we call *nature.* This is produced to us by *intelligence;* that power, which, receiving the products of ſenſibility, eſtabliſhes their relation, and, arranging them in claſſes, forms *conceptions.* As, in ſenſation, there are the neceſſary forms of ſpace and time; ſo are there neceſſary forms of intelligence, to which Kant, adopting the well-

well-known term invented by Ariſtotle, gives the name of *categories*. Theſe are reduced to four orders; *quantity*, *quality*, *relation*, and *modality*: To the firſt of which belong the categories; 1. *unity*; 2. *plurality*; 3. *totality*: To the ſecond, 4. *affirmation* or *reality*; 5. *negation* or *privation*; 6. *limitation*: To the third, 7. *ſubſtance* and *accident*; 8. *cauſation*, or the laws of cauſe and effect; 9. *reciprocity of action* and *reaction*: To the fourth, 10. *poſſibility and impoſſibility*; 11. *exiſtence* and *non-exiſtence*; 12. *neceſſity* and *contingence*. No act of intelligence can take place without the union of theſe four forms of thought, in ſome one of their modifications. Like ſpace and time, however, they are no part of the object, but exiſt *a priori*, and independently of all experience in the ſubject who *intelligizes*. Thus, to take an inſtance from the categories of quantity, the idea of number cannot form a part of any object. We hear a ſound; we again hear a ſound; but, when we ſay that we have heard *two* ſounds, we have inveſted a product of ſenſibility with a form of our own intelligence. Theſe fundamental conceptions may be combined, ſo as to form other conceptions equally independent of experience; as when, from ſubſtance and cauſation, we derive the conception of *force*: or they may be united with the pure forms of ſenſibility; as when, from the addition of temporary ſucceſſion to exiſtence and non-exiſtence, we form the conception of *commencement*. For determining to which of the categories our ſenſation belongs, there are four *forms of reflection*, correſponding with the four orders: For the firſt, *identity* and *diverſity*; for the ſecond, *conformity* and *contrariety*; for the third, *interiority* and *exteriority*, by which is meant the diſtinction of the attributes of an object as originally exiſting in itſelf, or as acquired from without; for the fourth, *matter* and *form*. Theſe four *reflective conceptions*, though, like the categories, exiſting *a priori*, differ from them, as not being applied to the *products of ſenſibility*, to fix their relations and mode of being, but to the *conceptions* of objects, to fix their appropriate place in the ſyſtem of our knowledge.

Pure reaſon is the third mode of our cognitive faculty. It is applied to our *conceptions*, and is that which conſiders them as *abſolute*. Its three great *ideas* are, *abſolute unity*, *abſolute totality*, and *abſolute cauſation*. Theſe become *objects* to us, or *ideals of pure reaſon*, by inveſting them with our own felt and fundamental unity; which individualizes abſolute unity, as in the *human ſoul*, or abſolute totality as in the *univerſe*: and the ideas acquired from *practical reaſon*, of abſolute power and goodneſs, are, in like manner, individualized in *God*. Every act of *reaſoning* implies an abſolute idea. Thus, when we ſay, *all bodies gravitate, and the air, being a body, muſt therefore have weight*, the validity of our concluſion depends on the univerſality of the major propoſition. To

theſe

theſe abſolute ideas we are led, by an irreſiſtible impulſe of our nature towards infinitude. They are forms exiſting *a priori* in the mind; for our ſenſes give us the perception only of that which is diviſible, limited, cauſed. With the unity of the human mind, or the infinity of the univerſe, or the great ſource of phenomenal nature, no corporeal organ can make us acquainted.

Each of the cognitive functions having thus its peculiar forms, we are guilty of an *amphiboly*, when we aſcribe to one the pure forms of another; as when, in the material atoms of the philoſophy of Epicurus, we inveſt our external ſenſations with the idea of *abſolute ſimplicity*; or when, adding to the ſame ſenſations the abſolute idea of *cauſation*, we erect a theory of atheiſtic materialiſm. In like manner, the combination of abſolute ideas with our internal ſenſibility, 'of which the form is time, and the general repreſentation ſpirit,' gives riſe to all thoſe ſyſtems of ſpiritualiſm, which ſuppoſe a ſimple, unextended ſoul. The perplexing controverſies on the diviſibility of matter, are the product of a double amphiboly, which confounds ſenſation and conception.

The preceding ſummary comprehends the laws of cognition. But man does not exiſt to *know* alone. He wills; he acts; he is the ſubject of *practical reaſon*. The knowledge of his powers and his duties, he cannot acquire from external impreſſions on his ſenſibility, from any arrangement by his intelligence of the products of his ſenſibility, nor from the addition of the forms of pure reaſon to the conceptions of his intelligence. But man is known to himſelf by conſciouſneſs. All other beings he knows only ſubjectively. Himſelf, however, the ſole exception in nature, he knows in objective *noumenal* reality. He has not, therefore, to reaſon, or apply thoſe forms which belong to his conceptions. He has only to obſerve his own nature; and in it he feels that he poſſeſſes freedom of volition, becauſe he feels that he is able to will: he recognizes a principle of duty which commands him, under the certainty of future reſponſibility, to act or to abſtain. There are two imperious voices which ſay to him, *Be happy, Be virtuous*. In many caſes, it is impoſſible to obey both. But the one is a voice of more rigid command than the other. It ſays not, *if thou wilt, if thou can*, like that which bids him be happy: it pronounces with legiſlative authority, *thou oughteſt, thou muſt*; and ſelf-contempt, and ſelf-eſteem, are the immediate puniſhment and reward with which it ſanctions its will. His choice, however, is not conſtrained. He may prefer to duty the pleaſures which are more immediate; but, in daring to diſobey, he has already begun to endure the penalty. The duties commanded by this internal voice, are reduced by Kant to two maxims: *Regard conſtantly every reaſonable being as an end in himſelf, and not as a mean of benefiting others*; and *act in ſuch a manner, that the immediate*

diate motive of thy will might, with advantage, become an univerſal law in the government of all reaſonable beings.* Theſe laws exiſt *a priori* in the mind; and, therefore, are not ſubject to the laws of cognition. At the ſame time that we are conſcious of their force, we diſcover the neceſſity of future reward and puniſhment, and, confident of immortality, 'we feel, in the ſanctuary of our being, that, quitting this phenomenal world, we ſhall find virtue and happineſs united in the world of *things in themſelves*.' To reſponſibility, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be a judge. This judge has abſolute goodneſs; becauſe, from him, our ideas of the *juſt* and *good* proceed. Since all finite reaſonable beings have the ſame practical reaſon, there muſt be a *ſupreme univerſal infinite reaſon*, which, manifeſting itſelf to all, announces the ſame laws. 'This ſupreme reaſon, this abſolute goodneſs, this judge, the rewarder of virtue, is God:' not, indeed, the God of ſpeculation, *whoſe exiſtence may be aſſerted or denied by arguments of equal force.* He is not the reſult of the ratiocination of man. 'He does not need to reſt on the two premiſes of a ſyllogiſm, as the coloſſus of Rhodes ſtood elevated on its pedeſtals of rock.'† He is the true God, of whom no argument can deprive us; becauſe, not having his origin in cognition, he is not ſubject to its forms; a God who is *not eternal, not* in *ſpace, not* in *time, not* a *ſubſtance, not* a *cauſe*, and of whom it is not leſs abſurd to ſay that he *exiſts*, than to ſay that he is *blue* or *ſquare*.

In this ſhort view of the principles of Tranſcendentaliſm, we have endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to avoid the perplexity of new terms. Of theſe its author has been profuſely liberal; and to them he is probably indebted for a large ſhare of that favour which his ſyſtem has received. In minuteneſs of nomenclature, there is an appearance of nice diſtinction, which prepoſſeſſes us with reſpect for the acuteneſs of the inventor's powers: and as, in the infinity of objects which preſent themſelves to our obſervation or fancy, the reſemblances and diſſimilarities are infinite, there are no bounds to the multitude of claſſes in which they may be arranged. The reſemblances in a new ſyſtem are, probably, as real as in thoſe which preceded it; and we therefore think that we have made a large acceſſion to our knowledge, becauſe, by a new analyſis and ſyntheſis, we have combined the reſults of our former experience in a varied collection of terms. Of the doctrines themſelves, conſidered independently of nomenclature, our opinion is very different from that of the admiring diſciple who now offers them to our veneration; and we are particularly

* We have added the words *with advantage*. In the original, it is merely *may be ſuch as to become an univerſal law (puiſſe devenir)*, which, if it be not elliptical, is wholly unintelligible.

† Il n'a pas beſoin des deux prémiſſes d'un ſyllogiſme pour ſe tenir debout, comme le coloſſe de Rhodes appuyé ſur ſes deux rochers. P. 159.

to be capable of ſuch an inference. It may, indeed, attain that acuteneſs of ſcepticiſm, which denies the exiſtence of external objects; but it cannot ſeparate their believed exiſtence from their redneſs; ſince it is only as *definite redneſs* they can be known by it to exiſt. It certainly cannot ſeparate the extenſion from the redneſs, ſo as to conceive the redneſs to belong *wholly* to itſelf: and, without this complete analyſis, no progreſs is made in tranſcendentaliſm. Still leſs is it poſſible, as in another illuſtration, adduced by M. Villers, that, by the elliptical figure of the image it reflects, a cylindrical mirror ſhould diſcover its own figure; for, the cylinder forming no part of the image, more would be neceſſary than the mere ſeparation of coexiſting qualities. The ſuppoſed illuſtrations, however, even when admitted in all their circumſtances, ſhow nothing more than the impoſſibility of that which they are intended to prove: for if the camera obſcura, like the human philoſopher, who finds all his ſenſations inveſted with ſpace, ſhould conceive the redneſs with which its ſenſations are inveſted to be a mere form of its own ſenſibility, it would conſider, as ſubjective only, what was, in truth, a combination of *objective and ſubjective* elements, and would thus arrange a ſyſtem of very erroneous philoſophy; which, if publiſhed in the ſhape of a 'review of pure reaſon,' might perplex, and miſlead, and ſet at variance, with endleſs controverſy, all the teleſcopes, and mirrors, and magic lanthorns, of a whole optical muſeum.

The faculties of the mind are, by Kant, ſaid to be three, and the diviſion is ſuppoſed to be compatible with its fundamental unity. But the mind, he allows, is not an object of *cognition:* it has *noumenal* exiſtence in our conſciouſneſs. The categories, therefore, cannot be applied to it; for they are applicable only to *phenomena.* But unity and number are ſubjective categories; and hence we cannot juſtly ſay that there are *three* faculties of *one* mind. We fear that this argument will be conſidered as a ſubtlety merely verbal; a charge, which the combatant of verbal ſubtleties muſt often expect. But, at the ſame time that it ſhews the abſurdity of aſſerting the unreality of number, on principles, which, in the firſt propoſition they include, have aſſumed it as certain, it marks ſtrongly the dogmatiſm of that philoſophy which conſiders itſelf as the great overthrower of dogmatiſm. For proof of the unity of the cognitive being, recourſe ſeems to have been had to the *common ſenſe* of the later Scotch philoſophers; but to Kant it is not common ſenſe; for, denying the reality of an external world as capable of being known by us, he cannot appeal to univerſal belief. If his own feeling, therefore, be conſidered by him as a juſt ground of certainty, he muſt believe himſelf incapable of error; and if he be incapable of error, it is abſurd to inquire into the ſources of illuſion. What that is, which has three faculties, it is indeed impoſſible to conceive. When we ſay, that it is extended or *matter*, and when we ſay that it is unextended or

ſpirit, we are alike accuſed of an amphiboly, or a paralogiſm; which are very fine words, expreſſive of miſtake. It is not to *mind* itſelf that the categories are applicable; for mind would then be a phenomenon, and not a reality. It is not a *ſubſtance*, it is not in *time*, it has no *exiſtence*, nor *poſſibility* of exiſtence; without *ſucceſſion*, it exerts three progreſſively ſucceeding faculties, and exerts them, too, without having in itſelf any power of *cauſation*. On the ſtrict principles of tranſcendentaliſm, it does not appear to us more reaſonable to believe the actual exiſtence of a being, that knows, and judges, and wills, than to acknowledge the infinity of external ſpace. To ſay, that the one is a form of thought, and the other a reality, is to ſay nothing; for both feelings are equally ſtrong, and equally unſubſtantial.

But we will admit to the tranſcendentaliſt his ſolitary noumenon, and its ſeparate functions. The affections of the mind are awkwardly arranged, as knowledge, judgment, and will. Of the peculiar nature of judgment, indeed, which, in the common acceptation of the term, appears to be included in the ſecond and third offices of the cognitive faculty, M. Villers has left us wholly uncertain: but, from the ſubjects which he enumerates, as forming a part of his promiſed review of it, it ſeems to be nearly ſynonimous with *taſte*, or perhaps to include the more active office of *imagination*. But the diviſion is not merely awkward, as involving in one term affections of little ſimilarity; there are alſo many affections which it ſeems impoſſible to reduce to it. The joy which we feel on a fortunate occurrence, our ſorrow on a diſagreeable one, our complete deſpair when every exertion has been vain, may riſe indeed from knowledge, but are not themſelves knowledge, nor judgment, nor will.

A ſimilar objection may be made to the ſubdiviſions of the cognitive faculty. If the mere addition of one form of thought, as of the *abſolute* in pure reaſon, authoriſe a change of term in the function; cognition, inſtead of three diſtinct titles, ſhould have as many as its ſubjective forms.

On conſidering the theory of ſenſibility, the firſt obſervation that occurs to us, is the ſingular mixture of opinions which it preſents. The truth of ſpace and time is denied by the uſual ſceptical arguments. No new inquiries of tranſcendentaliſm are made; becauſe, with that opinion, inquiry would be uſeleſs: yet, as if ſome new foundation had been given for the belief, the trranſcendental ſceptic aſſerts the exiſtence of noumena, which though perceived only ſubjectively, yet influence our ſenſibility, and entitle it to the name of *external*. The idea of any thing external to ourſelves, is confeſſed to involve ſpace; yet, with the denial of ſpace, the reality of objects external to ourſelves is affirmed; and the affirmation is peculiarly frivolous, ſince *real* objects, not having cauſation, which is *phænomenal* only, cannot affect our ſenſibility. It is not enough to ſay againſt that ſolitude of ſelf which

the conſiſtent diſciple of Berkeley muſt adopt, 'that our mind revolts, and is indignant at the very idea,' p. 81.; or that 'he profeſſes a belief which is not human, and which, therefore, among human beings, can never be the doctrine of a numerous ſect,' p. 82.: for the argument is of equal force againſt tranſcendentaliſm, which, if conſiſtent, is preciſely the ſame doctrine with a new name. The profeſſors of both, if they really diſbelieve the exiſtence of ſpace, may indeed be aſſured, that their ſect never can be a large one; becauſe to them there is no other being to whom they can make known their creed. The theory of Kant, therefore, appears to us to be nothing more than the common *aſſertion* of every ſceptic, together with that practical *belief* which every ſceptic feels, but which, for the credit of his theory, he uſually keeps within the ſilence of his own mind. We are convinced that there is no human being, who does not, by his actions at leaſt, evince his reliance on an external world, and the ſucceſſion of time; though we are convinced alſo, that there is no one who can give a reaſon for the faith that is in him. We therefore do not deny the juſtneſs of Kant's concluſion; for its unanſwerable force, in mere argument, was felt, long before the philoſopher of Königſberg was known. But, the truth of ſpace and of the world being to our reaſoning ſcepticiſm the ſame, we cannot deny ſpace, and admit the reality of ſenſible objects. The theory which combines theſe may be celebrated as original; but its originality conſiſts only in the combination of opinions, which before were conſidered as incompatible.

Againſt Condillac it is urged, that, in aſcribing our idea of ſpace to touch, he has already ſuppoſed a ſurface and a hand; but Kant, in aſcribing it to *external ſenſibility*, has already ſuppoſed an *object*. His argument for the ſubjectivity of ſpace, from the permanence of the ſubject, and the fleeting nature of the object, ſtill more ſtrikingly preſuppoſes ſpace and time; for, if there be no real ſucceſſion, all things are equally permanent; and unleſs we have previouſly known, that of the great multitude of our feelings, a certain number only have proceeded from external objects, during all which the *form* of ſpace was permanent, that very form muſt be allowed to be fleeting; for all the affections of our mind are not referable to three dimenſions. We may remark alſo, that, on the principles of Kant, our dreams and reveries are, in truth, as little illuſive as our waking perceptions, the reference to ſpace being all which conſtitutes external ſenſation: and the man who dreams that he has murdered an adverſary, has, therefore, murdered a human being, as truly as if in the intercourſe of the day he had ſtabbed his friend. Smell, taſte, and hearing, as they do not involve length, breadth, and thickneſs, ſhould be referred by Kant to *internal*, rather than *external* ſenſibility. From the obſervations of thoſe who have been

couched

couched, the ſame appears certain of viſion: and Kant muſt therefore, with Condillac, whoſe opinion he attacks, aſcribe our knowledge of three dimenſions, not objectively indeed, but ſubjectively to the ſingle organ of touch.

To ſay that ſpace muſt be ſubjective, becauſe we cannot conceive a poſſible body without length, breadth, and thickneſs, is but a verbal ſophiſm: for we give the name of *body* only to that which has thoſe dimenſions. It might be inferred, with equal juſtice, that there are no objective elements in our perception of the human figure, becauſe, without experience, we believe that every future *man* muſt have all thoſe parts which are comprehended in a juſt definition of man. To the tranſcendentaliſt, who ſuppoſes totality and plurality to be conceptions *poſterior* to ſenſation, there is, beſides, a peculiar and inſurmountable difficulty, of which he ſeems not to have been aware, in that *immediate* inveſtiture with ſpace which he affirms to be neceſſary to ſenſation. Space, having ſeveral dimenſions, neceſſarily involves parts; and a body muſt therefore be conſidered as a *whole*, previouſly to all conception of *totality*, or *ſenſation cannot be inveſted with ſpace*. This objection appears to us completely deciſive againſt the whole theory of *cognition*: for, if an exertion of *intelligence* be not neceſſary to *connect* in *one body* the ſeparate dimenſions, it is as little neceſſary in reducing to one great aſſemblage the boundleſs phenomena of *nature*.

We do not ſee for what reaſon time is conſidered as *peculiarly* a form of internal ſenſe; for we inveſt with ſucceſſion the changes without, as much as thoſe within, and believe that ages had revolved before ourſelves had being, in the ſame manner as we believe, that there is an infinity of ſpace, to which we have never penetrated.

The explanation of the apodictic certainty of geometry and arithmetic is ſurely not tranſcendental. The propoſitions of theſe ſciences cannot have relation to *the forms of thought of every thinking being*; becauſe man is to himſelf the only object known *as he is*. Other beings are noumenal to him, and their real forms of thought beyond the poſſibility of his knowledge. Beſides, though the three dimenſions of ſpace were known to him as univerſal, little could be inferred from them alone; and a figure of 1000 ſides, the properties of which are equally apodictic as thoſe of a triangle, is certainly an idea as little preſent to the general mind, as any in phyſical ſcience. But, though all the poſſibilities of figure and of numeral combination were univerſal forms, the feeling of duty, and of God, is allowed to be equally univerſal; yet it is almoſt by their controverſies alone, that ethics and theology are known to us as ſciences. Their univerſality, therefore, does not hinder the *relations* of the univerſals apodictic; nor ought the tranſcendentaliſt to aſcribe the

exactneſs of mathematical ideas to their capability of ſenſible delineation; for their incapability of this is very juſtly urged by him, as one of the moſt powerful reaſons, for believing that there are ideas not acquired from experience. The two great conceptions on which geometry depends, are, as M. Villers himſelf has ſaid, an indiviſible *point* and *infinity*, which no corporeal organ can originally afford us, and which it is in like manner impoſſible for us to delineate in any ſenſible repreſentation: and he triumphantly aſks, whether it be poſſible for the eye to diſtinguiſh a polygon of 999 ſides from one of 1000, though the different relations of their angles be exactly underſtood? A ſenſible delineation would be applicable only to a few caſes, and not to every poſſible caſe. We have complete certainty, without any diagram, that the ſhorteſt line between any two points is a right line; and, without this previous certainty, a thouſand trials could not convince us, as there might ſtill be an untried curve, to which our ſtubborn propoſition would be obliged to yield.

Of the table of *forms of intelligence*, little more is neceſſary to be ſaid, than that, like the more ancient arrangement by Ariſtotle, it is altogether uſeleſs. The only valuable arrangement of relations is that by which objects are combined, in the common order of the ſciences; and we receive as much real knowledge, in being told, that we have *ſpoken proſe* all our lives, or that, in every propoſition, ſomething muſt be *affirmed* or *denied*, as in beng told, that we muſt always predicate quantity, quality, relation, and modality. Inſtead of ſaying, that the intelligence has twelve categories, which exiſted *a priori*, and independently, it would have been at leaſt equally juſt, and certainly much more ſimple, to ſay, that *in every caſe of felt relation*, the mental affection which conſtitutes that feeling, was not a part of the ſeparate perceptions. It did not indeed exiſt *a priori*, for the perceptions were prior; nor independently of experience, for, without the perceptions, it never would have ariſen: but it exiſted from a law of *the mind itſelf*, which was ſo conſtituted, that, on the perception of certain objects, the *new feeling* of relation ſhould ariſe. This feeling is to us completely different from either perception, conſidered ſeparately; and we have always been aſtoniſhed that the total want of reſemblance did not occur with immediate confutation to the authors of thoſe ſyſtems of *ſenſualiſm*, which endeavour to reduce all our knowledge, *as parts*, to our original external perceptions.

Whatever be the value of the table of *categories*, the *reflective conceptions* appear to us in no reſpect different. The *conformity* of two ſenſations is felt, at leaſt as immediately, as their *reaction*; and both conceptions equally fix the appropriate place of our ſenſations in the ſyſtem of our knowledge.

It

It is a ſingular confuſion of cauſe and effect, to ſay, that the reflective forms are diſtinguiſhed from the categories, as being applied only to the compariſon of our conceptions *, when it is owned that it is from previous reflection the conceptions themſelves ariſe †. If it be only after the obſerved *conformity* of ſucceſſive ſenſations, that we ſay there are before us *two* objects of a ſpecies, the category of number is certainly not the prior feeling. The conformity is more truly a conception, ſince it is the immediate application of intelligence to the products of ſenſibility.

If *pure reaſon* be merely the mode by which our conceptions become to us abſolute, it will be difficult to bring under it that regular ſeries of propoſitions, to which we commonly give the name of *reaſoning*. When we ſay, *all bodies gravitate;* this propoſition, which is in truth nothing more than a common inſtance of generalization, may be allowed to be a product of reaſon. But when we add, *the air is a body; the air muſt have weight:* theſe propoſitions are acts of intelligence, and have nothing abſolute in them, more than any common application of the categories. Nor is totality always neceſſary even to one of the propoſitions; for we have reaſonings of probability, which depend on diſcordant reſults of the paſt. Thus, when we ſay, *from the appearance of the ſky, it will probably rain ſoon*, we do not aſſert any thing abſolute: yet we reaſon; for reaſoning does not require *univerſals*, but *generals*. To the exerciſe of pure reaſon there is no tendency peculiarly irreſiſtible. The idea of infinity riſes in our mind by a law of our nature, but by a law not more powerful than that by which, in certain circumſtances, we acquire the ſenſations of ſight or touch.

Of *ideals*, as oppoſed to *ideas*, we do not underſtand the difference; for nothing is gained by adding our own *oneneſs* to abſolute *unity* or *totality*, which, in the very conception, are *one:* and it certainly is not meant, that we apply to thoſe ideas any other circumſtance of our conſciouſneſs, than the *fundamental unity;* for the *ideal* of the univerſe is not inveſted with our knowledge or paſſions. The difference of the ideal of the human ſoul, and of that *unity of conſciouſneſs* which muſt be felt, previouſly to the exiſtence of the ideal, is too nice for our diſcernment.

The amphibolies, paralogiſms, &c. of which Kant ſpeaks, are impoſſible, as they ſuppoſe a ſtandard which is not in our poſſeſſion; a corrector of reference, where reference cannot err; a mode of know-

* Elles ne s'emploient qu'a comparer entre elles les conceptions des objets. P. 299.

† C'eſt auſſi par la réflexion tranſcendentale que l'entendement examine et décide auxquelles de nos catégories il convient de rapporter des objets donnés à la ſenſibilité. P. 298.

ing objects different from that of the conſtituting forms of our cognition. Till the tranſcendentaliſt give us a new mode of diſcernment, we muſt believe *whatever* is inveſted with ſpace and time to be, *by that very inveſtiture*, a *ſenſation*; *whatever* is inveſted with the categories, to be a *conception*; and *whatever* is abſolute, to be an *idea*; ſo that the error of our application, if in truth there be an error, muſt, to us, be for ever unknown.

Even on the ſuppoſition of amphibolics, as capable of being diſcovered, the peculiar inſtances are not well explained. If external ſenſation give us the knowledge only of that which is extended, the mere conſideration of it, as abſolute, may afford the idea of infinite extenſion, but not of an indiviſible monade. Nor does materialiſm in the atheiſtic ſenſe of the term, ariſe from the addition of abſolute cauſation to external ſenſibility: for cauſation means only the power of producing a change, and has no other reference to the cauſing ſubſtance; which may have exiſted from eternity, or begun to exiſt, without a cauſe, or by divine volition, at the very moment in which its energy was exerted. Between *ſimple cauſation*, a category *juſtly* applicable to external ſenſe, and *abſolute cauſation*, there is in truth no difference; for both mean only the power of producing a change: and if it be not *cauſe*, but *effect*, which is conſidered as abſolute, the application of this would rather lead to ſpiritual theiſm. That *ſpirit* is the general repreſentation of that internal ſenſibility, of which the form is time, is a propoſition more of myſticiſm than of philoſophy. Abſolute time is eternity; which, if it be an archetype of any thing, has no nearer reſemblance to ſpirit, as commonly underſtood, than to *matter*; and if all that is neceſſary be the want of dimenſion, the ſenſations of ſound or ſmell, being as little extended as love or hate, or any other internal feeling, might, with equal reaſon, be conſidered as the object of the ſuppoſed amphiboly of the human ſoul.

The perplexities which ariſe from the conſideration of matter, either as infinitely diviſible, or ultimately indiviſible, receive no ſolution from all that M. Villers has ſtated. Our error, he ſays, conſiſts in confounding *matter*, as a mere object in ſpace preſented by our ſenſibility, with *matter* as preſented by our intelligence in all the aggregate of conceived relations *. 'As an object of ſenſation, matter muſt always be reducible to an atom, or firſt element, which itſelf alſo muſt be in ſpace, and therefore extended; becauſe nothing imperceptible can belong to our ſenſibility. But, when conſidered as an object of intelligence, there muſt

* We think it neceſſary to add the whole paſſage from the original, as we may have been led into a miſapprehenſion of its meaning, by the attention which M. Villers has paid to an excellent rule of rhetoric: a ſubject in itſelf moſt obſcure, he has certainly ſuccceded in treating with all appropriate obſcurity. 'La queſtion agitée

muſt always appear a poſſible reduction or diviſion from the ſtate of matter into that of unextended thought, *ſince it is already as a thought we conſider it;* and as there is no apparent tranſition from the one ſtate to the other, we connect them by *interpoſed infinity*, as in the ſyſtem of monades.' In both caſes, the *matter* of ſenſibility is ſaid to be confounded with the *matter* of intelligence, and to be combined with the tranſcendental ideas of *abſolute ſimplicity* and *reality*. The attempt to explain a difficulty with ſuch increaſe of difficulty, is like the kindneſs which would free us from the doubtfulneſs of twilight, by caſting us into utter darkneſs. In both the caſes adduced, we ſee much confuſion of another kind; but we do not ſee that confuſion of the repreſentations of ſeparate faculties, which M. Villers condemns. *In both*, the perception of matter, as an object in ſpace, is derived from ſenſibility; but, *in both*, matter is conſidered *categorically:* for we cannot think of diviſion, without the conceptions of plurality, poſſibility, &c. The *atomiſt*, therefore, does not err, by confounding the repreſentations of ſeparate powers of cognition, but by uſing, in reference to products of the ſame power, terms which are contradictory; for that which is in ſpace, having ſtill dimenſion, muſt ſtill be potentially diviſible; nor does its infinite diviſibility ariſe, in any manner, from the neceſſity of combining it with thought, by the medium of infinity. If that were the only reaſon of inferring it, the difficulties which are its conſequence, might be very eaſily obviated by the ſimple denial of the antecedent: for there is in truth no tranſition in ſuch inquiries from matter to thought, but from matter as exiſting combined, to matter as exiſting ſeparately; or, if we be denied the knowledge of any thing but our own affections, from one thought to another. If there were indeed a neceſſary tranſition from matter to thought, the interpoſed infinity, having nothing common with either, could not connect them, more

agitée ſi long tems, et abandonée enſuite par déſeſpoir, de la diviſibilité ou non-diviſibilité de la matière à l'infini, ne tirait toute ſa difficulté que d'une double amphibolie de cette ſorte; les uns voulaient appliquer tout le jeu de l'entendement à la matière comme objet de notre ſenſibilité; les autres prenaient pour un objet de notre ſenſibilité la conception de matière; ils confondaient en attribuant l'intuition à l'entendement, et la conception à la ſenſibilité. Celui qui opère ſur la matière en tant qu'objet *ſenti* et *perçu*, doit toujours, en réſultat, trouver un premier élément qui ſoit quelque choſe d'étendu et de perceptible, qui occupe un lieu dans l'eſpace, car on ne peut ſuppoſer à la ſenſibilité aucun objet imperceptible; d'où le ſyſtème des atômes matériels, et la *philoſophie corpuſculaire* d'*Epicure*. Celui, au contraire, qui opère, ſur la matière en tant qu'objet *penſé* et *conçu*, doit apercevoir une diviſion toujours poſſible de l'etat de matière juſqu' à l'etat de *penſée*, puiſque c'eſt ſur une penſée qu'il opère: or comme entre ces deux états, l'eſprit ne voit pas de mode de tranſition, il y met l'infini; d'où le ſyſtème des monades. Le tort de l'un et de l'autre, c'eſt de confondre la matière en tant que repréſentation de la *ſenſibilité*, avec la matière en tant que repréſentation de l'*entendement*. Il y a auſſi deux *idées* tranſcendentales, celle du *ſimple abſolu*, et celle du *réel abſolu* qui jouent ici un rôle.' P. 297.

than the ſenſations of light and fragrance could be connected by a ſound. There is therefore no aid to the perplexed metaphyſician in the principles of tranſcendentaliſm, which, if adopted, only eſtabliſh with greater force that infinity of parts which he is unable to comprehend: for the conception of an object, *as a whole* in ſpace, is a juſt application of a category which neceſſarily involves diviſibility; and every object of ſenſibility, being confeſſedly reducible to elements which are ſtill extended, 'ſince we cannot ſuppoſe ſenſibility to have any object which is not perceptible,' muſt, at every ſtage, be juſtly conceivable as a whole in ſpace: and we are therefore entitled, without an error of philoſophy, to aſſert, that matter is infinitely diviſible. There is, indeed, one ſenſe, in which the reſult of the reaſoning of M. Villers may be underſtood, and which, in ſpite of the laboured antitheſis of the oppoſite opinions, we believe to have been that which ſuggeſted confuſedly his tranſcendental explanation. It may be ſaid, that, in aſſerting the infinite diviſibility of matter, we take for granted matter as an object known to us, while it is of our own feelings only we have real knowledge; and a feeling, being *one*, is not infinitely diviſible. Had this been ſtated, we ſhould have had leſs ſcruple in giving our *verbal* aſſent; becauſe the argument is, in truth, unanſwerable: but it is unanſwerable, preciſely as the arguments of Berkeley and Hume againſt an external world. However impoſſible it be for us to diſbelieve it, we certainly are not juſtified by any proceſs of ratiocination, in aſſuming the exiſtence of objects without; but, having aſſumed their exiſtence, it is equally impoſſible for us to conceive their parts as without dimenſion, at any ſtage of potential diviſion. The complete denial of external things is the only ſhelter to which we can ſafely have recourſe. If that alternative, impoſſible to our *feelings*, be not adopted, we muſt ſubmit to the acknowledgement of the infinite diviſibility of matter, in all its perplexities of language and of thought.

To the validity of *practical reaſon* it is neceſſary, that we admit the objective certainty of *ſelf*, and of all thoſe modifications of ſelf of which we are conſcious. That objections may be made to this appeal, M. Villers is fully ſenſible.—'Perhaps this immediate conſciouſneſs, this internal perception of *man*, is but a new product of that ſpeculative reaſon which has already deceived me; an *ideal* forged by itſelf; an illuſion; a phantom! It ſeems to me, indeed, that it exiſts independently of all ſpeculation; that it is the great and *living* being within me. But this very belief may be a miſtake. From whom ſhall I receive a pledge of its reality, a proof that it is ſomething more than a ſimple conception of fancy?' p. 367. After all this rigour of ſcepticiſm, he proceeds to give the deſired proof with that complete pomp of demonſtration, which is implied in the French *voici*,

voici, * for which the more modeſt Engliſh has no correſponding idiom. 'The deſtiny of my being is not ſimple knowledge. I am formed alſo, as its higher developement, to will and to act: I muſt influence, and be influenced by every thing which ſurrounds me. Hence proceeds an order of realities, which have in me their ſource and principle. My actions, and the volitions which determine my actions, not given me from without, but created and modified by myſelf alone, have therefore an exiſtence, to me more truly real than that of external things. They ariſe from the centre of my being, in the fundamental reality of my own internal conſciouſneſs; while external things, arriving at that centre only after the modifying influence of the medium through which they paſſed, have but a ſecondary reality, of which I may juſtly doubt. My actions are determined by my will; and my will is the immediate reſult of that conſciouſneſs in which I exiſt independently of things. My actions, and their directing volitions, are therefore a proof, that the feeling of *ſelf* is not an illuſion. Their reality is the deſired pledge of its reality. I will: and by the ſublime truths which my volition affords me, I am raiſed to the rank of a being who lives in all the plenitude of life.' To this parade of language, of which, in abridging the verbal amplitude, we have retained all the reaſoning, we muſt do the juſtice of ſaying, that we have ſeldom ſeen an objection more magnificently evaded. The poſition, which was intended to be proved, has indeed been aſſumed in every ſentence; but it has been aſſumed with ſuch juſt regard to the principles of harmonics, that, after more than two pages of majeſty and melody, we feel ſomething like the remorſe of ingratitude, in reverting to the original queſtion. The queſtion was, whether the feeling of ſelf, in all its modifications, be not an illuſion like that of the phenomenal world? and we are told, that becauſe man is deſtined to act, and his action is the immediate reſult of his will, and of his will he is conſcious; there are therefore ſelf, and will, and action. Had M. Villers merely ſaid, that becauſe we are conſcious of ſelf, ſelf exiſts; though we ſhould perhaps have denied the agreement of the poſition with his general ſcepticiſm, we ſhould at leaſt have acknowledged its force as felt by ourſelves. But, when he contends, that the mere combination of a ſeries of feelings, which all equally depend on the truth of the queſtion itſelf, as being all equally real, or equally phenomenal, is a proof of the reality of the feelings combined, we are leſs diſpoſed to be merciful to inconſiſtency; and muſt require, from him who conſiders conſciouſneſs as a thing to be proved, ſome mode of reconciling the belief of the

* Voici la reponſe à ces doutes: voici la garantie demandée.

reality of a combination of feelings with the previous ignorance of their reality, as ſeparate. It is not becauſe man is an active being, that he has objective certainty of himſelf; for the ſame certainty is equally felt in the moſt paſſive of our ſenſations; and, in truth, we know that *we act*, only becauſe we have taken for granted that, which is conſidered as proved by action. Our *will*, before the experience of action, is to our conſciouſneſs a paſſive feeling; and our knowledge of the *action* is tranſcendentally leſs certain, becauſe it can be acquired only from the phenomenal world of ſpace and time, in which the changes produced by our action take place. Even though the explanation were in all its other circumſtances juſt, how many forms of intelligence and ſenſibility does it conſider as realities! The deſtiny of man, the developement of his being, the ſyſtem of things created by himſelf, the ſucceſſion of his will and action, have no meaning, unleſs we admit time, and cauſation, and number, and the categories of modality: ſo that the higheſt of all realities, the elevating ſublimities of our being, are only the illuſions of unſubſtantial forms, which are at once the cauſe and the effect of every certainty we feel.

The doctrines of practical reaſon are four; the liberty of will, the obligation to virtue, our exiſtence in a future ſtate, and our reſponſibility to a ſupreme Creator and Judge. On all theſe ſubjects, the tranſcendentaliſt has more than uſual inconſiſtency. He declares that they are not objects to be *known* or * *proved*, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the terms. He rejoices that he knows nothing of them. 'He would even fear to know any thing of his duties, of God, and of his ſoul; convinced, that if they were objects of his knowledge, they muſt be in themſelves illuſions, phenomena purely human of his mode of ſeeing and conceiving.' P. 360. Nothing, therefore, is more evident, than that the forms of cognition are not juſtly applicable to objects which belong not to cognition. Such an application would be an amphiboly, or a paralogiſm, or an error of perhaps ſtill longer name; yet there is not an idea of practical reaſon in which the forms of our *knowledge* are not involved.

Freedom of will implies *number*, becauſe there is choice; it implies *exiſtence*, and *poſſibility*, and *cauſation*, becauſe there is power; it implies *time*, becauſe there is the ſucceſſion of will and action: *It is*

* How unfortunate is it for a perſon, who looks forward with ſuch fear to the knowledge of his duties, that he ſhould afterwards be obliged (though, we make no doubt, with great reluctance) to confeſs, that they are now irreſiſtibly eſtabliſhed by the moſt rigid *proofs*;—avec une rigueur de *méthode*, et de *preuves* qui ni laiſſent nul recours raiſonable à l'opiniâtreté qui ne veut pas être convaincu. P. 388.

is therefore an error to ſay that the will is free *. But, though the application of the categories were allowable, the feeling ſuppoſed does not juſtify the aſſertion. Conſciouſneſs informs us only of the preſent, or, if memory too may be included, of that which is really paſt. It does not inform us of that *which might have been the paſt*. Thus it tells us that we did will a particular action, or that we do will a particular action, or, from that law by which we infer the future from the paſt, that if we ſhall will a particular action, the action will enſue. But it is conjecture, and not conſciouſneſs, which tells us, that the circumſtances of the paſt having been the ſame, we might have choſen a different action. It is not enough, therefore, for Kant to ſay, that we have freedom of will, becauſe we are conſcious of the power of willing; for the moſt rigid neceſſarian does not deny that power. He contends for it even more earneſtly than the defender of what has been called its freedom: for action, as far as it is not governed by the motive deciſions of reaſon, reſembles more the convulſions of the morbid body, than the graceful and ſpontaneous movements of the healthy limb.

Of moral duty it may be ſaid, in like manner, that *tranſcendentally* it cannot exiſt. The voice of conſcience, commanding to certain actions, implies ſucceſſion, cauſation, exiſtence, and other forms which are applicable only by an error of philoſophiſing. We have, in certain caſes, the feeling of duty; but we have alſo, in certain caſes, the feeling of external independent ſpace. Of this latter, it is at *leaſt equally* difficult to diveſt ourſelves; and we are convinced that in the mind of others, if of others we may be allowed to ſpeak objectively, the feeling of duty can as readily be laid aſide as that of external things. The livelineſs of conviction, the univerſality, every circumſtance is the ſame. But there is no really exiſting ſpace: it is therefore probable, that the voice of conſcience is in like manner an illuſion. Such appears to us the reaſoning of the rigid tranſcendentaliſt. But the diſciple of Kant, leſs conſiſtent, admits and rejects with equal readineſs where the evidence of both is the ſame. Nor is the confeſſed illuſion merely of equal ſtrength of evidence: the belief of it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary to the exiſtence of duty. What room is there for the exertion of virtue, where other beings cannot be known to us as objects? We ſurely cannot increaſe the happineſs of him of whoſe deſires

* This ſpecies of ſtrict confutation, *ex conceſſis*, will not appear unmerciful to thoſe who have obſerved the laviſh uſe which the tranſcendentaliſts themſelves have made of arguments of a ſimilar kind. The only difference is, that we argue from the principles of him whom we oppoſe; and that they conceive they have triumphed, when they have merely ſhown the inconſiſtency of their own opinions with thoſe of any other theoriſt.

deſires we are ignorant, nor relieve a miſery which exiſts but in our own forms of thought.

In the maxims which are given to us as a ſummary of virtue, we obſerve no peculiar merit; and on the tranſcendental theory of morality, which ſuppoſes it to be a voice within us, independent of experience in its origin, and incapable of being aided by any maxims, or ſtilled by any of the ſeductions of life, the parade of precept ſeems to have very little meaning. It is not more abſurd to command a human being to inveſt his external ſenſations with ſpace, than to command him to liſten to ſounds which are ever ſpeaking to his heart, and from which it is impoſſible for him, in any ſituation, to withhold his attention. If any new duty could be taught by it, a maxim might be of value. But duty can receive no addition, ſince it is wholly independent of experience. It cannot be taught: for we teach only that which can be *known*; and duty is merely *felt*.

If, however, maxims be of importance, the negative part of the firſt ſhould certainly have been omitted: for, though it be perhaps better, upon the whole, that we ſhould conſider every thinking being as an end in himſelf, ſo far as *not to injure him* for the good of another, there are innumerable ſituations in common life, in which an individual may be employed, without injury, but at the ſame time without reference to himſelf, for the good of a third perſon. Even where himſelf is the great object, it is ſurely no want of virtue to conſider him alſo as a mean, in the good which our action, with reſpect to him, may produce to others. The beautiful progreſſion of good, by which a virtuous action is diffuſed in its effects over a multitude of unknown beings, is at once a delightful contemplation and a powerful excitement to the benevolent mind. Had the firſt liberators of an injured country, if we may be allowed to take a melancholy example from the recent events of our own time, foreſeen a period of future invaſion of its rights, and truſted, in rouſing their little band, that their example might, after many ages, inſpirit their deſcendants to a ſimilar reſiſtance of oppreſſion; we ſurely cannot think that their zeal would have been leſs ardent, or that, as an object of our intereſt, it would excite feelings of leſs virtuous ſublimity.

The ſecond maxim, when ſtripped of the myſterious majeſty of its terms, is only the common doctrine of *utility*; but with an expreſſion ſo very complicated and artificial, that it loſes all the effect of a proverb, for which alone ſuch maxims are valuable. *An univerſal law of nature* is not an object apprehenſible by the multitude. It might have been more ſimply, and therefore better ſtated—*Do that which it would be of advantage upon the whole, that every one ſhould in a ſimilar ſituation imitate.* Even this, however, is without that quick-felt application to ſelf, which is of ſuch

power

power in the proverbial Chriſtian maxim, and which much more than compenſates the caſes to which that maxim is inapplicable.

The belief of the reality of a future ſtate, forms a very inconſiſtent part of a theory which denies the actual ſucceſſion of time; nor, omitting this fundamental objection, do we underſtand the poetry with which the ſtate of future being is deſcribed. The mind cannot quit the phenomenal world, unleſs it ceaſe to exiſt with all its neceſſary and independent forms. Though *around* it (for we have yet noumenal language) be a ſyſtem of *things in themſelves*, there is a ſubject, as well as objects; and this ſubject cannot fail to modify the external influences. Our knowledge of external things muſt be combined, as at preſent, of objective and ſubjective elements; and the world may change its laws, but in all its changes it muſt to us be *phenomenal*.

In reviewing the Tranſcendental theiſm, we own, that it is very difficult for us to reſtrain that feeling of the *ludicrous*, which, on a ſyſtem ſo reſpectable in its celebrity at leaſt, we are unwilling to indulge. An abſolute unity, which is neither one nor more than one, a creator of all things without cauſation or priority, a judge of the paſt without ſucceſſion of time, a being who does not * exiſt, are ſo utterly inconceivable by us, that, if theiſm depend on the conception of them, we muſt overcome the ſtrongeſt reluctance of our nature, and be atheiſts, when the moſt delightful of our feelings has ceaſed to be poſſible.

The animadverſions we have made on the Tranſcendental theory, have, we truſt, juſtified our aſſertion, that its originality conſiſts merely in intermingling, as parts of one ſyſtem, without regard to its general harmony, the practical belief which the ſceptic has always felt, with the tenets which he ſpeculatively avows. The critical philoſophy has not connected theſe diſcordant opinions: it has merely placed them together; and, when thus exhibited, we do not feel more ſtrongly the poſſibility of their coaleſcence. It is acknowledged by M. Villers, that Kant is thoroughly acquainted with the metaphyſical writings of every country in Europe; and we think we trace in him a peculiar acquaintance with thoſe of our own language. The *egoiſm* of Berkeley and Hume is largely incorporated in his ſyſtem, and combined with the oppoſing tenets of the ſchool of Dr Reid. If, to the *common ſenſe* of that ſchool, we add the *innate ſuſceptibilities* of Leibnitz, and the denial by Hume of *neceſſary connexion in cauſation, and of the reality of external perception*, we bring before us the *theory of cognition* of Kant. But the force of common

* M. Villers adds, in a note, as if aſtoniſhed at the fact, that it was for denying the exiſtence of God, that Fichte was declared an atheiſt by the theologians of Dreſden. P. 341.

mon ſenſe, and of the diſtinction of innate ideas, is invalidated by the denial of the reality of our external knowledge; and the denial of the reality of our perception of objects in ſpace, is invalidated by the adoption of the principle of common ſenſe.

It remains to us only to ſay a few words on that part of the merit which belongs to the expoſition of the theory. To its frequency of digreſſive declamation, we have before alluded: and we can aſſure our readers, that, whatever terrors may be aſſociated in their mind with the formidable name of Kant, they have little to fear in the ſummary which his diſciple has given them. Inſtead of being dry and repulſive, it has the contrary fault of too laviſh ornament. There is occaſionally a richneſs of metaphor, which would have delighted us in a work of leſs rigid ſcience; and which, when we conſider the genius of the people to whom it was addreſſed, was perhaps, even in an abſtruſe inveſtigation, an artifice of prudent ſkill. Had our limits permitted us, we could have ſelected many paſſages of great oratorical intereſt. We could alſo have ſelected many, which, in attempting unuſual ſtrength of imagery or expreſſion, have bordered very cloſely on badneſs of taſte. But in reviewing the expoſition of a ſyſtem, of which, in the different ſenſes of the terms, we have at once heard ſo much and ſo little, we thought it of more conſequence to examine the merit of the theoriſt, than of the commentator. At the ſame time, we readily confeſs, that the qualities he has himſelf exhibited in this humbler office, have a juſt claim to our regard. We are ſenſible of the zeal and the eloquence, with which he delivers a ſeries of doctrines, that to him appear of no common value; and we applaud the ſentiment with which, as a citizen retained unwillingly from the nation which gave him birth, he offers to it the acquiſitions of years of abſence. 'Prevented,' he ſays, 'by circumſtances, from the glory of attaching my name to thoſe great events, which have produced ſo memorable a reform in the political ſituation of my country, it ſhall be found there, at leaſt among the names of thoſe who, in the calmer labour of intellectual reform, have been aſſiduous to haſten the developement of a purer morality, and a ſtricter ſcience.' P. lxvii. The enthuſiaſm with which the effects of the principles of tranſcendentaliſm are, on every occaſion, exhibited, though it may not have excited our ſympathy of admiration, has convinced us at leaſt of the reality of their expounder's eſteem: and if our opinion of their value were equal to his own, we ſhould ſee little occaſion for regret in thoſe circumſtances, which, with-holding the doubtful diſtinction of attaching his name to the fleeting tumults of the day, enabled him to acquire, and communicate to a great nation, a ſyſtem of the moſt important knowledge, and thus to perpetuate his name with the eternal intereſts of moral and ſcientific truth.

Art.

ART. II. *Travels in Greece and Turkey, undertaken by order of Louis XVI, and with the authority of the Ottoman Court.* By C. S. Sonnini, Member of ſeveral Scientific and Literary Societies, of the Societies of Agriculture at Paris, and of the Obſervers of Men. Illuſtrated by Engravings, and a Map of thoſe Countries. Tranſlated from the French. 4to. 540 pp. 1801.

'THESE Franks muſt be great blockheads,' ſaid a Turk, ſpeaking to his companion of M. Sonnini, 'ſince this one, who, among them is reckoned intelligent, knows nothing of what may be uſeful to him.' It is our opinion, however, that the belief of this true believer was an erroneous belief; and that our author's diſcernment both of the *utile* and the *dulce*, is much more extenſive than he imagined. For inſtance, he has diſcovered, to a certainty, that the poſſeſſion of the Grecian iſles would be extremely uſeful to France; moreover, he has diſcovered that thoſe iſles are admirably adapted by nature to flouriſh under a conſular government: and we, not to be left behind in the perception of utility, have diſcovered that the government of Crete or Cyprus would be both uſeful and agreeable to M. Sonnini.

The cowardice, ignorance, and diſhoneſty of the modern Greeks continued long to be the theme of travellers, and particularly of the French. But it is now diſcovered, that, under theſe qualities, are concealed the germs of every thing great and heroic; that the valour of ancient Sparta, the elegance of Athens, and the refinement of all Greece, wait only to be relieved from the barbarous oppreſſions of the Turks, to burſt forth in all their original ſplendour.

The French writers were not always ſo tremblingly alive to the wrongs and misfortunes of the Greeks. Whilſt Turkey was an ally of France, the Turks were a brave, an honeſt, and a generous nation; though it was to be deſired they could abate ſomething of their intolerance, together with a certain haughtineſs of deportment, by no means characteriſtic of the beſt company. But the inconceivable dulneſs of the Sublime Porte, in not perceiving how infinitely the poſſeſſion of Egypt by France muſt have redounded to its advantage, has bereft its ſubjects of all their virtues, and magnified their iniquities to a degree no longer ſupportable.

The Ottoman government is vicious in its principles, and ſtill more defective in its adminiſtration: we by no means propoſe to undertake its defence; and if ever we publiſh plans for a perfect government (which are wonderfully ſalutary when confined to paper), the members of the Divan are the laſt politicians we ſhould think of conſulting. But the candid and impartial, before they attribute the whole of the change in the ſituation of Greece

to

to the Turkiſh government, would do well to recollect, that, under the Roman dominion, the Greeks had entirely loſt their martial ſpirit, and degenerated to a nation of daſtardly ſycophants; and that their commerce and induſtry had undergone a remarkable declenſion, under the eaſtern empire. The thirty years drought, which lately deſolated the plains of Cyprus, was probably not owing altogether to Turkiſh oppreſſion; and it is natural to imagine, that thoſe iſlands (ſuch as Scio), where the Mohamedans do not interfere in the internal arrangements, furniſh a tolerably exact meaſure of the proſperity that would have been enjoyed by Greece in general, had it never been ſubjected to its preſent rulers.

The work before us may properly be conſidered as a ſequel to our author's intereſting Travels in Egypt. On the 17th of October 1778, he ſet out from Alexandria, and, ſomewhat prematurely, exhibits a ſtriking portrait of the people and country he had juſt left, contraſted with thoſe he was about to ſee.

'A ſpace rather ſhort ſeparates the two countries on which Antiquity prides herſelf; and, after having viſited that which paſſes for the cradle of the arts and ſciences, and from which the Greeks derived a part of their knowledge, I reſolved to ſee alſo the country which may be called the cradle of the graces and of good taſte. There, a burning climate does not, as in Egypt, dry up a ſoil which ceaſes to produce, as ſoon as active induſtry ceaſes to cultivate it, and cover it with an abundant moiſture. There, we ſee not thoſe vaſt, ſandy, and arid plains, thoſe naked and heated rocks, forſaken by nature, and which man does not traverſe without conſiderable difficulty and danger. That frightful nakedneſs by which habitable Egypt will ever be circumſcribed and confined, diſfigures not the land of Greece. There, the temperature is mild, the mountains are covered by foreſts, the atmoſphere is cooled by rains, the valleys are watered by numerous ſtreams, and the ſoil may be adapted to ſeveral kinds of culture.

'If, from the compariſon of the phyſical ſtate of the two countries, we paſs to that of the men who inhabit them, we ſhall find no reſemblance but in the deſpotiſm by which they were both enſlaved. The Copt or the native of Egypt, whoſe character partakes of the dryneſs and rudeneſs of the climate, is ſhort and heavy: his head is big, but empty; his face is broad and flat; his complexion is ſallow and dark; and his countenance is mean. His diſpoſition is gloomy and melancholy; his treachery is the more dangerous, as it is in a manner more concentred; having no taſte for the arts, no flight of curioſity leads him to inſtruction; ſedentary, becauſe he has no vivacity in his mind, he ſeeks not to be acquainted with what ſurrounds him; lazy and ſlovenly, clowniſh and ignorant, unfeeling and ſuperſtitious, he has no longer any remembrance, nor even any trace remaining, of the greatneſs of his anceſtors.

'What a difference between this nation entirely degenerated, and that

that which ſtill inhabits the beautiful countries of Greece! Under a pure ſky, in a wholeſome, temperate atmoſphere, impregnated with the ſweeteſt emanations, on a ſoil which nature decks with flowers, and clothes with the verdure of an eternal ſpring, or which may be enriched with crops of every ſort, or with delicious fruits, we muſt expect, among the men, to meet only with amenity of manners, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition. I am ſpeaking of the men whoſe generations there ſucceed each other without interruption; for the ignorant and untractable uſurper may, by his ſtupid ferocity, pollute the moſt happy climate, the moſt ſmiling country; and ages are required for their influence to temper, in a perceptible manner, the rudeneſs of his inclinations.

'The man of theſe charming parts of Greece is of a handſome ſtature; he carries his head high, his body erect, or rather inclined backward than forward; he is dignified in his carriage, eaſy in his manners, and nimble in his gait; his eyes are full of vivacity; his countenance is open, and his addreſs agreeable and prepoſſeſſing; he is neat and elegant in his clothing; he has a taſte for dreſs, as for every thing that is beautiful; active, induſtrious, and even enterpriſing, he is capable of executing great things; he ſpeaks with eaſe, he expreſſes himſelf with warmth; he is acquainted with the language of the paſſions, and he likewiſe aſtoniſhes by his natural eloquence; he loves the arts, without daring to cultivate them, under the brazen yoke which hangs heavy on his neck; ſkilful and cunning in trade, he does not always conduct himſelf in it with that frankneſs which conſtitutes its principal baſis; and if we ſtill find in modern Greece many of the fine qualities which do honour to the hiſtory of ancient Greece, it cannot be denied that Superſtition, the child of Ignorance and Slavery, greatly tarniſhes their luſtre; and we alſo diſcover in their diſpoſition that fickleneſs, that pliability, that want of ſincerity, in ſhort, that artful turn of mind which borders on treachery, and of which the Greeks of antiquity have been accuſed.'

This paſſage will afford our readers a general idea of the impreſſive ſtyle ſucceſsfully adopted by M. Sonnini throughout this work. We will trace him at different ſtations of his route, which it may be uſeful previouſly to deſcribe. From Egypt, our author proceeded to Cyprus and Rhodes, and, by a circuit among the Aſiatic iſles, brings us to Santorin and Crete. This celebrated country deſervedly occupies a large portion of his book; but the ſmall and indigent iſle of Argentiera receives an attention proportioned to the length of his reſidence, rather than its own importance. Naſcia, which he recommends for the depôt of French commerce, Samos and Scio brings us oppoſite to Cheſma, on the continent, whence M. Sonnini journeyed by land to Smyrna, then laid waſte by the plague. In the voyage from thence to Salonica, Leſbos, Lemnos, and Mount Athos occur. From Salonica, our author made an excurſion to Mount Olympus; and

and the work concludes by his arrival at Napoli di Romania, the moſt flouriſhing ſea-port of the Morea.

Cyprus, ſacred to Venus, retains few veſtiges of its ancient magnificence. The mines of gold which are ſaid to have been wrought, and thoſe of copper which certainly were, and whence the iſland derived its name, are loſt, through the diſcouragements given by the Turks to all uſeful labours. Emeralds and amethyſts are ſtill found amongſt its mountains; and aſbetos continues to be dug from its quarry near Cape Cromachiti. Immenſe ſalterns, and reſervoirs for oil of olives, atteſt the induſtry which formerly enriched the Cypriots, and mock the ſcanty ſtores of their deſcendants. Here the cotton plant attains a perfection nature has denied it in the iſlands of the north; but its excellence has declined; and the manufacture of ſugar, introduced by the Venetians, has not ſurvived the expulſion of that nation. Flights of graſhoppers (ſent, no doubt, by the Turks) invade the iſland from the eaſt, and vegetation diſappears before their deſtructive myriads. Long and cruel droughts frequently baniſh every appearance of verdure. Theſe, according to our author, are becoming more frequent, and are to be attributed to the extirpation of the foreſts which attracted moiſture. The ſame cauſe will, he thinks, produce a ſimilar effect in his native country; and if timely precautions be not employed to prevent it, France may participate 'in the aridity with which a deteſtable government has ſtruck the ſoil of Cyprus.' From this paſſage, we may learn to appreciate the candour of M. Sonnini with regard to the Turkiſh government, ſince it is ſo ſeverely reprobated for cutting down the foreſts, and thereby occaſioning drought. That trees have ſome effect in promoting rain, is a plauſible hypotheſis: but what government ever thought of limiting the extent of its plantations by the criterion of a water-gauge? Does not our government quietly behold new plantations riſing every where around us, though the recent ſcarcities be chiefly imputable to exceſs of humidity?

Rhodes, celebrated for the valour of its inhabitants, their activity and ſkill in navigation, has retained only the city of the ſame name, of the three which it formerly contained. It is inhabited chiefly by Turks, whoſe orchards and gardens embelliſh the environs. The Rhodians are ſtill expert navigators; but the produce of their land bears no proportion to the riches which an intelligent culture might extract from a ſoil ſo prolific.

We will here inſert the only two geological ſpeculations, in which our author has indulged; only remarking, that neither of them is new.

When

'When we direct our view over that immenſe number of broad elevated lawns, of ſummits of mountains, of points of rocks, placed without order, and very near to each other, with which the Mediterranean is covered on the eaſt, we cannot avoid thinking that this extent of ſea, thickly ſtrewn with a multitude of lands, has formed a continent in times the moſt remote; and that a ſudden irruption of the waters of the Black Sea, earthquakes, and the violent action of volcanoes, have inundated that ancient country of Greece, and torn it into innumerable ſhreds. Vaſt and deep chaſms have ſwallowed up a conſiderable portion of that country; and there has remained of it only peaks of mountains, furrowed by cavities and fiſſures, in which the confuſion of the ſubſtances atteſts that they have been overthrown.

'Each of theſe iſlands, the remains of an ancient land, violently ſhaken, and for the moſt part ingulfed by one of thoſe great cataſtrophes of Nature, the traces of which are ſo ſtrongly imprinted on the ſurface of the globe, has near it iſlets, rocks emerging from the waters, or concealed beneath them, ledges, ſhoals, fragments of its ancient junction with a neighbouring iſland, or with the continent: it is ſtill eaſy for the obſerver to follow ſome of the lines which connected theſe lands with each other, and to convince himſelf that they all formed but one uninterrupted country. Who knows even whether it be not in this part of the Mediterranean, rather than in the ocean, that we muſt look for the ſite of the famous Atlantis of Plato? That celebrated philoſopher of antiquity has ſaid, in expreſs terms, that it was to the ſouth of Attica, which juſtifies the well-founded preſumption, that it was ſituated towards the coaſt of Libya.' P. 131—132.

'But what has hitherto eſcaped remark, but which, nevertheleſs, is an important obſervation, is, that all the other iſlands of the ſame ſea lie, with reſpect to their length, in a north and ſouth direction, with more or leſs inclination towards the eaſt or weſt; whereas the iſland of Candia extends from eaſt to weſt: it appears to be a long baſe, on which the whole Archipelago repoſes. This peculiar direction indicates a different origin. The iſlands of the Ægean ſea are the ſummits of mountains, which belong to a country whoſe plains have been ſubmerged by a ſudden irruption of the waters of the Black Sea. The effects of this vaſt ſubmerſion are diſcoverable in the form of the maſſes which it has ſuffered to ſubſiſt, and which have all preſerved a direction parallel to the current that has inſulated them, and whoſe impetuoſity has been broken againſt the iſland of Candia, on which it has been unable to make any impreſſion. May it not be ſuppoſed that theſe very waters, of a rapidity ſo violent, and a part of which was directed towards the ſouth-eaſt, repelled by the lands of Syria, may have exerciſed their action in a direction contrary to their firſt impulſe, and have detached from Africa the iſland of Candia, by inundating the low lands by which they were united? And this conjecture of the ancient junction of Candia with the coaſt of Barbary, acquires an additional degree of probability, when we pay attention to the ſhallowneſs of the channel

which ſeparates them, and whoſe bottom every where affords ſoundings. P. 210-211.

Our limits were inadequate to offer, even an indiſtinct ſketch of the various places deſcribed by our author, whom we will now take up at the concluſion of his labours.

'The aſpect of Salonica from the harbour, announces an agreeable encloſure; but, when you enter it, you preſently relinquiſh the good opinion which you had conceived of it: ſtreets, narrow and ill paved, as well as crooked; houſes ſlovenly on the outſide, and, in the inſide, worſe laid out, together with a miſerable population, induce the wiſh of ſeeing it only at a diſtance. It is, nevertheleſs, one of the fineſt towns of Turkey, and one of the moſt important, from its poſition, and the richneſs of its trade. It is alſo the ſeat of one of the firſt governments of the empire.' P. 512.

M. Sonnini found the Macedonians, now Albanians, in a ſtate of open revolt againſt the Porte, and the whole country expoſed to the depredations of banditti. Infinite addreſs was requiſite to diſengage our traveller from a variety of dangerous rencounters. Need we ſay, that M. Sonnini poſſeſſed the requiſite addreſs? The character of a phyſician was the only one in which it would have been practicable to travel in Macedonia; and, what might formerly have been a paſſport to Parnaſſus, now only conducted our author to the ſummits of Olympus. The ſolitary convent of St Dennis terminates the habitable region of the mountain: beyond that are found heaps of ſnow in the middle of July. He continued to aſcend, whilſt a few ſtunted trees and ſhrubs favoured his exertions; but at laſt theſe forſook him, and he was obliged to contemplate, from that ſtation, the rocky and inacceſſible ſummit covered with eternal ſnows.

'The reader may eaſily conceive the immenſe extent of different countries which our view embraced from the top of Olympus. It ſeemed to us to touch Pelion and Oſſa, which form another chain of mountains; and the vale of Tempe, of which the ancient poets have ſpoken to us as a palace of delight, appeared to us a very narrow gorge; and the river Peneus, which waters it, a ſtreamlet of water ſcarcely perceptible. However, we there remarked every thing that takes place on very lofty eminences; a very ſharp cold, waters ſtill colder, enormous ſhelves of rocks, heaped the one on the other, and alike threatening heaven with their point, and earth with their fall, and at our feet big clouds, which, by ſeparating us from the abode of men, ſeemed to place us in the habitation of the gods.' P. 532.

Much of the ground over which our author conducts his readers in this volume, we have lately traverſed with M. Oliver, a writer of a very different deſcription, in whoſe artleſs pages we diſcover many valuable details, and much ſpecific information, omitted

omitted by M. Sonnini. Both of theſe travellers ſpoke Greek, and neither underſtood Turkiſh; a circumſtance which, even without the help of prepoſſeſſion, muſt have influenced the reſults of their obſervations in a variety of particulars. Both avoid the deſcription of antique remains, and both attempt to delineate manners, without having recourſe to anecdote. A few exceptions to this laſt remark occur in the work before us; but we recollect none in which the author did not diſcover a courage, a dexterity, or preſence of mind, never ſufficiently to be extolled. Such anecdotes, however, are not always the beſt for illuſtrating the Grecian manners. They are both naturaliſts; and, in this department, much pleaſing information is afforded by each: in other reſpects, there is little ſimilarity. The rhetorical tone of M. Sonnini would diſdain a compariſon with the ſimplicity of diction obſerved in his countryman: whilſt the candour and perſevering reſearch of M. Oliver, ſtamps a value on his performance, which his rival is uſually very far from reaching. As travellers, they bear the ſame relation to each other, that Arrian and Curtius do as hiſtorians of Alexander.

ART. III. *Natural Theology: or, Evidences of the Exiſtence and Attributes of the Deity*, collected from the appearances of Nature. By William Paley, D. D. Archdeacon of Carliſle. London. 1802. 8vo. pp. 586.

THE name of Dr Paley, though ſcarcely to be reckoned among thoſe of the *great* theologians and philoſophers of England, is probably aſſociated with as large and as enviable a portion of public approbation, as that of any living eccleſiaſtic. With leſs learning and leſs originality than ſome of his diſtinguiſhed predeceſſors, it would be difficult, perhaps, to point out his ſuperior in ſoundneſs of judgment, or in vigilant and comprehenſive ſagacity. With great ſtrength of reaſoning and power of deciſion, he has alſo united more moderation and liberality of ſentiment, than is uſually to be found among diſputants; and added weight to his argument by a certain plainneſs and ſobriety of manner, that is infinitely better calculated to produce conviction, than the ſallies of an ambitious eloquence.

His great merit lies in the clear perception of the ſtrong or the difficult parts of a queſtion, and in the judicious ſelection and perſpicuous arrangement of his arguments: invention is leſs within his province; and, even when his concluſions appear to partake of originality, it will commonly be found that they have been ſuggeſted by a minute and ſcrupulous examination of pro-

poſitions that had been furniſhed by others. His common way is, to break down a ſubject into as many diſtinct parts as it really appears to contain, and to make each of them the ſubject of a ſeparate and rigorous inveſtigation. In conſequence of this, his arguments frequently appear to be narrow and circumſcribed in their application; and the reader is ſometimes apt to wiſh for the excurſive ſpeculation and ample range of a leſs accurate reaſoner. The truth is, however, that, upon many ſubjects, it is impoſſible to attain preciſion, without this formality and detail. Sophiſtry always delights in generalities; and fallacy is never ſo ſafe from detection, as when inquiry is eluded by rapidity of progreſſion, and the mind hurried from one half view of a ſubject to another, without ever being permitted to reflect upon what has been preſented to it.

Almoſt all the writings of Dr Paley relate to the higheſt and moſt important queſtions upon which human reaſon can be exerciſed, and appear to have been compoſed with ſuitable caution and deliberation. They are elaborate, rather than ingenious; and ſeem to have been diligently meditated, and carefully arranged, rather than to have been conceived in any fervour of imagination. or poured forth in any conviction of their infallibility. The utmoſt pains are taken, therefore, to render every thing intelligible and preciſe; and more anxiety is ſhown that nothing neceſſary ſhall be omitted, than that all ſuperfluity ſhould be excluded. All cavil is prevented by a jealous ſtrictneſs of expreſſion; and a few homely illuſtrations are commonly ſufficient to expoſe thoſe illuſions, by which a falſe philoſophy is ſupported in ſo many of her unſubſtantial ſpeculations.

The progreſs of time, and the improving ingenuity of ſcepticiſm, have given a new aſpect to all our philoſophical productions. It is no longer enough for a writer on morality or religion to explain and enforce his own conceptions upon thoſe important ſubjects; he muſt make way for their reception by the extirpation of a multitude of errors, and muſt be upon the alert at every ſtage of his progreſs. He muſt advance with circumſpection as well as boldneſs, and fortify every poſition againſt the attacks of a vigilant and formidable adverſary. As the forms of error, too, are infinite and contradictory, he muſt inceſſantly be changing his poſture of defence, or direction of attack; what ſerves for the confutation of one ſet of opponents, being frequently the pretext of hoſtility to a ſecond. In this ſituation, the management of ſuch ſubjects can only be intruſted with ſafety to ſkilful reaſoners, and expert logicians; men, who will neither give quarter to ſophiſtry, nor conſume their forces in unprofitable contentions; who will confine their hoſtility to the proper objects of reſentment, and neither uſe their victories with inſolence, nor refuſe to yield what

what they have neither power nor inducement to retain. The great art in all controverſies of this nature, is, firſt, to bring the argument to a point, and then to urge it ſteadily and cloſely to an iſſue. We do not know any writer who has obſerved both precepts with greater judgment and addreſs than Dr Paley. All this we ſay in reference to his former publications: that which is now before us will not detract from his reputation, and probably will not extend it.

On the ſubject of Natural Theology, no one looks for originality, and no one pretends to diſcovery. Its great diſadvantage is its extreme ſimplicity, and the vaſt multiplicity of obvious and deciſive evidences that may every where be found for its illuſtration. The great book of the univerſe lies open to all mankind; and he who cannot read in it the name and the titles of its Author, will probably derive but little benefit from the labours of any commentator: their inſtructions may elucidate a few dark paſſages, and exalt our admiration of many that we already perceive to be beautiful; but the bulk of the volume is legible, without aſſiſtance; and, much as we may find out by ſtudy and meditation, it will ſtill be as nothing, in compariſon with what is forced upon our apprehenſion. No thinking man, we conceive, can doubt that there are marks of deſign in the univerſe; and any enumeration of the inſtances in which this deſign is manifeſt, appears, at firſt ſight, to be both unneceſſary and impoſſible. A ſingle example ſeems altogether as concluſive as a thouſand: and he that cannot diſcover any traces of contrivance in the formation of an eye, will probably retain his atheiſm at the end of a whole ſyſtem of phyſiology. We are apt therefore to ſuſpect, that the chief value of thoſe publications that aim at eſtabliſhing the being of an intelligent Creator, by a copious induction of the marks of intelligence in the creation, conſiſts, either in their ſubſerviency to the pleaſures of devout meditation, or in the novelty, arrangement, and importance of the phyſical truths they contain. Upon a more mature conſideration, however, we are perſuaded that this is but a ſecondary merit in the work that is now before us, and that the reverend author has done a great, and by no means an unneceſſary ſervice to the cauſe of religion by its publication. It may be worth while to conſider in what its utility principally conſiſts, and what is the chief difference between the taſk of an advocate of natural theology in former, and in the preſent times.

The ancient ſceptics ſeem to have had nothing to ſet up againſt a deſigning Deity, but the obſcure omnipotency of Chance, and the experimental combinations of a chaos of reſtleſs atoms. The taſk of the Theiſtic philoſophers was, therefore, abundantly eaſy in thoſe days; and though their phyſical ſcience was by no means very correct or extenſive, they ſeem to have performed it in a

bold and ſatisfactory manner. They appealed at once to the order and ſymmetry of nature, and to the regularity and magnificence of the grand ſtructure of the univerſe. The great phenomena of the heavens, in particular, appear to have arreſted their attention; and the magnitude and uniformity of the planetary movements, ſeem to have afforded a ſufficient proof of Divine power and intelligence. It did not appear to them any objection to this argument, that nothing analogous to thoſe phenomena could be found among the products of human intelligence, or that they were unable to explain the means which Divine Wiſdom had employed to produce them. '*Quis hunc hominem dixerit*,' ſays Cicero, '*qui cum tam certos cœli motus, tam ratos aſtrorum ordines, tamque inter ſe connexa et apta viderit, neget his ullam ineſſe rationem, eoque caſu fieri dicat, quæ quanto conſilio gerantur, nullo conſilio aſſequi poſſumus?*'

In this broad and general way did the theiſts of antiquity propoſe their evidence of the Divine intelligence; finding it eaſier, and probably thinking it more magnificent, and better ſuited to the dignity of the Deity, that the proofs of his exiſtence ſhould be derived from the great and ſublime parts of his creation, than from the petty contrivances of animal or vegetable organization. If a ſovereign mind was allowed to have planned the great ſyſtem of the univerſe, they had no objection to admit, that bees and worms might be generated ſpontaneouſly, or even that men and animals might be hatched by the heat of the ſun on the fertile banks of the Nile.

In the mean time, phyſical ſcience was making ſlow but continual advances; and curious inquirers were able to penetrate into the more immediate cauſes of many of the appearances of nature. Elated with theſe diſcoveries, which ought to have increaſed their veneration for the Supreme Contriver of the whole, they immediately fancied they had found out the great ſecret of nature; and, aſcribing imaginary qualities and energies to different claſſes of bodies, they dethroned the Deity by the agency of ſecondary cauſes, and erected a ſyſtem of materialiſm in his ſtead. It was in thoſe circumſtanes, we are perſuaded, that certain falſe opinions as to the oppoſition of religion and philoſophy originated, though they have been revived and maintained, in later times, by cauſes of a different deſcription. Thoſe whoſe diſpoſitions inclined them to devout contemplation, were accuſtomed to look upon the wonders of nature in the groſs; to conſider them as environed with a certain awful myſtery; and to diſcountenance every attempt to pry into their origin, as a preſumptuous and profane interference with the councils of Omnipotence. Inquiſitive naturaliſts, on the other hand, were apt to forget the Lawgiver in their zealous admiration of the law; and, mocking at the pious horror of the ignorant, conſidered the mighty fabric of the

the univerſe as little better than a piece of mechanical jugglery, that could only command our admiration, while the cauſe of its movements was concealed.

This, however, was an error that was rectified by the progreſs of thoſe very ſpeculations by which it had apparently been produced. When men began to reaſon more correctly upon the appearances of nature, they ſoon learned to perceive that the minute texture of animal and vegetable bodies contained more wonderful indications of contrivance and deſign than the great maſſes of aſtronomy; and that, from the greater complication of their parts, and our more intimate experience of their uſes, they were infinitely better fitted to atteſt the adaptation of means to ends, than the remoter wonders of the heavens. Boyle and Newton carried this principle of philoſophical piety along with them into all their ſpeculations. The microſcopical obſervers caught the ſame ſpirit. Ray and Derham ſucceſſively digeſted all the phyſics of their day into a ſyſtem of natural theology. A late editor of Dr Derham has inſerted moſt of the modern diſcoveries: and, as nothing uſeful or meritorious can be ſafe from the zeal of injudicious admirers, a genius of Germany has recently preſented the public with a demonſtration of the being and attributes of the Deity, deduced from the hiſtory and habitudes of *inſects*.

In this ſituation, it may at firſt ſight appear to have been ſuperfluous for Dr Paley to come forward with a new work upon a ſubject in itſelf ſo ſimple, and already ſo learnedly diſcuſſed. It is to be obſerved, however, that moſt of the preceding publications are addreſſed to readers that are ſuppoſed to be already entirely convinced of the exiſtence of a deſigning Creator, and ſeem to have been chiefly intended to promote a habit of pious meditation, and to afford materials for devout reflection on the goodneſs and wiſdom of the Deity. They are not conſtructed, at leaſt, with any expreſs reference to the objections of atheiſtical writers, and neither guard againſt the cavils which they have made as to certain parts of the evidence, nor directly confute the falſe conſtructions they have attempted to put upon others. A work was ſtill wanted, therefore, in which the evidences of a wiſe and beneficent Creator might be detailed with ſufficient amplitude, while every thing was omitted that the moſt ſcrupulous ſcepticiſm could challenge, and in which the fallacy of every atheiſtical hypotheſis might be diſtinctly expoſed, both by a ſtrict examination of its principle, and by the ſelection of ſuch obvious phenomena as were inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of its truth. Such a work we conceive Dr Paley had in view to compoſe when he entered upon this ſubject, and ſuch undoubtedly is the plan and the tendency of the publication now before us.

After ſtating, in a very forcible and clear manner, the nature

of the argument that leads us from the marks of deſign up to a deſigning Author, and ſhowing that the ſucceſſion or generation of organized bodies can never account for the original contrivance of their formation, the learned author proceeds to conſider the devices that atheiſtical reaſoners have fallen upon to elude the force of the concluſion.

'One atheiſtic way of replying to our obſervations upon the works of nature, and to the proofs of a Deity which we think that we perceive in them, is to tell us, that all which we ſee muſt neceſſarily have had ſome form, and that it might as well be its preſent form as any other. Let us now apply this anſwer to the eye, as we did before to the watch. Something or other muſt have occupied that place in the animal's head; muſt have filled up, we will ſay, that ſocket: we will ſay, alſo, that it muſt have been of that ſort of ſubſtance which we call animal ſubſtance, as fleſh, bone, membrane, cartilage, &c.: but that it ſhould have been an *eye*, knowing as we do what an eye comprehends, viz. that it ſhould have conſiſted, firſt, of a ſeries of tranſparent lenſes (very different, by the by, even in their ſubſtance, from the opaque materials of which the reſt of the body is, in general at leaſt, compoſed; and with which the whole of its ſurface, this ſingle portion of it excepted, is covered): ſecondly, of a black cloth or canvaſs (the only membrane of the body which is black) ſpread out behind theſe lenſes, ſo as to receive the image formed by pencils of light tranſmitted through them; and placed at the preciſe geometrical diſtance at which, and at which alone, a diſtinct image could be formed, namely, at the concourſe of the refracted rays: thirdly, of a large nerve communicating between this membrane and the brain; without which the action of light upon the membrane, however modified by the organ, would be loſt to the purpoſes of ſenſation. That this fortunate conformation of parts ſhould have been the lot, not of one individual out of many thouſand individuals, like the great prize in a lottery, or like ſome ſingularity in nature, but the happy chance of a whole ſpecies; nor of one ſpecies out of many thouſand ſpecies, with which we are acquainted, but of by far the greateſt number of all that exiſt; and that under varieties, not caſual or capricious, but bearing marks of being ſuited to their reſpective exigencies; that all this ſhould have taken place, merely becauſe ſomething muſt have occupied thoſe points in every animal's forehead; or, that this ſhould be thought to be accounted for, by the ſhort anſwer, 'that whatever was there muſt have had ſome form or other,' is too abſurd, to be made more ſo by any argumentation. We are not contented with this anſwer, we find no ſatisfaction in it, by way of accounting for appearances of organization far ſhort of thoſe of the eye, ſuch as we obſerve in foſſil ſhells, petrified bones, or other ſubſtances which bear the veſtiges of animal or vegetable recrements, but which, either in reſpect of utility, or of the ſituation in which they are diſcovered, may ſeem accidental enough. It is no way of accounting even for theſe things, to ſay that the ſtone, for inſtance, which is ſhown to us, (ſuppoſing the queſtion to be concerning a petrification),

fication), muſt have contained ſome internal conformation or other. Nor does it mend the anſwer to add, with reſpect to the ſingularity of the conformation, that, after the event, it is no longer to be computed what the chances were againſt it. This is always to be computed, when the queſtion is, whether an uſeful or imitative conformation be the produce of chance or not. I deſire no greater certainty in reaſoning, than that by which chance is excluded from the preſent diſpoſition of the natural world. Univerſal experience is againſt it. What does chance ever do for us? In the human body, for inſtance, chance, *i. e.* the operation of cauſes without deſign, may produce a wen, a wart, a mole, a pimple, but never an eye. Amongſt inanimate ſubſtances, a clod, a pebble, a liquid drop, might be; but *never* was a watch, a teleſcope, an organized body of any kind, anſwering a valuable purpoſe by a complicated mechaniſm, the effect of chance. In no aſſignable inſtance hath ſuch a thing exiſted, without intention ſomewhere.

'There is another anſwer, which has the ſame effect as the reſolving of things into chance; which anſwer would perſuade us to believe, that the eye, the animal to which it belongs, every other animal, every plant, indeed every organized body which we ſee, are only ſo many out of the poſſible varieties and combinations of being, which the lapſe of infinite ages has brought into exiſtence; that the preſent world is the relic of that variety; millions of other bodily forms and other ſpecies having periſhed, being, by the defect of their conſtitution, incapable of preſervation, or of continuance by generation. Now, there is no foundation whatever for this conjecture, in any thing which we obſerve in the works of nature: no ſuch experiments are going on at preſent; no ſuch energy operates as that which is here ſuppoſed, and which ſhould be conſtantly puſhing into exiſtence new varieties of beings: nor are there any appearances to ſupport an opinion, that every poſſible combination of vegetable or animal ſtructure has formerly been tried. Multitudes of conformations, both of vegetables and animals, may be conceived capable of exiſtence and ſucceſſion, which yet do not exiſt. Perhaps, almoſt as many forms of plants might have been found in the fields, as figures of plants can be delineated upon paper. A countleſs variety of animals might have exiſted, which do not exiſt. Upon the ſuppoſition here ſtated, we ſhould ſee unicorns and mermaids, ſylphs and centaurs; the fancies of painters, and the fables of poets, realized by examples. Or, if it be alleged that theſe may tranſgreſs the limits of poſſible life and propagation, we might, at leaſt, have nations of human beings without nails upon their fingers, with more or fewer fingers and toes than ten; ſome with one eye, others with one ear, with one noſtril, or without the ſenſe of ſmelling at all. All theſe, and a thouſand other imaginable varieties, might live and propagate. We may modify any one ſpecies many different ways, all conſiſtent with life, and with the actions neceſſary to preſervation, although affording different degrees of conveniency and enjoyment to the animal. And if we carry theſe modifications through the different ſpecies which are known to ſubſiſt, their number would be incalculable. No reaſon can be

be given, why, if theſe deperdits ever exiſted, they have now diſappeared. Yet, if all poſſible exiſtences have been tried, they muſt have formed part of the catalogue.' P. 65—70.

'To the marks of contrivance diſcoverable in animal bodies, and to the argument deduced from them, in proof of deſign, and of a deſigning Creator, this turn is ſometimes attempted to be given, viz. that the parts were not intended for the uſe, but that the uſe aroſe out of the parts. This diſtinction is intelligible. A cabinet-maker rubs his mahogany with fiſh ſkin; yet it would be too much to aſſert, that the ſkin of the dog-fiſh was made rough and granulated on purpoſe for the poliſhing of wood, and the uſe of cabinet-makers. Therefore the diſtinction is intelligible. But I think that there is very little place for it in the works of nature. When roundly and generally affirmed of them, as it hath ſometimes been, it amounts to ſuch another ſtretch of aſſertion, as it would be to ſay, that all the implements of the cabinet-maker's workſhop, as well as his fiſh ſkin, were ſubſtances accidentally configurated, which he had picked up, and converted to his uſe; that his adzes, ſaws, planes, and gimlets, were not made, as we ſuppoſe, to hew, cut, ſmooth, ſhape out, or bore wood with; but that, theſe things being made, no matter with what deſign, or whether with any, the cabinet-maker perceived that they were applicable to his purpoſe, and turned them to account.

'But again—So far as this ſolution is attempted to be applied to thoſe parts of animals, the action of which does not depend upon the will of the animal, it is fraught with ſtill more evident abſurdity. Is it poſſible to believe, that the eye was formed without any regard to viſion; that it was the animal itſelf which found out, that though formed with no ſuch intention, it would ſerve to ſee with; and that the uſe of the eye, as an organ of ſight, reſulted from this diſcovery, and the animal's application of it? The ſame queſtion may be aſked of the ear; the ſame of all the ſenſes. None of the ſenſes fundamentally depend upon the election of the animal; conſequently, neither upon his ſagacity nor his experience. It is the impreſſion which objects make upon them, that conſtitutes their uſe. Under that impreſſion he is paſſive. He may bring objects to the ſenſe, or within its reach; he may ſelect theſe objects: but over the impreſſion itſelf he has no power, or very little; and that properly is the ſenſe.

'Secondly, There are many parts of animal bodies which ſeem to depend upon the will of the animal in a greater degree than the ſenſes do, and yet, with reſpect to which, this ſolution is equally unſatisfactory. If we apply the ſolution to the human body, for inſtance, it forms itſelf into queſtions upon which no reaſonable mind can doubt; ſuch as, whether the teeth were made expreſsly for the maſtication of food, the feet for walking, the hands for holding; or whether, theſe things being as they are, being in fact in the animal's poſſeſſion, his own ingenuity taught him that they were convertible to theſe purpoſes, though no ſuch purpoſes were contemplated in their formation?

'All

'All that there is of the appearance of reaſon in this way of conſidering the ſubject is, that, in ſome caſes, the organization ſeems to determine the habits of the animal, and its choice, to a particular mode of life; which, in a certain ſenſe, may be called "the uſe ariſing out of the part." Now, to all the inſtances, in which there is any place for this ſuggeſtion, it may be replied, that the organization determines the animal to habits beneficial and ſalutary to itſelf; and that this effect would not be ſeen ſo regularly to follow, if the ſeveral organizations did not bear a concerted and contrived relation to the ſubſtances by which the animal was ſurrounded. They would, otherwiſe, be capacities without objects; powers without employment. The web-foot determines, you ſay, the duck to ſwim: but what would that avail, if there were no water to ſwim in? The ſtrong, hooked bill, and ſharp talons, of one ſpecies of bird, determine it to prey upon animals: the ſoft, ſtraight bill, and weak claws, of another ſpecies, determine it to pick up ſeeds: but neither determination could take effect in providing for the ſuſtenance of the birds, if animal bodies and vegetable ſeeds did not lie within their reach. The peculiar conformation of the bill, and tongue, and claws of the woodpecker, determines that bird to ſearch for his food amongſt the inſects lodged behind the bark, or in the wood, of decayed trees: but what would this profit him, if there were no trees, nor decayed trees, no inſects lodged under their bark, or in their trunk? The proboſcis with which the bee is furniſhed, determines him to ſeek for honey: but what would that ſignify, if flowers ſupplied none? Faculties, thrown down upon animals at random, and without reference to the objects amidſt which they are placed, would not produce to them the ſervices and benefits which we ſee: and if there be that reference, then there is intention.

'Laſtly, The ſolution fails entirely, when applied to plants. The parts of plants anſwer their uſes, without any concurrence from the will or choice of the plant.' P. 72—76.

Another great objection to the popular argument from the appearances of deſign, is derived from the imperfection of human faculties, and the conſequent impoſſibility of perceiving in what manner intelligence has been employed in the wonderful works of creation. All our ideas of intelligence being derived from the conſciouſneſs of its exiſtence in human creatures, it is plain that the analogical argument for its exiſtence in the Author of the univerſe is more cloſe, and more irreſiſtible, when his works bear ſome obvious and undeniable analogy to the products of *our* power, induſtry, and ſkill; when we comprehend the end, and are able to judge of the efficacy and adaptation of the means. For this reaſon, Dr Paley has, with great judgment, ſelected the *mechanical* functions and contrivances in organized bodies, as proofs of deſign, in preference to thoſe peculiar and inexplicable properties which human art can neither beſtow nor make uſe of. Though theſe latter undoubtedly produce the moſt wonderful effects, and afford to a pious

mind

mind the moſt admirable ſpecimens of God's wiſdom and goodneſs, ſtill they are undoubtedly leſs ſerviceable in the conteſt with atheiſts; they make the analogical argument more looſe and remote, and give occaſion to the introduction of deluſive and unmeaning phraſes. The unbeliever always finds his advantage in referring to a principle, of which it muſt be admitted that he and his antagoniſt are equally ignorant, and is enabled at leaſt to perplex and prolong the combat, by attributing the works of the Deity to a principle of *irritability*, or a principle of *aggregation*, which he fancies can be conceived to operate without the controul of intelligence. To *mechanical* phenomena, the ſame evaſive reaſoning cannot be applied: the end to be accompliſhed is in theſe familiar and apparent, and the means by which it is accompliſhed are diſtinctly perceived and comprehended. If any arrangement of matter, however, can give us aſſurance of the agency of intelligence, the arrangement of living and organized bodies muſt afford that proof in its fulleſt perfection.

With a view to theſe obſervations, the author then proceeds to make a minute ſurvey of the mechanical contrivances in the animal body, and particularly in the human frame; he goes over the admirable arrangement of the *bones*, the *muſcles*, the *blood-veſſels*, *inteſtines*, &c. and examines the peculiar ſtructure of the different claſſes of animals, and the nice adaptation of each to the exigences of its reſpective ſituation. From a detail of this ſort, it is not eaſy to make any extracts. We ſelect the following as inſtances of the reverend author's acute and vigilant obſervation.

'The variety, quickneſs, and preciſion, of which muſcular motion is capable, are ſeen, I think, in no part ſo remarkably as in the *tongue*. It is worth any man's while to watch the agility of his tongue; the wonderful promptitude with which it executes changes of poſition, and the perfect exactneſs. Each ſyllable of articulated ſound requires for its utterance a ſpecific action of the tongue, and of the parts adjacent to it. The diſpoſition and configuration of the mouth, appertaining to every letter and word, is not only peculiar, but, if nicely and accurately attended to, perceptible to the ſight; inſomuch that curious perſons have availed themſelves of this circumſtance to teach the deaf to ſpeak, and to underſtand what is ſaid by others. In the ſame perſon, and after his habit of ſpeaking is formed, one, and only one poſition of the parts, will produce a given articulate ſound correctly. How inſtantaneouſly are theſe poſitions aſſumed and diſmiſſed! how numerous are the permutations, how various, yet how infallible! Arbitrary and antic variety is not the thing we admire; but variety obeying a rule, conducing to an effect, and commenſurate with exigencies infinitely diverſified. I believe alſo that the anatomy of the tongue correſponds with theſe obſervations upon its activity. The muſcles of the tongue are ſo numerous, and ſo implicated with one another, that they cannot be traced by the niceſt diſſection; nevertheleſs, which is a great perfection

perfection of the organ, neither the number, nor the complexity, nor what might ſeem to be the entanglement of its fibres, in anywiſe impede its motion, or render the determination or ſucceſs of its efforts uncertain.' P. 141—3.

'Or let a perſon only obſerve his own hand whilſt he is *writing*; the number of muſcles which are brought to bear upon the pen; how the joint and adjuſted operation of ſeveral tendons is concerned in every ſtroke, yet that five hundred ſuch ſtrokes are drawn in a minute. Not a letter can be turned without more than one or two or three tendinous contractions, definite, both as to the choice of the tendon, and as to the ſpace through which the contraction moves; yet how currently does the work proceed! and, when we look at it, how faithful have the muſcles been to their duty, how true to the order which endeavour or habit hath inculcated! For, let it be remembered, that, whilſt a man's handwriting is the ſame, an exactitude of order is preſerved, whether he write well or ill.' P. 147—8.

'Another exquiſite ſtructure, differing, indeed, from the four preceding inſtances, in that it does not relate to the conveyance of fluids, but ſtill belonging, like theſe to the claſs of pipes or conduits of the body, is ſeen in the *larynx*. We all know, that there go down the throat two pipes, one leading to the ſtomach, the other to the lungs; the one being the paſſage for the food, the other for the breath and voice: we know alſo, that both theſe paſſages open into the bottom of the mouth; the gullet, neceſſarily, for the conveyance of food; and the windpipe, for ſpeech and the modulation of ſound, not much leſs ſo: therefore, the difficulty was, the paſſages being ſo contiguous, to prevent the food, eſpecially the liquids, which we ſwallow into the ſtomach, from entering the windpipe, *i. e.* the road to the lungs; the conſequence of which error, when it does happen, is perceived by the convulſive throes that are inſtantly produced. This buſineſs, which is very nice, is managed in this manner.—The gullet (the paſſage for food) opens into the mouth like the cone or upper part of a funnel, the capacity of which forms indeed the bottom of the mouth. Into the ſide of this funnel, at the part which lies the loweſt, enters the windpipe, by a chink or ſlit, with a lid or flap, like a little tongue, accurately fitted to the orifice. The ſolids or liquids which we ſwallow, paſs over this lid or flap, as they deſcend by the funnel into the gullet. Both the weight of the food, and the action of the muſcles concerned in ſwallowing, contribute to keep the lid cloſe down upon the aperture, whilſt any thing is paſſing; whereas, by means of its natural cartilaginous ſpring, it raiſes itſelf a little, as ſoon as the food is paſſed, thereby allowing a free inlet and outlet for the reſpiration of air by the lungs. And we may here remark the almoſt complete ſucceſs of the expedient, viz. how ſeldom it fails of its purpoſe, compared with the number of inſtances in which it fulfils it. Reflect how frequently we ſwallow, how conſtantly we breathe. In a city feaſt, for example, what deglutition, what anhelation! yet does this little cartilage, the epiglottis, ſo effectually interpoſe its office, ſo ſecurely guard the entrance of the windpipe,

windpipe, that, whilſt morſel after morſel, draught after draught, are courſing one another over it, an accident of a crumb or a drop ſlipping into this paſſage, (which nevertheleſs muſt be opened for the breath every ſecond of time), excites, in the whole company, not only alarm by its danger, but ſurpriſe by its novelty. Not two gueſts are choked in a century.' P. 190—192.

The author then proceeds to what he calls *proſpective contrivances.* We give an inſtance of the excellent uſe he makes of this diviſion.

'The eye is of no uſe, at the time when it is formed. It is an optical inſtrument made in a dungeon; conſtructed for the refraction of light to a focus, and perfect for its purpoſe, before a ray of light has had acceſs to it; geometrically adapted to the properties and action of an element, with which it has no communication. It is about indeed to enter into that communication: and this is preciſely the thing which evidences intention. It is *providing* for the *future* in the cloſeſt ſenſe which can be given to theſe terms; for it is providing for a future change: not for the then ſubſiſting condition of the animal; not for any gradual progreſs or advance in that ſame condition; but for a new ſtate, the conſequence of a great and ſudden alteration, which the animal is to undergo at its birth. Is it to be believed that the eye was formed, or, which is the ſame thing, that the ſeries of cauſes was fixed by which the eye is formed, without a view to this change; without a proſpect of that condition, in which its fabric, of no uſe at preſent, is about to be of the greateſt; without a conſideration of the qualities of that element, hitherto entirely excluded, but with which it was hereafter to hold ſo intimate a relation? A young man makes a pair of ſpectacles for himſelf againſt he grows old; for which ſpectacles he has no want or uſe whatever at the time he makes them. Could this be done, without knowing and conſidering the defect of viſion to which advanced age is ſubject? Would not the preciſe ſuitableneſs of the inſtrument to its purpoſe, of the remedy to the defect, of the convex lens to the flattened eye, eſtabliſh the certainty of the concluſion, that the caſe, afterwards to ariſe, had been conſidered beforehand, ſpeculated upon, provided for? all which are excluſively the acts of a reaſoning mind. The eye formed in one ſtate, for uſe only in another ſtate, and in a different ſtate, affords a proof no leſs clear of deſtination to a future purpoſe; and a proof proportionably ſtronger, as the machinery is more complicated, and the adaptation more exact.

'What has been ſaid of the eye, holds equally true of the *lungs.* Compoſed of air veſſels, where there is no air; elaborately conſtructed for the alternate admiſſion and excluſion of an elaſtic fluid, where no ſuch fluid exiſts: this great organ, with the whole apparatus belonging to it, lies collapſed in the fœtal thorax; yet in order and in readineſs for action, the firſt moment that the occaſion requires its ſervice. This is having a machine locked up in ſtore for future uſe; which inconteſtibly proves, that the caſe was expected to occur, in which

which this uſe might be experienced: but expectation is the proper act of intelligence. Conſidering the ſtate in which an animal exiſts *before* its birth, I ſhould look for nothing leſs in its body than a ſyſtem of lungs. It is like finding a pair of bellows in the bottom of the ſea; of no ſort of uſe in the ſituation in which they are found; formed for an action which was impoſſible to be exerted; holding no relation or fitneſs to the element which ſurrounds them, but both to another element in another place.' P. 277—279.

He then proceeds to the chapter of *relations*, in which he points out the congruity and mutual ſubſerviency of the different parts of the ſame animal; and of the whole, to the element and occupation to which it is deſtined. After this comes a ſection entitled *compenſation*. The author explains it in this manner:

'*Compenſation* is a ſpecies of relation. It is relation, when the *defects* of one part, or of one organ, are ſupplied by the ſtructure of another part, or of another organ. Thus,

'The ſhort unbending neck of the *elephant* is compenſated by the length and flexibility of his *proboſcis*. He could not have reached the ground without it: or if it be ſuppoſed that he might have fed upon the fruit, leaves, or branches of trees, how was he to drink? Should it be aſked, Why is the elephant's neck ſo ſhort? it may be anſwered, That the weight of a head ſo heavy could not have been ſupported at the end of a longer lever. To a form, therefore, in ſome reſpects neceſſary, but in ſome reſpects alſo inadequate to the occaſions of the animal, a ſupplement is added, which exactly makes up the deficiency under which he laboured.

'If it be ſuggeſted, that this proboſcis may have been produced in a long courſe of generations, by the conſtant endeavour of the elephant to thruſt out his noſe, (which is the general hypotheſis by which it has lately been attempted to account for the forms of animated nature), I would aſk, how was the animal to ſubſiſt in the mean time, during the proceſs, *until* this prolongation of ſnout were completed: What was to become of the individual, whilſt the ſpecies was perfecting?' P. 298—299.

There is an intereſting chapter upon *inſtinct*, in which the author very ſucceſsfully confutes the opinion of thoſe philoſophers, who refer all the actions of animals to a volition excited by a preſent object; and continues his examination of the ſtructure of *inſects* and *plants*. There is a ſhort chapter upon the *elements*, and a long one upon *aſtronomy*, which the author introduces with the following judicious remarks, which may ſerve to point out the ſuperiority which his ſyſtematic argument poſſeſſes over the pious learning of his predeceſſors.

'My opinion of aſtronomy has always been, that it is *not* the beſt medium through which to prove the agency of an intelligent Creator; but that, this being proved, it ſhows, beyond all other ſciences, the magnificence

magnificence of his operations. The mind which is once convinced, it raiſes to ſublimer views of the Diety, than any other ſubject affords; but is not ſo well adapted, as ſome other ſubjects are, to the purpoſe of argument. We are deſtitute of the means of examining the conſtitution of the heavenly bodies. The very ſimplicity of their appearance is againſt them. We ſee nothing but bright points, luminous circles, or the phaſes of ſpheres reflecting the light which falls upon them. Now, we deduce deſign from relation, aptitude, and correſpondence of *parts*. Some degree, therefore, of *complexity* is neceſſary to render a ſubject fit for this ſpecies of argument. But the heavenly bodies do not, except perhaps in the inſtance of Saturn's ring, preſent themſelves to our obſervation as compounded of parts at all. This, which may be a perfection in them, is a diſadvantage to us, as inquirers after their nature. They do not come within our mechanics.

'And what we ſay of their forms, is true of their *motions*. Their motions are carried on without any ſenſible intermediate apparatus; whereby we are cut off from one principal ground of argumentation and analogy. We have nothing wherewith to compare them; no invention, no diſcovery, no operation or reſource of art, which, in this reſpect, reſembles them. Even thoſe things which are made to imitate and repreſent them, ſuch as orreries, planetaria, celeſtial globes, &c. bear no affinity to them, in the cauſe and principle by which their motions are actuated.' P. 209—210.

The next chapter, which we conſider as the moſt important of the whole work, is rather unfortunately entitled, 'of the *Perſonality* of the Deity.' Its object is to prove, that the cauſe of all things is not a general and incomprehenſible eſſence, efficacy or principle, but a real deſigning agent, having an exiſtence independent of the beings in which the marks of deſign have been eſtabliſhed. In this view, he firſt endeavours to ſhow, that *the univerſe itſelf* cannot be the Deity, becauſe, in its conſtitution, it teſtifies a contrivance; and this neceſſarily implies a *pre-exiſting* contriver: the ſame argument evinces, that the preſent arrangement of things could not have been eternal. The learned author then obſerves, that atheiſtical reaſoners frequently endeavour to impoſe upon their antagoniſts, by a repetition of mere *names*, inſtead of argument or conjecture; as, when they refer the order of organized bodies to 'a law,' or aſſert that the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe may be explained from 'the mechaniſm of its parts. A *law* preſuppoſes an agent; for it is only the mode according to which an agent proceeds; and *mechaniſm* can produce nothing, unleſs there be *a power* to whoſe operations it is ſubſervient. The ſame cenſure is paſſed upon thoſe who would ſubſtitute ſuch words as 'principle, proceſs, or generation,' for a real explanation of the cauſe of any exiſting phenomena. The 'internal moulds, by which Buffon keeps his organic particles from

from running into new combinations, meet with no better treatment; and 'the appetencies' of Dr Darwin are explained and diſpoſed of in this manner—

'Pieces of ſoft, ductile matter, being endued with propenſities or appetencies for particular actions, would, by continual endeavours, carried on through a long ſeries of generations, work themſelves gradually into ſuitable forms; and at length acquire, though perhaps by obſcure and almoſt imperceptible improvements, an organization fitted to the action which their reſpective propenſities led them to exert. A piece of animated matter, for example, that was endued with a propenſity to *fly*, though ever ſo ſhapeleſs, though no other, we will ſuppoſe, than a round ball to begin with, would, in a courſe of ages, if not in a million of years, perhaps in a hundred millions of years (for our theoriſts, having eternity to diſpoſe of, are never ſparing in time), acquire *wings*. The ſame tendency to loco-motion in an aquatic animal, or rather in an animated lump which might happen to be ſurrounded by water, would end in the production of *fins*; in a living ſubſtance, confined to the ſolid earth, would put out *legs* and *feet*; or, if it took a different turn, would break the body into ringlets, and conclude by *crawling* upon the ground.' P. 463-4.

'The ſcheme under conſideration is open to the ſame objection with other conjectures of a ſimilar tendency, viz. a total defect of evidence. No changes, like thoſe which the theory requires, have ever been obſerved. All the changes in Ovid's Metamorphoſes might have been effected by theſe appetencies, if the theory were true; yet not an example, nor the pretence of an example, is offered of a ſingle change being known to have taken place. Nor is the order of generation obedient to the principle upon which this theory is built. The mammæ of the male have not vaniſhed by inuſitation; *nec curtorum, per multa ſecula, Judæorum propagini deeſt præputium.* It is eaſy to ſay, and it has been ſaid, that the alterative proceſs is too ſlow to be perceived; that it has been carried on through tracts of immeaſurable time; and that the preſent order of things is the reſult of a gradation, of which no human record can trace the ſteps. It is eaſy to ſay this; and yet it is ſtill true, that the hypotheſis remains deſtitute of evidence.' P. 465-6.

The analogies upon which it has been ſupported, are ſaid to be the following. The bunch of the camel produced, in proceſs of time, by carrying burdens; the naked thighs of the crane, heron, ſtork, &c. occaſioned by their ancient practice of wading in the water; and the pouch of the pelican diſtended, by the efforts of many generations, to cram a large quantity of fiſh into the mouth. On this ſtatement, Dr Paley remarks, in the firſt place,

'That the inſtances themſelves are unauthenticated by teſtimony; and, in theory, to ſay the leaſt of them, open to great objections. Who ever read of camels without bunches, or with bunches leſs than

thoſe with which they are at preſent uſually formed? A bunch, not unlike the camels, is found between the ſhoulders of the buffalo; of the origin of which, it is impoſſible to give the account which is here given. In the ſecond example; Why ſhould the application of water, which appears to promote and thicken the growth of feathers upon the bodies and breaſts of geeſe and ſwans, and other water-fowls, have diveſted of this covering the thighs of cranes? The third inſtance, which appears to me as plauſible as any that can be produced, has this againſt it, that it is a ſingularity reſtricted to the ſpecies; whereas, if it had its commencement in the cauſe and manner which have been aſſigned, the like conformation might be expected to take place in other birds which feed upon fiſh. How comes it to paſs, that the pelican alone was the inventreſs, and her deſcendants the only inheritors, of this curious reſource?

'But it is the leſs neceſſary to controvert the inſtances themſelves, as it is a ſtraining of analogy beyond all limits of reaſon and credibility, to aſſert that birds, and beaſts, and fiſh, with all their variety and complexity of organization, have been brought into their forms, and diſtinguiſhed into their ſeveral kinds and natures, by the ſame proceſs (even if that proceſs could be demonſtrated, or had ever been actually noticed as might ſeem to ſerve for the gradual generation of a camel's bunch, or a pelican's pouch.

'The ſolution, when applied to the works of nature *generally*, is contradicted by many of the phenomena, and totally inadequate to others. The *ligaments* or ſtrictures, by which the tendons are tied down at the angles of the joints, could, by no poſſibility, be formed by the motion or exerciſe of the tendons themſelves; by an appetency exciting theſe parts into action; or by any tendency ariſing therefrom. The tendency is all the other way; the conatus in conſtant oppoſition to them. Length of time does not help the caſe at all, but the reverſe. The *valves* alſo in the blood-veſſels could never be formed in the manner which our theoriſt propoſes: The blood, in its right and natural courſe, has no tendency to form them; when obſtructed or refluent, it has the contrary. Theſe parts could not grow out of their uſe, though they had eternity to grow in.

'The *ſenſes* of animals appear to me altogether incapable of receiving the explanation of their origin which this theory affords. Including under the word 'ſenſe' the organ and the perception, we have no account of either. How will our philoſopher get a *viſion*, or make an eye? How ſhould the blind animal affect ſight, of which blind animals, we know, have neither conception nor deſire? Affecting it, by what operation of its will, by what endeavour to ſee, could it ſo determine the fluids of its body, as to inchoate the formation of an eye? Or, ſuppoſe the eye formed, would the perception follow? The ſame of the other ſenſes. And this objection holds its force, aſcribe what you will to the hand of time, to the power of habit, to changes too ſlow to be obſerved by man, or brought within any compariſon which he is able to make of paſt things with the preſent: concede what you pleaſe to theſe

arbitrary

arbitrary and unattested suppositions, how will they help you? Here is no inception. No laws, no course, no powers of nature which prevail at present, nor any analogous to these, could give commencement to a new sense. And it is in vain to inquire, how that might proceed, which could never *begin*.

'I think the senses to be the most inconsistent with the hypothesis before us, of any part of the animal frame. But other parts are sufficiently so. The solution does not apply to the parts of animals, which have little in them of motion. If we could suppose joints and muscles to be gradually formed by action and exercise, what action or exercise could form a skull, or fill it with brains? No effort of the animal could determine the clothing of its skin. What conatus could give prickles to the porcupine or hedgehog; or to the sheep its fleece?

'In the last place, What do these appetencies mean, when applied to plants? I am not able to give a signification to the term, which can be transferred from animals to plants, or which is common to both. Yet a no less successful organization is found in plants, than what obtains in animals. A solution is wanted for one, as well as the other.

'Upon the whole, after all the struggles of a reluctant philosophy, the necessary resort is to a Deity. The marks of *design* are too strong to be got over. Design must have had a designer. That designer must have been a person. That person is God.' P. 469. to 473.

With these observations the learned author concludes his evidence of the *existence* of an intelligent Creator, and proceeds, in the remaining chapters of the book, to inquire into the *attributes* which natural religion authorises us to ascribe to him. Of the *natural attributes*, he observes, that though their ordinary names imply an absolute infinity in the qualities they describe, we merely mean that they exist in a degree beyond all comparison greater than we experience in ourselves, and in a degree to which we are not authorised to assign any limits whatsoever. The *unity* of the Deity he conceives to be sufficiently established by the uniformity of plan that is observable in the universe.

The *goodness* of the Deity forms the subject of the last chapter; and the proof of it is rested upon these two propositions: first, That in a vast plurality of instances, in which contrivance is perceived, the design of the contrivance is beneficial; and, secondly, That the Deity has superadded *pleasure* to animal sensations, beyond what is necessary for any other purpose; or when the purpose, so far as it was necessary, might have been affected by the operation of pain. In the illustration of these positions we meet with a great number of very acute and judicious remarks, and with many treats of the author's simplicity and benevolence of character. The language, also, is more animated throughout this discussion, than in the other parts of the work. For the existence of evil in the creation of a Being whose power and bene-

volence are unlimited, it is not eaſy to account ſatisfactorily; and though many conſolatory and profound obſervations are made upon it in this chapter by Dr Paley, we do not think that this great problem has yet received a complete ſolution. Without entering at all into the general argument, we may merely obſerve that the learned author has founded his reaſoning for the *abſolute* goodneſs of the Deity, upon the marks of beneficent contrivance, *in a great plurality of inſtances:* and that he concludes the argument with obſerving, that 'what is benevolence at all, muſt in him be *infinite* benevolence, by reaſon of the infinite, that is to ſay, the incalculably great number of objects upon which it is exerciſed.' Now, this, it appears to us, is a very dangerous manner of reaſoning, ſince the infinite *malevolence* of the Deity might be inferred, in the ſame manner from the incalculably great number of beings who are occaſionally ſubjected to ſuffering.—The concluſion of the whole work conſiſts of a ſhort and pious expoſition of the important benefits and comforts that may be derived from an habitual conſideration of the being and attributes of the Deity, and of the facilities which are afforded by a firm belief in the truths of natural religion, both for the reception and the confirmation of our faith in revelation.

As a collection of ſtriking facts and powerful arguments for the exiſtence of a wiſe and beneficent Creator, this publication is certainly entitled to a very favourable reception. The taſk, perhaps, was not very difficult, and the materials were certainly abundant: but the very extent of the ſubject might have perplexed an ordinary reaſoner; and the want of method and ſelection in former compilations had actually rendered a great part of them unſerviceable. Dr Paley's chief excellence conſiſts in the judicious diſpoſition of his forces, and the ſkill and confidence with which he has extended his array to every point which atheiſm had affected to menace. The champions of natural theology never had any reaſon, indeed, to doubt of the ſufficiency of their force; but it may be queſtioned if they ever knew ſo well, before, by what preciſe movements they might ſecure the diſcomfiture of their aſſailants. If we were inclined to point out any defects in a performance which has gratified us ſo much, both in its plan and its execution, we would obſerve, that the *metaphyſical* objections of the atheiſtical philoſophers are not perhaps ſufficiently weighed and refuted: it is probable that this was thought leſs neceſſary in a work intended for general peruſal; but as this treatiſe is announced as the completion of a general ſyſtem in Ethics and Theology, we cannot help thinking that it ought not to have left any plauſible objection unanſwered.

The phyſiology, in ſo far as we are able to judge, is extremely correct throughout; and it was not without ſurpriſe that we found

found the reverend author ſo accurately and familiarly acquainted with the moſt recent diſcoveries in ſcience and improvements in art. To every well conſtituted mind, it muſt be a pleaſing and animating ſpectacle, to ſee that vigorous underſtanding, that had been trained and exerciſed in other ſtudies, turning, at an advanced period of life, towards theſe reſearches that were neceſſary to complete his ſpeculations, and, in ſpite of the weight of years and infirmities, purſuing with unbroken ardour that detail of information, for the want of which he might ſo well have been forgiven.

The language of this book is by no means remarkable for dignity or elegance. Perſpicuity and conciſeneſs ſeem to have been the only accompliſhments of ſtyle which the author was ambitious of acquiring; and to theſe his praiſe muſt be confined. There is a great careleſſneſs of compoſition throughout the whole volume, and a colloquial homelineſs of diction, upon ſome occaſions, that does not ſeem altogether ſuitable, either to the gravity of the ſubject, or the dignity of the writer.

ART. IV. *The Picture of Peterſburg.* From the German of Henry Storch. 8vo. 590 pp. Longman. 1801.

THE city of Peter the Great owes much to art, and little to nature. That prince, in order to render his ſubjects a commercial nation, transferred the Imperial reſidence from the genial climate, fertile territory, and central ſituation of Moſcow, to the ſwamps and moraſſes of Ingria. An unexampled expenditure of money and labour has confined the Neva within lofty banks, in ſome places faced with granite; ſtagnant lakes have been converted into uſeful canals; ſuperb palaces have uſurped the place of the Finniſh huts; and where the reeds and bulruſhes cluſtered in the marſhes, the Dutch garden now diſplays its clipped hedges, figured yews, and inſipid regularity; whilſt expenſive hot-houſes pour forth the moſt delicate productions of tropical climates.

Few capitals of Europe can boaſt of a greater number of magnificent manſions; the different royal reſidences are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the taſte diſplayed in their conſtruction, and by the variety of their ſtyles and decorations. On a marble palace, reared for the accommodation of Gregory Orlof, 'the Empreſs,' ſays our author, 'had the confidence to cauſe this inſcription to be cut—*From grateful friendſhip.*' Should our readers be at a loſs to reconcile this remark with the ſtyle of the dedication, let them recollect, that, ere the book had aſſumed its preſent form, Catharine the Second was no more.

'We ſhould probably come neareſt to the truth, if we admit the preſent (1800) population of St Peterſburg at 230,000 perſons. This reſidence,' for Moſcow is ſtill conſidered as the metropolis), 'conſequently, by the amount of its population, holds the ſixth rank among the capital cities of Europe; ſince, in this reſpect, ſhe ſtands only below Conſtantinople, London, Paris, Naples, and Vienna.' Does Profeſſor Storch mean by this arrangement to repreſent the population of Conſtantinople as ſuperior to that of London? 'Next to Vienna comes Amſterdam, which, according to Reſtel and others, contains about 212,000 inhabitants; then follow, in proportion to the greatneſs of their population, Rome, Venice, Berlin, Madrid, and Liſbon.' Of the population aſſigned to St Peterſburg 29,000 are foreigners, and of theſe 17,000 are Germans: the annual mortality is ſtated ſo low as 28 in 1000. A hundred marriages are computed to produce in Peterſburg 408 children, and one is annually born for every 31 perſons. In the laſt calculation, Profeſſor Storch appears to have overlooked an obſervation, which reſults from his own ſtatement, and greatly enhances the acknowledged fertility of the Ruſſian females. By the cenſus of 1789, the number of males was double that of females; and we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the proportion has been changed ſince. The ſame circumſtance certainly does not occur in any other capital of Europe; and ſince the number of births, in proportion to the whole population, correſponds with that obſerved elſewhere, it would follow, that the Ruſſian females are vaſtly more prolific than their neighbours.

With regard to the ſituation of the lower claſſes, ſome inconſiſtency is preceptible in our author's account. At one time, he commiſerates their circumſtances, without ſpecifying the cauſes of their miſery: at another he repreſents them as the moſt ingenious, moſt induſtrious, merrieſt, and richeſt of plebeian citizens, ſince there is always a great demand for labour, and the daily wages amount to half a crown, whilſt the neceſſaries of a Ruſſian labourer may be procured for threepence. The women, even of the loweſt condition, uſe rouge; a fact, not very reconcileable with the beauty of their natural complexions, praiſed by Mr Storch.

Amongſt the middle ranks, a taſte for diſſipation and conviviality is the moſt prominent characteriſtic. Commerce has wrought her uſual enchantment, in rendering articles of luxury, articles of neceſſity; and enhancing the price of both, by depreciating the value of ſpecie, and by introducing a ſtyle of profuſion incompatible with economy. Hoſpitality is entirely a Ruſſian virtue; but its effects are confined to thoſe who can afford to keep a carriage, and to looſe their money at cards. Even a philoſopher, if he would philoſophize in good company, muſt, at

Peterſburg,

Peterſburg, take care frequently to recruit his card-purſe, and not to diſcover too much penetration as to the cauſes of his ill ſucceſs. Eight hundred pounds a-year is the ſmalleſt ſum on which a family of the ſlighteſt pretenſions to gentility can be ſupported. High birth is here in no eſtimation; a liberal ſcale of expence is eſſential to admittance into genteel circles; and rank derived from ſtation finds univerſally a willing homage. This reſpect for official ſtation, and indifference for noble birth, appears a paradox to Profeſſor Storch. Monteſquieu, however, would eaſily reſolve it by the principles of deſpotic governments, where all dignities emanate from, and revert to the Sovereign. Clubs, where perſons of both ſexes aſſemble to dinner, are very generally reſorted to; people of the higheſt rank there mingle with traders and artizans; and the reſult has been, an univerſal refineme..t of manners, and much poliſhed urbanity.

The higheſt claſs are uſually poſſeſſed of fortunes which would be conſidered as princely in other countries. Their domeſtics conſiſt of boors from their own eſtates, and ſometimes amount to ſeveral hundreds. The ſame magnificence pervades the whole eſtabliſhment, and their tables diſplay the productions of every climate. The public and charitable inſtitutions we deem it ſuperfluous to particularize, becauſe they are not now deſcribed for the firſt time; and the municipal conſtitution of Peterſburg would afford little amuſement.

Profeſſor Storch has drawn his picture with great diſtinctneſs, in lively colours, and we preſume with an accuracy proportioned to his long reſidence. His readers will find nothing wanting to complete their idea of this luxurious capital, though they may ſometimes complain of prolixity, and ſometimes of repetition.

ART. V. *The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri:* Conſiſting of the Inferno—Purgatorio—and Paradiſo. Tranſlated into Engliſh verſe, with preliminary eſſays, notes, and illuſtrations. By the Reverend Henry Boyd, A. M. Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount Charleville. 3 vol. 8vo. London: Caddell junior and Davies. 1802.

THE rude poetry of early ages poſſeſſes ſome high excellencies, which can never be attained to an equal degree in the more poliſhed ſtate of the art. That energy and ſimplicity, which are then its characteriſtics, are apt to be weakened and effaced, as men advance in the refinements of ſociety, and in the arts of compoſition. True genius, indeed, will always be diſtinguiſhed by vigour and animation; and good taſte will, in every age, reject the glare of artificial ornament. But what poet, ſtudiouſly com-

poſing in his cloſet, can hope to transfuſe into a ſubject, which perhaps, for the firſt time, has preſented itſelf to his fancy, that keenneſs and natural expreſſion which muſt diſtinguiſh the ſongs of thoſe bards who, in a circle of brother-warriors, break out into enthuſiaſtic deſcriptions of the battles and deaths of heroes, which they may either themſelves have witneſſed, or may recollect from the tales of their fathers?

A great part of the beauty of ſuch compoſitions periſhes, no doubt, with the occaſions which produced them; and the extravagance and barbarity with which they are commonly much defaced, render them, upon the whole, unpleaſant to a polite reader. But the early hiſtory of poetry abounds (like all other early hiſtories) with miracles: and, from the darkneſs of a rude age, poets have been known to burſt forth, who, while they retained the peculiar advantages of the period which produced them, have at the ſame time anticipated all the refinements which their art was afterwards to receive.

Homer will occur to every one as the moſt conſpicuous example of this kind; and it is ſurely very remarkable, that the oldeſt poet with whom we are acquainted ſhould ſtill be by far the moſt accompliſhed. A *few* of his ſucceſſors may have excelled him in certain qualifications; but he has beauties which have never been equalled; and he will, in general, be found to rank ſecond even in thoſe points in which he may be admitted to have a ſuperior. Without a rival in ardour, vivacity, and eloquence, he is inferior only to Shakeſpeare in extenſive obſervation, maſtery over the paſſions, abundant fancy, and vigorous expreſſion: Milton alone ſurpaſſes him in loftineſs of thought, and Virgil in majeſty.

It is not, perhaps, ſo generally underſtood, that a ſimilar phenomenon diſtinguiſhed the revival of letters. The rude romancers of the dark ages poſſeſſed, in ſome meaſure, the ſame poetical advantages that belonged to the original inventors of antiquity. It was indeed impoſſible but that, in their productions, the ſhattered veſtiges of a more poliſhed age ſhould ſometimes puſh out from the barbarous ſimplicity of their own. The contraſt may occaſionally have a good effect; as we are intereſted when we meet with the huts of ſhepherds among the remains of palaces and temples: but this can be the caſe only when the combination appears to be natural and accidental. We ſhould be offended, were the ſhepherds to remove the mouldering ruins from their original poſition, and place them in fantaſtic ſhapes about their own paltry hovels. Thus, the ſimplicity of the romancers, and of many of the earlier poets of modern Europe, is defaced with ſcraps of learning, and unnatural pedantry. That a great and accompliſhed poet ſhould ariſe in this ſtate of the art, is perhaps

even

even more wonderful, than the occurrence of ſuch an event at the firſt dawn of letters. It is eaſier to conceive that a world replete with harmony and beauty ſhould ſpring out of nothing, at the command of the Deity, than that it ſhould be moulded out of a jarring chaos of hot and cold, moiſt and dry. The mantle of poetry might drop from heaven on the ſhoulders of Homer; but we do not well comprehend what kind of ſorcery was employed to raiſe from the infernal regions the dark but powerful ſpirit of Dante.

With a genius perfectly original, and ſtrongly tinctured with the venerable ſimplicity of ancient times, this great poet poſſeſſes a degree of poliſh and elegance which might have done honour to a more advanced period. It was not in vain that he had ſtudied with ſo much attention the correct model of his maſter Virgil. The Grecian ſun of poetry had ſet upon the polar night of thoſe ages; and it is an eminent proof of Dante's judgment, that he preferred the borrowed beams of this pure luminary to the other more native but ſmaller fires that ſparkled in the Latin ſky. Yet he has ſuffered no trammels to be put on the vigour and boldneſs of his own conceptions. Harmonious, yet homely; conciſe, yet clear; he has little vivacity, but is ſeldom tedious. Conducting his readers through ſcenes the moſt horrible, or the moſt exalted, he is conſtantly in poſſeſſion of himſelf; and can deſcribe the pains of hell and the joys of heaven with little more emotion than that with which at other times he enters into ſcholaſtic reaſonings. A ſettled gravity pervades all his poem: he writes like a man employed in a ſerious buſineſs: and notions and images, which would tranſport the generality of poets beyond themſelves, ſeem to paſs through his mind like the common objects of his thoughts.

When we found that Dante had met with a tranſlator, we opened the volumes with very humble expectations, and with a diſpoſition for much indulgence. Our expectations, however, have been ſomewhat exceeded. Mr Boyd has an equable eaſy ſtyle of verſification, commonly ſomewhat dull, but always fluent. He expreſſes, in general very correctly, the meaning of his original; but he has an unfortunate habit of uſing obſcure phraſes which ſometimes make that meaning not very perceptible. Dante, for inſtance, in the beginning of his poem, ſays, very ſimply, 'But that I may treat of the good which I found in this valley, I will mention the other things which I met with there.' Mr Boyd tranſlates theſe words in the following unaccountable manner:

> 'Yet tell, O Muſe! what intellectual ſtore,
> I glean'd along the ſolitary ſhore;
> And ſing in louder ſtrains the *heav'nly freight.*'

Upon

Upon the whole, however, it appears to us, that Mr Boyd has done as much for Dante, as can well be done in Engliſh rhyme; and is juſtly entitled to praiſe for the diligence and perſeverance with which he has executed his laborious taſk. It is probable, however, that a proſe tranſlation would give a better idea of the genius and manner of this poet, than any metrical one. M'Pherſon's Homer indeed is very heavy, becauſe Homer is a diffuſe writer, and is languid without the help of verſification. Dante is remarkably conciſe, and never uſes one word more than is abſolutely neceſſary. There is a naked ſevere kind of poetry, to which verſe ſeems no very neceſſary appendage. The poetry of the Scriptures would loſe much of its *effect* if it were *done into metre*, as is evident from the verſions of the pſalms in common uſe. But as we ſcarcely expect that any one will ſet about this taſk, though a much eaſier one than that which Mr Boyd has accompliſhed, we recommend his tranſlation of Dante to the attention of our readers.

The diſſertations which he has prefixed to the ſeveral poems might have been omitted, without much detriment to the work. As a ſpecimen of the tranſlation, we ſubjoin the following paſſages, ſelected from each of the three poems.

I.

" *Thro' me the newly-damn'd for ever fleet,*
In ceaſeleſs ſhoals, to Pain's eternal ſeat;
Thro' me they march, and join the tortur'd crew.
The mighty gulph offended Juſtice made;
Unbounded Pow'r the ſtrong foundation laid,
And Love, by Wiſdom led, the limits drew.

II.

" *Long ere the infant world aroſe to light,*
I found a being in the womb of night.
Eldeſt of all—but things that ever laſt!—
And I for ever laſt!——Ye heirs of Hell,
Here bid at once your ling'ring hope farewell,
And mourn the moment of repentance paſt!"

III.

' This ſalutation ſad mine eyes amaz'd,
As on the dark PLUTONIAN arch I gaz'd,
In dark and dreadful characters pourtray'd.
" How dire the menace of the STYGIAN ſcroll!"
With deep concern I cried: The MANTUAN ſoul,
With friendly words, my ſinking ſpirits ſtay'd—

IV.

" Let no unmanly thought the place profane;
The fated hour commands you to reſtrain

The

The fickly fancies bred by wayward fear!
This is the ſcene I promis'd to unfold:
The regions of Eternal Wrath behold!
Nor tremble to ſurvey her terrors near!

V.

" Here thoſe, in ſearch of Bliſs who madly ſtray'd
From Reaſon's path, by Paſſion's lure betray'd,
Lament the ſad reſult!" then down the ſteep
With new-born hope his mate the Mantuan led,
Where wide before my wond'ring eyes were ſpread
The horrid ſecrets of the boundleſs deep.

VI.

' Thence, Oh! what wailings from the abject throng
Around the ſtarleſs ſky inceſſant rung;
The ſhort, ſhrill ſhriek, and long reſounding groan,
The thick ſob, panting through the cheerleſs air,
The lamentable ſtrain of ſad Deſpair,
And Blaſphemy, with fierce relentleſs tone.

VII.

' Volleying around, the full, infernal choir,
Barbarian tongues, and plaints, and words of ire,
(With oft' between, the harſh-inflicted blow),
In loud diſcordance from the tribes forlorn
Tumultuous roſe, as in a whirlwind borne,
With execrations mix'd, and murmurs low.

Inferno—the entrance into Hell: Canto 3. vol. i. p. 109-114.

I.

" Say, thou that droop'ſt beyond the ſacred flood,
The Holy Virgin thus her theme purſu'd,
But with a ſolemn brow, and piercing tone,
" Have I ſpoke truth? the ſanction of thy voice
Muſt clear my charge, and vindicate the Skies;
Thy innocence, or guilt, muſt now be ſhown."

II.

' My faculties I felt ſo much confus'd,
My organs falter'd, as to ſpeech diſus'd.
Tho' oft I try'd to anſwer to the charge:
A while ſhe ſtood; then, with indignant look,
She cry'd, " You have not drunk of Lethe's brook,
Your Mem'ry yet diſplays your deeds at large."

III.

' Slow from my lips the ſad confeſſion flow'd,
More to the Eye than Ear their movements ſhow'd

My

ART. VI. *Alfonſo, King of Caſtile.* A Tragedy, in five acts. By M. G. Lewis. Price 2s. 6d.

ALFONSO, king of Caſtile, had, many years previous to the ſuppoſed epoch of the play, left his miniſter and general, Orſino, to periſh in priſon, from a falſe accuſation of treaſon. Cæſario, ſon to Orſino (who by accident had liberated Amelroſa, daughter of Alfonſo, from the Moors, and who is married to her, unknown to the father) becomes a great favourite with the King, and avails himſelf of the command of the armies with which he is intruſted, to gratify his revenge for his father's misfortunes, to forward his own ambitious views, and to lay a plot by which he may deprive Alfonſo of his throne and his life. Marquis Guzman, poiſoned by his wife Ottilia in love with Cæſario, confeſſes to the King that the papers upon which the ſuſpicion of Orſino's guilt was founded, were forged by him: and the King, learning from his daughter Amelroſa that Orſino is ſtill alive, repairs to his retreat in the foreſt, is received with the moſt implacable hauteur and reſentment, and in vain implores forgiveneſs of his injured miniſter. To the ſame foreſt, Cæſario, informed of the exiſtence of his father, repairs; and reveals his intended plot againſt the King. Orſino, convinced of Alfonſo's goodneſs to his ſubjects, though incapable of forgiving him for his unintentional injuries to himſelf, in vain diſſuades his ſon from the conſpiracy; and at laſt, ignorant of their marriage, acquaints Amelroſa with the plot formed by her huſband againſt her father. Amelroſa, already poiſoned by Ottilia, in vain attempts to prevent Cæſario from blowing up a mine laid under the royal palace; information of which ſhe had received from Ottilia; ſtabbed by Cæſario to avoid her importunity. In the mean time the King had been removed from the palace by Orſino, to his ancient retreat in the foreſt; the people riſe againſt the uſurper Cæſario; a battle takes place: Orſino ſtabs his own ſon, at the moment the King is in his ſon's power; falls down from the wounds he has received in battle, and dies in the uſual dramatic ſtyle, repeating twenty-two hexameter verſes. Mr Lewis ſays in his preface,

'To the aſſertion, that my Play is *ſtupid*, I have nothing to object; if it be found ſo, even let it ſo be ſaid: but if (as was moſt *falſely* aſſerted of Adelmorn) any anonymous writer ſhould advance that this Tragedy is *immoral*, I expect him to prove his aſſertion by quoting the objectionable paſſages. This I demand as an act of *juſtice*.

We confeſs ourſelves to have been highly delighted with theſe ſymptoms of returning, or perhaps naſcent purity in the mind of Mr Lewis; a delight ſomewhat impaired, to be ſure, at the opening

opening of the play, by the following explanation which Ottilia gives of her early riſing.

' ACT I. SCENE I.—*The palace-garden.—Day-break.*

' OTTILIA *enters in a night-dreſs: her hair flows diſhevelled.*

' OTTIL. Dews of the morn, deſcend! Breathe, ſummer-gales,
My flushed cheeks woo ye! Play, ſweet wantons, play
'Mid my looſe treſſes, fan my panting breaſt,
Quench my blood's burning fever!—Vain, vain prayer!
Not Winter, thron'd 'midſt Alpine ſnows, whoſe will
Can with one breath, one touch, congeal whole realms,
And blanch whole ſeas: not that fiend's ſelf could eaſe
This heart, this gulph of flames, this purple kingdom,
Where paſſion rules and rages!'

Ottilia at laſt becomes quite furious, from the conviction that Cæſario has been ſleeping with a ſecond lady, called Eſtella; whereas, he has really been ſleeping with a third lady, called Amelroſa. Paſſing acroſs the ſtage, this gallant gentleman takes an opportunity of mentioning to the audience, that he has been paſſing his time very agreeably, meets Ottilia, quarrels, makes it up: and ſo end the firſt two or three ſcenes.

Mr Lewis will excuſe us for the liberty we take in commenting on a few paſſages in his play, which appear to us rather exceptionable. The only information which Cæſario, imagining his father to have been dead for many years, receives of his exiſtence, is in the following ſhort ſpeech of Melchior:

' MELCH. The Count San Lucar, long thought dead, but ſav'd,
It ſeems, by Amelroſa's care.—Time preſſes—
I muſt away: farewell.'

To this laconic, but important information, Cæſario makes no reply; but merely deſires Melchior to meet him at one o'clock, under the Royal Tower, and for ſome other purpoſes.

In the few caſes which have fallen under our obſervation, of fathers reſtored to life after a ſuppoſed death of twenty years, the parties concerned have, on the firſt information, appeared a little ſurpriſed, and generally aſked a few queſtions; though we do not go the length of ſaying it is natural ſo to do. This ſame Cæſario (whoſe love of his father is a principal cauſe of his conſpiracy againſt the King) begins criticiſing the old warrior, upon his firſt ſeeing him again, much as a virtuoſo would criticiſe an ancient ſtatue that wanted an arm or a leg.

' ORSINO *enters from the cave.*

' CÆSARIO. Now by my life
A noble ruin!'

Amelroſa

Amelroſa, who imagines her father to have baniſhed her from his preſence for *ever*, in the firſt tranſports of joy for pardon, obtained by earneſt interceſſion, thus exclaims:

'Lend thy doves, dear Venus,
That I may ſend them where Cæſario ſtrays:
And while he ſmooths their ſilver wings, and gives them
For drink the honey of his lips, I'll bid them
Coo in his ear, his Amelroſa's happy!'

What judge of human feelings does not recogniſe, in theſe images of ſilver wings, doves, and honey, the genuine language of the paſſions?

If Mr Lewis is really in earneſt in pointing out the coincidence between his own dramatic ſentiments, and the goſpel of St Matthew, ſuch a reference (wide as we know this aſſertion to be) evinces a want of judgment, of which we did not think him capable. If it proceeded from irreligious levity, we pity the man who has bad taſte enough not to prefer honeſt dulneſs to ſuch paltry celebrity.

We beg leave to ſubmit to Mr Lewis, if Alfonſo, conſidering the great intereſt he has in the deciſion, might not interfere a little in the long argument carried on between Cæſario and Orſino, upon the propriety of putting him to death. To have expreſſed any deciſive opinion upon the ſubject, might perhaps have been incorrect; but a few gentle hints as to that ſide of the queſtion to which he leaned, might be fairly allowed to be no very unnatural incident.

This tragedy delights in exploſions. Alfonſo's empire is deſtroyed by a blaſt of gunpowder, and reſtored by a clap of thunder. After the death of Cæſario, and a ſhort exhortation to that purpoſe by Orſino, all the conſpirators fall down in a thunder-clap, aſk pardon of the King, and are forgiven. This mixture of phyſical and moral power is beautiful! How intereſting a waterſpout would appear among Mr Lewis's Kings and Queens! We anxiouſly look forward, in his next tragedy, to a fall of ſnow three or four feet deep: or expect that the plot ſhall gradually unfold itſelf by means of a general thaw.

All is not ſo bad in this play. There is ſome ſtrong painting, which ſhows, every now and then, the hand of a maſter. The agitation which Cæſario exhibits, upon his firſt joining the conſpirators in the cave, previous to the blowing up of the mine, and immediately after ſtabbing Ottilia, is very fine.

'CÆSARIO.

'Aye, ſhout, ſhout,
And kneeling greet your blood-anointed king,
This ſteel his ſceptre! Tremble, dwarfs in guilt,

And

And own your maſter! Thou art proof, Henriquez,
'Gainſt pity; I once ſaw thee ſtab in battle
A page who claſped thy knees: And Melchoir there
Made quick work with a brother whom he hated.
But what did *I* this night? Hear, hear, and reverence!
There was a breaſt, on which my head had reſted
A thouſand times; a breaſt, which loved me fondly,
As heaven loves martyred ſaints; and yet this breaſt
I ſtabbed, knaves, ſtabbed it to the heart! Wine! wine there!
For my ſoul's joyous!' p. 86.

The reſiſtance which Amelroſa oppoſes to the firing of the mine, is well wrought out; and there is ſome good poetry ſcattered up and down the play, of which we ſhould very willingly make extracts, if our limits would permit. The ill ſucceſs which it has juſtly experienced, is owing, we have no doubt, to the want of nature in the characters, and of probability and good arrangement in the incidents: objections of ſome force.

ART. VII. *The Hiſtory of England, from the Acceſſion of King George the Third to the Concluſion of the Peace* 1783. By John Adolphus, Eſq. F. S. A. 3 vol. 8vo. London. T. Cadell jun. & W. Davies.

IF the value of hiſtory is to be eſtimated from the inſtruction it affords to the ſtateſman and politician, hiſtories of recent events are certainly of greater importance than thoſe of the tranſactions of diſtant ages. Every difference in manners, in civilization, and in government, increaſes the difficulty of making any application of the facts. It muſt be admitted, that a profound knowledge of the dynaſtics of Perſia, or the conſtitution of Sparta, would afford but little aſſiſtance in the government of modern ſtates; and the wiſeſt ſtateſman of the fifteenth century would now find the direction of affairs, even in the ſame country, a new and arduous undertaking. The progreſs of hiſtory is, however, extremely ſlow. The very excellence of ſome modern hiſtorians affords a convincing proof of this. Some of their moſt valuable materials, conſiſting of the memoirs and letters of the great actors in the ſcenes related, had remained unknown to the public for ages. It does not detract from the merit of theſe hiſtorians to ſtate that their higheſt merit conſiſts in concentrating the wiſdom, the policy, the eloquence of former ages, and at the ſame time availing themſelves of whatever light has been thrown upon them by the diſcuſſions of preceding writers. As but a ſmall part of the documents which deſcend to poſterity can be obtained by thoſe who write within twenty or thirty years after the events they relate, it

would be unreaſonable to exact the ſame excellence of execution, or extent of views, from the firſt compiler of the rude materials, as we expect from an author who may avail himſelf of all the faults and excellencies of a long train of perſons who have preceded him. Many allowances are therefore to be made for the hiſtory of the period included in the work before us; and we have no heſitation in ſaying, that the fidelity and induſtry with which it has been executed entitle it to the attention of the public.

Mr Adolphus, in his preface, ſtates the views and ſentiments with which he has compoſed this work. The praiſe of diligence and impartiality is that to which he chiefly aſpires. He declares, that he is not of opinion that the views of different adminiſtrations have been directed to deſtroy the liberty or conſtitution of the country; that he will endeavour to reſcue ſome conſpicuous characters from calumnies, which have obtained ſome credit with the public from frequent repetition; and he expreſſes a hope, that a warm attachment to the conſtitution, which has ever been preſent to his mind, has not betrayed him into any indecent violence againſt thoſe whom he has conſidered as its aſſailants. From the general tone of the preface, we were prepared to find a conſiderable bias in favour of the meaſures purſued by the ſucceſſive adminiſtrations during the period to which this work extends. Though there are certainly ſome paſſages which are not free from this charge, we muſt at the ſame time give our author the praiſe of perfect impartiality, as far as we could diſcover, in narrating events, and ſelecting information. Careful references are made to the authorities on which he proceeds; and where the facts are related on the authority of private information, the reader is informed of that circumſtance. We ſhould hardly have thought it neceſſary to take particular notice of this, had we not ſeen inſtances of perſons pretending to write hiſtories, who diſclaim all reference to authorities, and ſeem to think themſelves entitled to compoſe hiſtories, like epic poems, by inſpiration, and mere force of genius. Some of theſe writers have even had the effrontery to aſſume a tone of indignation, and complain, that after the profound inveſtigations they aſſure their readers they have made, any perſon ſhould preſume to queſtion their aſſertions. In writers of that deſcription, we have found ſuch groſs miſrepreſentations and falſehoods, ſtated as facts, that the moſt charitable concluſion ſeems to be, that they have never conſulted the authentic ſources of information; as, if they have done ſo, they are certainly guilty of a greater fault than ignorance and preſumption. Whatever temporary reputation they may acquire, by weaving together a tiſſue of party-pamphlets, it cannot be of long duration. They can be of no aſſiſtance to future inquirers, who,

who, though they may be deſirous to acquire a knowledge of the ſtatements of parties, will not take them at ſecond hand. The partial accounts of a Burnet, a North, or a Ludlow, are uſeful to thoſe who wiſh to form an eſtimate of the times; but the ſcurrility of a compiler muſt always be unworthy of attention. After ſubmitting to the diſagreeble drudgery of peruſing ſome other accounts of the ſame period, we were ſtill more ſtrongly impreſſed with the general ſpirit of candour and fidelity which prevails in this work.

To the introduction of facts, upon the authority of private information, we do not object, where that is pointed out to the reader, as in the preſent work. It is, however, a ſource of information which we think ourſelves entitled to regard with diſtruſt. Few perſons can make communications of any value, who have not had ſuch a ſhare in the tranſactions as will diſpoſe them to be extremely partial; they incur no perſonal reſponſibility to the public; and the reader, who is ignorant of the perſons concerned, is unable to eſtimate, as he might otherwiſe do, the influence which party connexions, or other cauſes, may have had on their ſtatements. Even the author who is in poſſeſſion of theſe circumſtances, will not always ſubject information, which he muſt receive with a certain degree of prepoſſeſſion, (ſometimes perhaps increaſed by the influence of ſuperior birth or ſtation), to the ſame ſcrutiny which he extends to information which he collects without incurring any obligation. There is perhaps leſs reaſon for the caution we have given, as it may be expected, that any defects which exiſt in theſe parts of the work, will provoke diſcuſſion, and eventually add to the ſtock of public information. The paſſages of this deſcription, which will probably be moſt intereſting to our readers, relate to Lord Bute's adminiſtration.

The following anecdote, with regard to the treaty of peace, which is calculated to convey a higher idea of his Lordſhip's talents than has been generally adopted, is ſtated on the authority of private information.

'The importance of the acquiſitions made by the Engliſh Eaſt India Company were fully appreciated by the Miniſter, and he was properly tenacious of their intereſts. At an early period of the negotiation, he applied to the Court of Directors for inſtructions in ſettling the affairs of India *. Before the Court gave the required determination, the Duke of Bedford ſigned the preliminaries; and an article contained in them relative to the Carnatic, appearing to Lord Bute ſubverſive of the benefits to be expected from the ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, he immediately informed the Duke it was inadmiſſible. "Worn out," he ſaid, "as we are, and loaded with debt, we muſt however continue the war, if that article is not altered." This reſolute

* Smollet's complete Hiſtory of England, vol. xvi. p. 209. *Author.*

lute remonſtrance had the deſired effect: the treaty was reviſed, and rendered agreeable to the Eaſt India Company *.' Vol. i. p. 249.

Our author does not appear to be acquainted with what we always underſtood to be the ſtate of the fact. The blunder in the preliminaries was diſcovered at Paris by Mr Pinto, a Portugueze Jew, author of a celebrated treatiſe on circulation and credit. He communicated it to the Engliſh ambaſſador, and afterwards received a penſion of 500l. a year from the Eaſt India Company, for the important ſervice he had done them †. Lord Bute does not appear entitled to any farther praiſe than that of ſupporting the Duke of Bedford (who is ſaid to have acted with laudable zeal and ſpirit) with all the ſtately and meaſured dignity of miniſterial language.

In the appendix to the firſt volume, we have a correſpondence which paſſed between Lord Bute and Bubb Dodington (afterwards Lord Melcombe). The character and intrigues of the latter are pretty well known, from the publication of his diary. He appears to have been one of Lord Bute's principal adviſers, though he ſeldom goes farther than hinting his opinion, and even then qualifies it, if different from Lord Bute's, with the moſt ample apology. In one of his letters, after ſtating with due heſitation ſome doubts as to the propriety of continuing the war on the ſame footing, in caſe he had gone too far, he adds the following declaration:

'As you approve of the war, in what manner ſoever you carry it on, I ſhall never ſay one word more againſt it, public or private, but will ſupport it whenever I am called on, as well as my diſtance from the ſcene of buſineſs will allow me. I told you I would do ſo (after having told you my opinion), when you did me the honour to command me to be your friend. Indeed, my dear Lord, I wiſh and mean to ſerve you, and am ſure I will never diſſerve you, which is, I fear, as far as my poor abilities are likely to go. I am glad the King has given the ſeals; and, as you approve of it, I ſuppoſe they are well diſpoſed of.' Vol. i. p. 550.

However amiable this ſyſtem of paſſive obedience might be in the eyes of the Premier, it appears to have been accompanied with a very troubleſome importunity in making requeſts, which occaſionally obſcured its merits. Lord Melcombe even went the length of writing a letter of remonſtrance to Lord Bute (which is not publiſhed): and we have the following fragment of a homily in praiſe of himſelf, which Lord Bute compoſed on the occaſion.

'In

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* From private information. *Author.*

† Preface to a tranſlation of Pinto on Circulation and Credit, by the Reverend S. Baggs. London, 1774.

'* * * In short, my Lord, though I cannot prevent umbrage being taken at my not satisfying every wish, I shall certainly hinder any reasonable ground of complaint concerning things I have once promised. I own, and without blushing, I have been very unfortunate in the means I have for years taken, of cementing friendships, and procuring attachments. Others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my sincerity, succeed better: but I repine not. Conscious of my own feelings, conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed, and placed on other shoulders.' Vol. i. p. 551.

It can hardly be supposed that this languid declamation would contribute much to sooth the crafty politician to whom it was addressed. The letters written by Dodington are in the same style as that which we have quoted, and are additional proofs of the meanness and duplicity of his dissembling, artful, intriguing character. It is not unworthy of notice, how different an appearance a person may make to succeeding ages in his own prose, and in the laudatory strains of cotemporary poetry. Who, after reading the following verses—

'And thou, my youthful Muse's early friend,
'In whom the youthful graces all unite:
'*Pure light of mind*, and tenderness of heart,
'Genius and wisdom; the gay social sense,
'By decency chastised; goodness and wit,
'In seldom-seeming harmony combin'd;
'*Unblemish'd honour*, and *an active zeal*
'For BRITAIN's glory, LIBERTY, and MAN'—

would expect to find, from the next line, that they were addressed, by a poet of Thomson's genius and integrity, to a character as much distinguished for political profligacy as any which has been unmasked to posterity.

Our author afterwards enters into a discussion of the different motives assigned for Lord Bute's retreat from the management of public affairs. Without entering into the others, we lay before our readers what Mr Adolphus considers as the real cause of his Lordship's resignation.

'In fact, the principal cause of his resignation was the want of support in the Cabinet. In a private letter to one of his friends, before he retired from the helm, he more fully explained the real motives of his conduct: "Single," he said, "in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the House of Lords to support me except two Peers. (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I myself brought into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I

am afraid, not only of falling myſelf, but of involving my Royal Maſter in my ruin.—It is time for me to retire * !" Vol. i. p. 126.

Whatever doubt may ſtill remain as to the immediate cauſes of Lord Bute's departure from office, the general features of his character ought now to be pretty well known. Poſſeſſed of talents and acquiſitions which might have made a reſpectable appearance in an inferior ſituation, an uncommon ſhare of pride and preſumption, united to good intentions, made him aſpire to the glory of being a great and virtuous miniſter: and, that no perſon might ſhare his renown, he wiſely determined to keep thoſe at a diſtance, whoſe reputation might come in competition with his own. On theſe principles, inſtead of availing himſelf of the advice and aſſiſtance of men of talents and integrity, nothing but the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion could make any impreſſion upon him. It appears from this letter, that he had brought himſelf into a ſituation in which no man would act in ſupport of his meaſures, but thoſe who were either ſo devoid of talents, as not to ſee the defects of his adminiſtration, or ſo pliable and deſtitute of principle, as to be indifferent about them. Men of a different ſtamp, who were attached to the Sovereign, might conceive it their duty to acquieſce, but they could never be expected to make any exertions. In one part of the letter quoted, there ſeems to be ſome inaccuracy. The Chief Juſtice, whom, Lord Bute ſays, '*I myſelf* brought into office,' was appointed in the year 1756, four years before the late King's death, when, it is believed, Lord Bute had not influence enough to procure the appointment of an exciſe-officer. He could not be the perſon meant; and though we cannot pretend to ſay what is the nature of the miſtake, it is not improbable that Lord Bute might talk of the Chancellor in that manner, as Dodington † details a converſation, in which Lord Bute ſays, that Henly owed his being made Chancellor, from Keeper, entirely to him; and his worthy confident adviſes him to keep his letter and others '*properly labelled* and tied up,' for *the ingratitude of mankind* might make it neceſſary to preſerve them. Though our author is inclined to place Lord Bute's character in a higher point of view than we are diſpoſed to do, he is by no means blind to his defects. He obſerves,

'Even the virtues of Lord Bute were not calculated to inſure reſpect, or conciliate affection. It is ſaid of him, "No man could complain, during his adminiſtration, of a promiſe broken, or of hopes given, and not fulfilled. No inferior perſon, in any department where he had ſerved,

* From private information. *Author.*

† Dodington's Diary, p. 428.

ſerved, who did not paſſionately regret the loſs of ſo eaſy, ſo kind a ſuperior." * In diminution of this eulogium, it is to be remarked, that Lord Bute made no promiſes, and gave no hopes, except to perſons whoſe devotion he meant to ſecure; and that, under him, the pernicious precedent was introduced, of removing every dependent of government, even to the loweſt clerks in the public offices, to introduce others of his own nomination. † This proceeding neceſſarily created many enemies; and if it gave him ſome claims to gratitude, thoſe claims were too ſlight and precarioufly founded to be much relied on.' Vol. i. p. 127—28.

We agree with our author in rejecting the vulgar and rancorous abuſe which has been beſtowed on Lord Bute. As to the ſecret and myſterious influence which he was ſuppoſed to retain for a long period after his reſignation, Mr Adolphus obſerves, that, with the exception of the miniſterial changes which took place ſoon after his reſignation, no report was ever leſs conſonant to truth; and he adds, on the authority of private information, which in this inſtance we are inclined to believe—

'It was his conſtant and repeated complaint to his intimate friends, both in his travels and at home, that he was neglected by his Sovereign. This avowal, from a man ſo cautious as Lord Bute, outweighs all the vague aſſertions of thoſe who maintained the exiſtence of a myſterious agency; and proves that the loſs of his influence had ſunk deep in his mind. ‡ Vol i. p. 127.

Where our author ventures on remarks of a general nature, we do not obſerve the ſame good ſenſe and judgment which is ſhewn in the ſelection of materials. It muſt, however, be admitted, that he does not very often offend in this reſpect. In a review of the affairs of Europe, in the years 1767-8, he takes that opportunity of entering into a detail of the downfal of the Jeſuits, which he attributes, in a great meaſure, to an attachment in the Duke de Choiſeul to the ſyſtems of freethinking philoſophers. The narrative of the final ſuppreſſion of the order concludes with the following reflections:

'Although, by a reſolute exertion of the civil powers, this formidable ſociety was thus reduced, there is great reaſon to doubt that the ſtrength of the European governments was augmented by their fall. If they were really guilty of dangerous and treaſonable deſigns, ſufficient means were not wanting, eſpecially in arbitrary monarchies, to puniſh the guilty, and diſperſe their adherents. Even the whole or-

* Letter from a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country, p. 11. *Author.*

† Serious Conſiderations on the Meaſures of the preſent Adminiſtration, by Dr Butler, biſhop of Hereford, p. 10. The ſame fact is aſſerted in innumerable other publications. *Author.*

‡ From private information. *Author.*

der might have been reformed, their wealth diminiſhed, their power abridged, and their numbers reduced. But the deſtruction of a ſociety which included ſo much learning and ability, and reſpectable from connexions, and able publications in literature and theology, diminiſhed the general credit of the eſtabliſhed religion, and gave new ſpirit to thoſe who already meditated the deſtruction both of Chriſtianity and monarchy.' Vol. i. p. 338.

We have before heard the idea, that many events which afterwards happened, would not have taken place, if the Jeſuits had not been ſuppreſſed; and that it was one of the cauſes of the ſubſequent convulſions of Europe. This is ſo completely contradicted, however, by the ſtate of depreſſion, both in talents and activity which the ſociety had reached before that period, that we were aſtoniſhed to find ſo childiſh a notion countenanced by a perſon of any information. The Jeſuits were firſt expelled from France, in 1594, (though afterwards re-eſtabliſhed); from Venice, in 1606; from England, in 1604. Was all that done by freethinking philoſophers? The ableſt work that was ever publiſhed againſt them, or indeed in any controverſy whatever, and which was the chief cauſe of the odium and contempt into which they afterwards fell, was certainly the work of one of the moſt religious men that ever exiſted. * Whatever ſhare the French *philoſophers* had in the ſuppreſſion of that ſociety, their object was to acquire popularity, by ſupporting a meaſure which had been wiſhed for by the Parliaments, and a great proportion of the people, for more than a century. The King of Pruſſia ſeems to have been fully as much of a freethinking philoſopher as the Duke de Choiſeul; and yet he appears to have been the only perſon who took the part of the Jeſuits. If the general credit of the eſtabliſhed religion was diminiſhed by the abolition of the Jeſuits, in how degraded a ſtate muſt religion be in thoſe countries in which the reformed religion is adopted, where no religious orders are eſtabliſhed? In fact, the odium attached to the order, their intrigues, and the bad tendency of many of their writings, did more harm to the cauſe of religion, than their declining vigour and talents could have done ſervice; and, if they had ſubſiſted to the year 1792, furniſhed pretences for the barbarities that were practiſed: though, if coincidence of opinion would have been any protection, they appear, in their ideas both of government and morality, to have reſembled, in many reſpects, the wildeſt projectors who diſorganized France.

In another reſpect, our author's ideas do not appear to us much more profound. He ſeems to think, that even after Lord Cornwallis's

* Paſcal Lettres Provinciales.

Cornwallis's ſurrender, the independence of America was doubtful; and ſtates, on the authority of Sir Henry Clinton, that the conqueſt of that country might have been ſecured by a reinforcement of 10,000 men.

'The reſources of America were exhauſted; the long interruption of commerce produced a lamentable want of all neceſſaries, a want felt from the higheſt to the loweſt claſſes throughout the colonies. No art or coercion could give circulation to the paper currency; and not only the friends of Great Britain, but the warmeſt adherents of America, conſidered the maintenance of the army for another year, and ſtill more the eſtabliſhment of independency, as utterly impoſſible, and hardly deſirable *. Sir Henry Clinton himſelf, after the ſurrender of Lord Cornwallis, forwarded an aſſurance to adminiſtration, that with a reinforcement of ten thouſand men only, he would be reſponſible for the conqueſt of America †. But before this offer could be made, the miniſtry, who alone could be expected to give it effect, were ſhaken; a new ſyſtem was adopted; active hoſtilities were no more to be purſued; and Sir Henry Clinton, being allowed to retire, was replaced by Sir Guy Carlton.' Vol. iii. p. 507—8.

—We beg Mr Adolphus would juſt conſider, whether there is any one year of the American war, in which this might not have been ſaid with equal plauſibility.

The length to which our criticiſms have already extended, oblige us to abridge any further remarks we meant to offer. Though the execution of the work is, upon the whole, good, the conduct of the narrative is in ſome reſpects defective. The facts are not always ſtated in a connected or comprehenſive manner, or brought forward according to their relative importance. This appears particularly in the ſtatement of political arrangements, and in the detail of military matters, though more in the former than in the latter. The language is in general perſpicuous, though not always correct. In many inſtances it is deficient in ſimplicity; and our author ſeems more deſirous of enriching his ſtyle with a redundancy of words, than by nervous ſimplicity of language, or ſtrength of ideas. The characters appear fairly drawn, though they chiefly conſiſt of the moſt brilliant and favourable features of each character. It muſt be confeſſed, that they are not ſo intereſting as they would be, if they had their due proportion of ſhade. We are, however, far from blaming Mr Adolphus on this account. It is more prudent, perhaps, for a cotemporary to leave the province of beſtowing blame to poſterity, and to reſt contented with ſtating facts, and mentioning the moſt eminent perſonal qualities

* See intercepted Letters of Silas Deane, Remembrancer. Vol. xiii. p. 71. *Author.*

† From private information. *Author.*

qualities of the different characters who appear on the ſcene deſcribed. We agree with Tacitus *, that even flattery and adulation is leſs apt to miſlead, than ſatire and abuſe; as the reader is fully on his guard againſt the meanneſs of the one, but may be ſo far deceived as to believe that the other proceeds from a bold and indignant ſpirit of independence. We do not mean to accuſe Mr Adolphus of falling into the other extreme, and we think he has adopted the ſafeſt courſe, in avoiding that which was moſt likely to flatter the vanity of a writer.

As our readers will be deſirous of judging of his ſtyle for themſelves, we ſelect the two following characters out of a number of others, as thoſe which appear to be written with moſt care.

'William, Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, had long maintained an unrivalled reputation as a lawyer, and an exalted character as a ſtateſman. He was perfectly acquainted with the hiſtory and conſtitution of England, verſed in the practice of its laws, and enlightened by all the information neceſſary to form a compariſon and connexion between them and the beſt of ancient and modern ſyſtems. He obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons in the year 1742, when he was in his thirty-eighth year, his faculties no leſs matured by experience than improved by ſtudy. He commenced his parliamentary career as a ſupporter of Lord Bath's adminiſtration, which was vehemently oppoſed by Mr Pitt, and his eloquence was no leſs celebrated in the ſenate than at the bar. His language was natural, yet elegant, arranged with method, and applied with the utmoſt ingenuity; his images were often bold, always juſt; his eloquence flowing, perſpicuous, convincing, and impreſſive. He was endowed with a moſt retentive memory, which rendered his replies irreſiſtible, from the facility of repelling the arguments of his adverſaries, and expoſing their fallacy, weakneſs, or abſurdity. He affected no ſallies of imagination, or burſts of paſſion, but made his appeal rather to the reaſon than the feelings, and did not even, when attacked, condeſcend to perſonal abuſe, or petulant altercation. His ſpeeches were characterized by acuteneſs, and recommended by clearneſs and candour; his reaſoning, introducing itſelf ſo eaſily into the minds of his hearers, as to convey information and conviction; occaſionally forming a continual chain; and ſometimes ſeparated into regular diviſions. His manner was moderate and decent, not preſuming and dictatorial; but expreſſive of that dignity which, ariſing from ſuperiority, does not produce diſguſt. Though of low ſtature, his perſon was remarkable for eaſe and grace; he poſſeſſed a piercing eye, a voice finely toned; his action was at once elegant and dignified, and his countenance replete with fire and vivacity. He ſupported through life the utmoſt conſiſtency of political conduct, never courting popular

* Ambitionem ſcriptoris facile adverſeris: obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur. Quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tacit. lib. i. Hiſtor.

popular applauſe, ſo much as the approbation of the wiſe and good; yet not intimidated by the appearance of danger, or the fury of party, from purſuing that conduct, or enforcing thoſe ſentiments, which were dictated by his own conviction. Too mild to be the leader, too wiſe to be the dupe of any party, he was believed to ſpeak his own ſenſe of public meaſures. The Houſe of Lords paid greater deference to his authority, than to that of any other individual; and he was frequently conſulted by the King. The perſpicacious eye of envy and jealouſy could not eſtabliſh a fault in his political conduct *; and malignity was reduced to the miſerable reſource of extorting from his deſcent the means of indirect implication, imputing to him thoſe attachments and principles by which his relatives were influenced; but which he had not, in his juridical or ſenatorial capacity, ever adopted. Lord Mansfield was a conſpicuous and conſtant ſupporter of adminiſtration in the American conteſt: in the year 1766, he had delivered his opinions on the ſubject of Britiſh authority, and American reſiſtance, in the Houſe of Lords †; and the judgment he then profeſſed, appears always to have ſwayed him in every ſubſequent criſis ‡.' Vol. ii. p. 182—4.

'Fox diſplayed at Eton and at Oxford an ardent attachment to claſſical literature, and gave preſage of his future genius, by unwearied application to Cicero and Demoſthenes, and by preferring the Athenian to the Roman orator. Even in the earlieſt periods of life, and during all the viciſſitudes of pleaſure and diſſipation, he was indefatigable in the exerciſe of his argumentative faculty. The indulgent partiality of his father ſupplied abundant means of gratifying inclinations natural to a youth of warm paſſions, totally exempt from reſtraint; and his great talents were ſhrouded from the view of thoſe who could not diſcern them through the veil of unbounded diſſipation. He obtained a ſeat in Parliament before the period of legal maturity, and was, in 1770, appointed a Lord of the Admiralty: but his ſupport, though marked with all the ardour of his temper, and energy of his genius, was not yet deemed eſſential to the cauſe of government: he had more than once participated in the unpopularity of adminiſtration, without the

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* He was ſeverely attacked by Wilkes, Junius, Andrew Stuart, and others; but even when party-rage was higheſt, their efforts produced only a clamour of the populace: men of ſound judgment, in every rank, and of all parties, have ſince concurred in acknowledging the futility of the accuſations. *Author.*

† "Proceed then, my Lords," he ſaid, "with ſpirit and firmneſs, "and when you ſhall have eſtabliſhed your authority, it will then be "time to ſhew your lenity." See Holliday's Life of Lord Mansfield. *Author.*

‡ This delineation is derived from the characters of Lord Mansfield, by Biſhop Newton, Dr Johnſon, Biſhop of Worceſter, and various other authorities collected by Holliday, in his Life of Lord Mansfield, p. 456. et ſeq.; and from private information. *Author.*

the credit of ſharing the direction of their meaſures. In 1772, he reſigned his ſituation at the Admiralty with marks of diſguſt, and was then expected to join the ranks of oppoſition *. The difference was, however, accommodated; and he ſoon afterwards † received a ſeat at the Treaſury Board, from which he was diſmiſſed in March 1774, with circumſtances which occaſioned the moſt lively indignation. To the period of his quitting the ſide of the miniſter, Mr Fox was conſidered, by ſome, as a man for whoſe political errors, and levity of conduct, youth and inexperience afforded charitable excuſes ‡: but he ſoon "diſcovered powers for regular debate, which neither his friends had hoped, nor his enemies dreaded §." The force of Fox's oratory cannot be adequately deſcribed, and can be felt only by thoſe who have heard him on important occaſions. His ſpeeches were luminous, without the appearance of concerted arrangement; his mind ſeemed by its maſterly force to have compreſſed, reduced, and diſpoſed the whole ſubject, with a confident ſuperiority, to ſyſtematic rule; the torrent of his eloquence increaſed in force, as the ſubject expanded; the vehemence of his manner was always ſupported by expreſſions of correſpondent energy; and the deciſive terms in which he delivered his opinions, by precluding the poſſibility of evaſion, impreſſed a full conviction of his ſincerity, and gained regard even from the moſt inveterate opponent. The diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of his arguments was profoundneſs; his general aim was an eſtabliſhment of ſome grand principle, to which all the other parts of his ſpeech were ſubſervient; and his genius for reply was ſingularly happy. He not only combated the principal reaſonings of his adverſaries, but, extending a generous protection to his own partizans, reſcued their ſpeeches from ridicule or miſrepreſentation. The boldeſt conceptions, and moſt decided principles, uttered by him, did not appear gigantic: he ſeldom employed exaggerated or tumid phraſeology; and in the greateſt warmth of political conteſt, few expreſſions eſcaped him, which can be cited to the diſadvantage of his character as a gentleman. Rhetorical embelliſhments, though frequently found in his harangues, did not ſeem the produce of laborious cultivation, but ſpontaneous effuſions. Superior to art, Fox ſeemed to illuſtrate rules which perhaps he had not in contemplation; and the bold originality of his thoughts and expreſſions would rather entitle him to be conſidered the founder of a new ſtyle of eloquence, than a ſervile adherent to any eſtabliſhed practice. Burke, ſtudious and indefatigable, from his continually augmenting ſtores, poured knowledge into the mind of Fox: but in debate their manners were widely diſſimilar. Fox depended on his natural and daily improving genius for argumentation: Burke on thoſe beauties which his taſte and learning

* See Gibbon's Poſthumous Works, vol. i. p. 449. *Author.*

† 9th January 1773. *Author.*

‡ See Debates on Mr Grenville's Act, 25th February 1774. *Author.*

§ The expreſſion of Gibbon.—See Poſthumous Works, vol. i. p. 489. *Author.*

learning enabled him to collect and diſpoſe with ſo much grace and facility; his ſpeeches were liſtened to with admiration, as elegant pleadings: but Fox was always elevated above his ſubject; and by energy of manner, and impetuoſity of oratory, ſtaggered the impartial, animated his adherents, and threw uneaſineſs, alarm, and aſtoniſhment, into the minds of his opponents.' Vol. ii. p. 194-7.

One of the moſt important parts of the work, is the account given of the debates in Parliament. It is executed with judgement and induſtry; and the eloquent extracts from ſome of the ſpeeches add very much to the value of the work.

We have already had occaſion to praiſe the labour and induſtry which has been ſhown by Mr Adolphus in the book before us. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that there are ſome departments in which it appears defective, particularly in what relates to finance, to the internal government of the country, and the other details of legiſlation. The mere events of a campaign give but an imperfect idea of the ſtate and ſtrength of contending powers. In modern nations, more particularly in England, the ſtate of public credit; the operations of budget; the means of ſupplying the armies; the effect of the different ſyſtems adopted in war and peace, upon trade and commerce; are all of the higheſt importance. Though our author gives a very full account of political events, he is very ſparing of information upon theſe ſubjects, even of the military force employed by the contending powers. Much valuable information might be collected from the reports made to Parliament, and other ſources. With the aſſiſtance of tables, it might be detailed, without adding much to the ſize of the book; and, without further information on that ſubject, a hiſtory of England, eſpecially during that period, muſt be very imperfect.

Our author intimates his intention of bringing his hiſtory further down. The further he goes, he will find a greater want of materials; and we will venture to predict, that, if he perſeveres, his work, in the courſe of a few years, will be of little value. It would give us pleaſure to hear, that Mr Adolphus's induſtry and judgment were employed in completing a hiſtory of George the I. and II. where we conceive there is a much better field for his exertions. Many important materials are already known to the public, which would add greatly to the intereſt of his work; and we are confident, that valuable additions might be made to them. The events are certainly ſufficiently intereſting; and a comprehenſive, accurate, and candid account of them is much wanted.

On the whole, we have no heſitation in recommending the volumes before us to the public, as an uſeful and intereſting work. The future hiſtorian will not perhaps conſult it for profound remarks,

marks, or extenſive views: He will, however, recur to it as a valuable magazine of facts, which will tend much to diminiſh the labour of his inveſtigations.

ART. VIII. *Voyage dans la Baſſe et la Haute Egypte, pendant les Campagnes du General Bonaparte.* Par Vivant Denon. Paris. Didot 2 tom. Folio. 1802.

FEW publications, we believe, have ever obtained ſo extenſive a circulation in the ſame ſpace of time as theſe travels. The country to which they relate, ſtands at the beginning of ſacred and profane antiquity; the ſplendid periods of its hiſtory were all gone by, before the barbarians of Europe had learned either to obſerve or record; and the monuments that employed the pencil of M. Denon, had aſſumed the appearance of deſerted ruins in the days of Strabo and Diodorus.

Since the origin of correct obſervation and minute inquiry in modern Europe, the political ſituation of Egypt has been ſuch as to place all our travellers in circumſtances of great diſadvantage. Expoſed to continual inſult and ſuſpicion on account of their religion and their curioſity, they have been obliged to purſue their reſearches amidſt a nation of bigots and banditti, and to ſnatch a haſty and imperfect view of objects that required the moſt deliberate meditation. It is not eaſy for an infidel and an alien to travel at all among a people without police, and without morals; and the fruits of his haſty and perilous expeditions, cannot often be very valuable, where his informers are equally deſtitute of knowledge and veracity.

At length, however, a civilized nation poſſeſſed itſelf of this wonderful country; a whole college of philoſophers was tranſported to the city of the Ptolemies; a printing-preſs was eſtabliſhed at Cairo; and the ſcholars of Europe conſoled themſelves for the violation of the balance of power, by anticipating the ſublime diſcoveries of the Egyptian inſtitute. The appearance of ſome ſcattered memoirs ſerved only to exalt theſe expectations; and at laſt the preſent ſuperb publication was announced, under the patronage of the Chief Conſul, and at a price that could only be juſtified by the combination of ſplendour and utility.

The book is certainly ſufficiently ſplendid; and yet it has diſappointed us extremely. The author writes like a briſk little old Frenchman, with more vivacity than judgment, and more eaſe than perſpicuity. His narrative is exceedingly perplexed, from the want of dates and the irregularity of his military movements; and the reader muſt be contented to take his ſkill in drawing as an

an apology for his defects in erudition, and his admitted ignorance in all the branches of phyſical ſcience. As to his *opportunities*, there is no doubt that he talks of them very magnificently in the outſet of his expedition.

'I was going to break up, as it were, a new country; to be the firſt to ſee, and to ſee without prejudice; to make reſearches in a part of the earth hitherto covered with the veil of myſtery, and for two thouſand years ſhut out from the curioſity of Europeans. From the time of Herodotus to the preſent, every traveller, following the ſteps of his predeceſſor, had only rapidly aſcended the Nile, not daring to loſe ſight of his boat; and only quitting the ſhore for a few hours to hurry a few hundred yards off, and viſit, with anxiety, the neareſt objects. For every thing beyond the vicinity of the river, the oriental hiſtories alone have been conſulted.' Vol. i. p. 360. 361.*

The truth is, that, beyond the vicinity of the river, there is nothing to be ſeen; but our author himſelf was not long in diſcovering, that the advantage of being guarded by the diviſion of an army might be more than compenſated by the imperious neceſſity of marching and halting along with it; and by the perils to which he was expoſed, by the hoſtility which the invaſion of his countrymen had excited among the natives. The following paſſage is altogether in the French taſte:

'Here the pitileſs reader, ſitting quietly at his table with his map before him, will ſay to the poor, hungry, haraſſed traveller, expoſed to all the trouble of war: "I ſee no account of Aphroditopolis, Crocodilopolis, Ptolemais—what is become of all theſe towns? What had you to do there, if you could not give any account of them? Had you not a horſe to carry you, an army to protect you, and an interpreter to anſwer all your queſtions—and have I not relied upon you to give me ſome information on all theſe ſubjects?" But, kind reader, pleaſe to recollect, that we are ſurrounded with Arabs and Mamelukes, and that, in all probability, I ſhould be made priſoner; pillaged, *and very likely killed, if I had thought proper to venture only a hundred paces from the column* to fetch ſome of the bricks of Aphroditopolis. The embanked quay which I ſaw in galloping to Minchia, was Ptolemais; and no other remains of this town exiſt.' Vol. ii. p. 22. 23.

This does not happen to be very correctly true; becauſe Pococke obſerved various pedeſtals, cornices, and other ruins of granite in the ſame place; though it may eaſily be ſuppoſed that they eſcaped the notice of a galloping philoſopher. In fact, the haraſſing ſervice upon which the detachment of the army that aſcended the Nile was employed, and the rapid marches and counter-marches it was obliged to perform, made the opportuni-

ties

* We quote from the tranſlation of Dr Aikin.

ties of an artiſt extremely precarious; and the univerſal deteſtation in which the invaders were held by the natives, rendered the condition of a ſtraggler a thouſand times more hazardous than that of thoſe ſolitary but pacific travellers, whoſe condition our author is pleaſed ſo frequently to commiſerate. From this circumſtance it has happened, that many of the ſplendid objects which other European travellers have deſcribed did not fall under the obſervation of M. Denon. He did not viſit Arſinoe, for inſtance, nor Antinopolis, Hypſele, nor Abydos. The fine ruins of Ombos, which are delineated both by Poccoke and Norden, he only ſketched as the flotilla carried him paſt them on the river; and twice paſſed through Thebes at the gallop, after being impriſoned for two months among the rubbiſh of Zaoyeh and Girgeh.

Though we cannot conſider this book, therefore, as having made any very important addition to our knowledge of the Egyptian hiſtory or monuments, it would be unfair to allege that it is deſtitute of intereſt or information. It contains many beautiful engravings, and many ſtriking and animated ſpecimens of deſcription: it gives us, incidentally, at the ſame time, a great number of curious traits of the character of the inhabitants, and certainly affords the moſt candid and authentic detail of the ſituation and conduct of the French army, during the progreſs of their Egyptian conqueſt, that has yet been preſented to the public. In endeavouring to lay before our readers a ſhort abſtract of what is moſt valuable in its contents, we ſhall ſeparate the author's obſervations, as an artiſt and a ſtudent of antiquity, from his narrative as a ſharer in this memorable expedition, and an obſerver of manners and events, that cannot fail to intereſt by their novelty or importance. The hiſtory of his adventures as a ſoldier and a Frenchman will naturally go before the ſlight ſketch we ſhall be able to give of his obſervations on the antiquities of the country.

The republican army failed, it is well known, for the generous purpoſe of redreſſing grievances; and had nothing farther in view than the deliverance of the Egyptian innocents from the oppreſſions of their Mameluke governors. It is alſo pretty generally known, that their exertions were repaid with the moſt ſignal ingratitude; and that this perverſe generation perſiſted in rejecting their offers of fraternity with the moſt unaccountable animoſity: they even fabricated calumnies againſt their heroic deliverers, and circulated ſtories of their outrages and injuſtice, that found credit with the ill-informed or malignant. In the mean time, however, the cruſaders ſaid little for themſelves: we heard, indeed, of their victories and proclamations, but could learn nothing of their treatment of the conquered people, or of the progreſs of their Coptic diſciples in civilization and morality. The work

work of M. Denon preſents us with much of this valuable information; and the moſt intereſting paſſages in his narrative are probably thoſe which contain the moſt characteriſtic traits of the diſpoſitions and demeanour of his companions.

The voyage from Europe need not detain us very long; though there is ſomething ſo characteriſtic, both of the man and of the nation, in our author's remarks on the capture of Malta, that we muſt extract two ſentences. When the ſurrender was announced, he breaks out into an encomium on the gallantry and ancient ſplendour of the Knights of Jeruſalem; and adds—

'When I figured to myſelf this accumulated glory, acquired and preſerved during ſeveral ages, melt away when oppoſed to the fortune of Bonaparte, I thought I heard the ghoſts of Liſle-Adam and Lavallette vent their diſmal lamentations, and I fancied I ſaw Time make to Philoſophy the illuſtrious ſacrifice of the moſt venerable of all illuſions.' Vol. i. p. 53. 54.

At a ſupper given to the Malteſe Captains, he obſerves—

'They ſaw, with equal ſurpriſe and admiration, the martial elegance of our generals, and the aſſemblage of officers, on whoſe countenances beamed health and vigour, glory and hope. They were ſtruck by the noble phyſiognomy of the commander in chief, the expreſſion of which ſeemed to augment his ſtature.' Vol. i. p. 59.

This is only abſurd; but, in the following page, we read with ſentiments of more ſerious reprobation—

'The more reſpectable inhabitants, not yet recovered from their aſtoniſhment at the events which had taken place, kept themſelves within doors; while our ſoldiers, *heated by wine and by the climate*, inſpired ſo much terror among the trades people, and the lower claſſes, that they ſhut up their ſhops, and hid their females.' Vol. i. p. 60.

The critical eſcape of the French armament from the fleet of Lord Nelſon is ſufficiently known; but it is not perhaps very generally underſtood, how eaſy and how complete our victory would then have been. Two days after our fleet had ſailed from Alexandria, Bonaparte appeared before that port; and M. Denon ſays 'it blew a freſh gale; and the convoy was blended with the fleet in ſuch confuſion, that the moſt terrible defeat would have enſued if the enemy had appeared.' The ſoldiers, however, were landed, and appear to have experienced a pretty vigorous reſiſtance; as our author very coolly obſerves, 'that they were under the neceſſity of putting *the whole of their adverſaries* to death at the breach.' The greater part of the troops were marched off the very moment they were landed; and, in paſſing through the deſert that extends from Alexandria to Rhamania, experienced, for the firſt time, that optical deception

which makes the burning ſurface of the ſand aſſume the appearance of a lake of water. This appearance the French have denominated *mirage;* and the nature of it is thus explained by M. Denon—

'It is an illuſion produced by the *mirage* of ſalient objects on the oblique rays of the ſun, refracted by the heat of the burning ſoil.' Vol. i. p. 122.

This explanation is, no doubt, completely ſatisfactory; though it is rather a new notion, we believe, that the rays of the ſun can be *refracted by heat.* The Mamelukes made their firſt attack on the invaders at the village of Embaby, and were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Our author breaks out, upon this occaſion, into the following rapture:

'In the midſt of this carnage, the ſublime contraſt, which, on looking upwards, was afforded by the clear ſky of this fine climate, was very ſtriking. A handful of French, led by a hero, had juſt ſubdued a quarter of the globe; an empire had juſt changed its ruler; and the pride of the Mamelukes had been completely humbled by the bayonets of our infantry. During this great and terrible ſcene, the reſult of which was to become ſo important, the duſt and ſmoke ſcarcely obſcured the lower part of the atmoſphere. The morning ſtar, revolving over a ſpacious horizon, peaceably terminated its career—a ſublime teſtimony of that immutable order of nature, which obeys the decrees of the Eternal, in the calm ſtillneſs that renders it ſtill more awful.' Vol. i. p. 129. 130.

M. Denon next proceeds to Roſetta with General Menou; and the only exploit performed in that quarter, ſeems to have been the burning and fuſilading of a defenceleſs village, in conſequence of ſome vague information, that a few ſtraggling Frenchmen had been put to death by ſome of its inhabitants. After this, it is added, that ſome of the ſurviving fugitives 'came and preſented all the fowls and geeſe they had to the ſoldiers, *who put a period to the remorſe* by which they had been tormented for three weeks before.' From the ſhores of Roſetta, M. Denon was a witneſs of the memorable engagement of Aboukir; and deſcribes, in a very picturеſque manner, the awful ſpectacle of the night combat. It was not till four days after the battle that the reſult of it was known in that quarter. A conſiderable time after this, the author, having occaſion to go to Alexandria, paſſed by the ſcene of this terrible action. The following paſſage is in a better ſtyle than any we have yet extracted.

'We reached the ſea-ſide at midnight, when the riſing moon lighted up a new ſcene. The ſhore, to the extent of four leagues, was covered by wrecks, which enabled us to form an eſtimate of the loſs we had ſuſtained at the battle of Aboukir. To procure a few nails, or a few iron hoops, the wandering Arabs were employed in burning on the beach

beach the maſts, gun-carriages, boats, &c. which had been conſtructed at ſo vaſt an expence in our ports, and even the wrecks of which were a treaſure in a country where ſo few of theſe objects were to be found. The robbers fled at our approach; and nothing was left but the bodies of the wretched victims, drifted on the looſe ſand, by which they were half covered, and exhibiting there a ſpectacle as ſublime as terrific. The ſight of theſe diſtreſſing objects plunged my ſoul, by degrees, in a deep melancholy. I endeavoured to ſhun theſe terrifying ſpectres, but in vain: all thoſe that came acroſs me attracted my attention by their various attitudes, and made different impreſſions on my mind. But a few months before, young, replete with health, courage, and hope, they had, by a noble effort, torn themſelves from the embraces of their weeping mothers, ſiſters, and wives, and from the feeble ſtruggles of their tender infants. All thoſe by whom they were cheriſhed, ſaid I to myſelf, and who, yielding to their ardour, had allowed them to depart, are ſtill offering up prayers for their ſucceſs, and for their ſafe return: waiting with avidity the news of their triumphs, they are preparing feaſts for them, and counting the moments as they paſs, while the objects of their expectation lie on a diſtant beach, parched up by a burning ſand, and having their ſkulls already bleached.' Vol. i. p. 180—182.

From Roſetta M. Denon ſet out with a party of ſavans upon an excurſion into the Delta; but, after creeping a little way along among filthy and obſcure villages, they were attacked by the natives, in a diſorderly manner; and ſcampered back, very much terrified, to head-quarters. He then ſails up the Nile to Cairo, without giving any deſcription of his route—viſits the pyramids, and is beſieged in the quarter of the Inſtitute, during a very alarming inſurrection that took place in the city. The cauſe and the conſequences of this diſaſter M. Denon explains in this manner:

'The timid and indolent Egyptians had ſmiled with ſatisfaction at the expulſion of their oppreſſors, who had haraſſed them with numberleſs vexations and acts of injuſtice: but when they were called on to pay their deliverers, *they ſoon began to regret their former tyrants*: and, on recovering from their firſt panic, they had liſtened to their mufti, who found means to animate them againſt us, with a fanatic enthuſiaſm, and they had conſpired in ſilence. For our own ſecurity we ought, perhaps, to have ſpared none who had ſeen French ſoldiers retire diſcomfited; but our clemency anticipated their repentance: and thus the deſire of revenge in our enemies was not extinguiſhed by their conſternation, which I could read the next day in the attitude and countenance of the malecontents; and I was convinced, that if, before the day of this engagement, we had been encompaſſed by a circle of Arabs, we were now confined within narrower limits, and ſhould always be obliged to march through domeſtic foes.' Vol. i. p. 289. 290.

To ſecure themſelves as much as poſſible againſt theſe misfortunes, General Dumas 'made a great carnage of the rebels;'

and guns were placed in ſuch a manner as to command the chief avenues of the city.

Murad-Bey, the great leader of the Mamelukes, had retired to Upper Egypt after his diſcomfiture at Embaby; and General Deſaix was now diſpatched with a force of 7000 infantry and 1200 cavalry to purſue him, and reduce that country to ſubjection. M. Denon, whoſe principal object was the delineation of the ſuperb monuments in that region, was attached to this diviſion, and ſet out along with it in the beginning of Auguſt 1799. The day after his arrival at head-quarters, a column of 300 men was ſent out to raiſe a requiſition of buffaloes and horſes, over and above the ancient *miri*, or land-tax: and this oppreſſive conduct is juſtified by the example of the Mamelukes, and by a ſentence from Diodorus, purporting, that it is always neceſſary to beat an Egyptian, in order to get any thing from him!—On the 26th of Auguſt, the French and Mameluke armies approached each other in the neighbourhood of Sedinam, and engaged in the ſevereſt conflict that ſeems to have taken place in the courſe of the whole expedition. The following deſcription is probably a little exaggerated, but it is animated, at leaſt, and extraordinary.

'At the firſt dawn of day we formed in a hollow ſquare battalion, with two platoons on our flanks. Soon after we ſaw Murad-Bey at the head of his formidable Mamelukes, and eight or ten thouſand Arabs advancing to us, covering a league of the plain. A valley ſeparated the two armies, which we had to croſs to reach our enemies. We were hardly got to this unfavourable poſition, when the enemy ſurround us on all ſides, and charge us with an intrepidity approaching to fury: our cloſe files render their numbers uſeleſs; our muſketry keep up a ſteady fire, and repel their firſt attack: they halt, fall back, as if retiring from the field, and ſuddenly fall upon one of our platoons, and overwhelm it: all who are not killed, immediately throw themſelves on the ground, and this movement uncovers the enemy to our grand ſquare; then we take advantage of it, and pour in our fire, which again makes them halt and fall back. All that remain of the platoon enter the ranks, and we collect the wounded. We are again attacked in maſs, not with the cries of victory, but of rage: the courage is equal on both ſides: they are animated by hope, we by indignation: our muſket barrels are cut with their ſabres; their horſes fall againſt our files, which receive the ſhock unſhaken: the horſes are ſtartled at our bayonets; and their riders turn their heads, and back them upon us, to open our ranks by their kicks: our people, who knew that their ſafety conſiſted in remaining united, preſs on without diſorder, and attack without breaking their ranks: carnage is on all ſides; but each party fight without mixing with the other. At laſt the fruitleſs attempts of the Mamelukes urge them to a madneſs of rage; they throw at us their arms, which otherwiſe could not reach us; and, as if this were to be their laſt battle, they ſhower upon us their guns, piſtols, hatchets, and the ground

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is ſtrewed with arms of all kinds. Thoſe who are diſmounted drag themſelves under our bayonets, and cut at our ſoldiers' legs with their ſabres: the dying man ſummons his laſt effort to throttle his adverſary. One of our men lying on the ground, was ſeizing an expiring Mameluke, and ſtrangling him: an officer ſaid to him, "How can you, in your condition, do ſuch an act!" "You ſpeak much at your eaſe," the man replied, "you who are unhurt; but I, who have not long to live, muſt have ſome enjoyment while I may.' Vol. i. p. 333-6.

This M. Denon calls a great victory; but from his own account it appears rather to have been a great eſcape, ſince the enemy was not purſued in his retreat, and ſince Deſaix found himſelf under the neceſſity of returning to Cairo, immediately after, for reinforcements. Upon reſuming his march, he advanced from Faium to Beneſuef; and from that ſtation by Hermopolis to Siut, levying contributions according to the preſcription of Diodorus, and uſing every exertion to come up with the fugitive and indefatigable enemy. From Siut, however, the column was again forced to advance; and—

'After marching thirteen hours, we came in the evening to Gameriſſiem, unfortunately for this village; for the cries of the women ſoon convinced us that our ſoldiers, profiting by the darkneſs of the night, under pretence of ſeeking proviſions, and notwithſtanding their wearineſs, were enjoying, by violence, the gratifications which the place offered them. The inhabitants, pillaged, diſhonoured, and urged to deſperation, fell upon the patroles whom we ſent to defend them; and theſe, attacked by the furious natives, were killing them in their own defence, for want of being able to explain their object, and to make themſelves underſtood.' Vol. ii. p. 12. 13.

This was rather diſorderly for the moſt generous and beſt diſciplined troops in the univerſe. But we ſhould ſuſpect that ſomething ſtill worſe took place on another occaſion, from M. Denon's ſilence as to the particulars; he ſays,—

'We arrived at eleven at a large village, the name of which I could never learn, and where, unfortunately for their reputation, and to the great misfortune of the inhabitants, our ſoldiers miſbehaved.' Vol. ii. p. 61.

At Girgeh, the modern capital of Upper Egypt, the army found great plenty of every thing.

'Bread was one ſous the pound; twelve eggs, two ſous; two pigeons, three ſous; a gooſe weighing fifteen pounds, we got at twelve ſous:—could this be poverty? Such too was the abundance of theſe articles, that after more than five thouſand of us had remained here three weeks, and had increaſed the conſumption, and ſcattered out money, no riſe in the demand for theſe neceſſaries had taken place.' Vol. ii. p. 25. 26.

Upon leaving this place, information was received of the arrival of a great multitude of zealous Muſſulmen from Mecca, who had joined themſelves to Murad-Bey, to aſſiſt in driving the French out of the country. The following paſſage may help to explain the cauſe of this irreconcileable hoſtility.

'On the 13th we were informed that our cavalry had fallen in with a number of the enemy at Menſheith, had put to the ſword a thouſand of theſe deluded people, and had purſued their march. This was certainly not a leſſon of fraternization; but our poſition perhaps rendered an act of ſeverity neceſſary: this province, which had always the reputation of being very turbulent and very formidable, required to be taught that they could not brave us with impunity: it was, beſides, our policy to conceal from them, that our means were ſmall, and our reſources diſperſed; and to give them the impreſſion of our being as vindictive when provoked, as mild when treated with reſpect; and that we ſhould puniſh ſeverely *thoſe who were diſpoſed to doubt that all we did was finally for their own good.*" Vol. ii. p. 37. 38.

The army proceeding to the ſouthward had a rencounter with 2000 Arabs on horſeback, and 6000 peaſants on foot. The horſemen galloped off after a few diſcharges, "deſerting their poor infantry," ſays M. Denon, "who were ſabred *as uſual.*" The French then pillage the unoffending town of Farſhiut, and a forced march is ordered at midnight, to eſcape from the clamour and reproaches of the inhabitants. M. Denon then paſſes by Dindera, where he examines the ruins, and pays a haſty viſit to Thebes and Latopolis. The troops then purſued their deſolating march to Elephantine and Syene, where their head-quarters were eſtabliſhed for a conſiderable time. In an excurſion up the river, by which the Egyptian Fabius had retreated into Nubia, a cruel and unneceſſary attack was made upon the little iſland of Philœ, when ſuch was the horror that had been excited by the deportment of the invaders, "that parents were ſeen drowning the children they could not carry away, and mutilating their daughters to ſave them from the violence of the victors." The termination of the march of the French through Egypt was inſcribed on a granite rock beyond the cataracts; and intelligence having been received that the Mamelukes had gone down by the deſert, and were again collecting on the river, Deſaix abandoned Syene, and embarked upon the ſtream to overtake them. M. Denon now paſſed Latopolis and Thebes by water, and after ſlightly inſpecting Hermontis, came down to Kous, where the whole diviſion halted. At this place they learned that the flotilla, with a great part of their baggage and artillery, had been captured by the Meccan auxiliaries; and that they were drawn up in force to receive them on the plain of Benhute, in the neighbourhood.

neighbourhood. A very deſperate action enſued. The enemy fired upon the French with their own artillery and ammunition; and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, retired to a large fortreſs, after killing ſixty of their opponents. The French were twice repulſed in an attempt to ſtorm their fortreſs. At length they endeavoured to ſet it on fire; and this horrible expedient ſucceeded.

'As they were without water, they extinguiſhed the fire with their feet and hands, and even endeavoured to ſmother it, by throwing themſelves on it. They were ſeen black and naked running through the flames, and reſembling ſo many devils in hell.' Vol. ii. p. 212.

This terrible ſituation they endured for the whole night.

'During the laſt twelve hours, the beſieged had been without water; their walls were heated through; their ſwollen tongues choked up the paſſage of the air; and, in ſhort, their ſituation was terrible. In reality, a few minutes after, and an hour before the break of day, thirty of the beſieged, who were the beſt armed, forced a paſſage through one of our advanced poſts. At day-break, our troops entered by the breaches the fire had made, and put to the ſword thoſe who, notwithſtanding they were half roaſted alive, ſtill offered a reſiſtance. One of them, who appeared to be a chief, was brought to the general. He was in ſo ſwollen a ſtate, that, in endeavouring to ſtoop to ſeat himſelf, his ſkin cracked in every part. "If," ſaid he, "I am brought hither to be killed, I beg that you will haſten to put me out of my miſery." Vol. ii. p. 215. 216.

The French loſt nearly 200 men in thoſe encounters, and were almoſt totally deſtitute of ammunition. They intrenched themſelves, therefore, at Keneh, till ſupplies were received; and ſeem afterwards to have diſperſed over the adjoining country in queſt of their flying enemies. The ſufferings of the unoffending natives, in conſequence of theſe operations, ſeem to have been ſuch as to excite the regrets of M. Denon. After obſerving that the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing their enemies by their complexion, &c. was the cauſe of their 'continually putting the innocent peaſants to the ſword,' he makes the following reflections upon the condition and treatment of theſe poor people, which preſent a moſt extraordinary, and, we believe, an impartial picture of the general conduct of the French in this country.

'The ſituation of the inhabitants, for whoſe happineſs and proſperity we were no doubt come to Egypt, was no better. If, through terror, they had been obliged to quit their houſes on our approach, on their return, after we were withdrawn, they could find nothing but the mud of which the walls were formed. Utenſils, ploughs, doors, roofs, every thing, in ſhort, of a combuſtible nature, had been burned for cooking; and the earthen pots broken, the corn conſumed, and the fowls

and pigeons roaſted and devoured. Nothing was to be found, except the bodies of their dogs, killed in endeavouring to defend the property of their maſters. If we made any ſtay in a village, the unfortunate inhabitants, who had fled on our approach, were ſummoned to return, under penalty of being treated as rebels who had joined the enemy, and of being made to pay double contributions. When they ſubmitted to theſe threats, and came to pay the *miri*, it ſometimes happened that they were ſo numerous, as to be miſtaken for a body of men in arms, and their clubs conſidered as muſkets; in which caſe they were ſure of being aſſailed by ſeveral diſcharges from the riflemen and patroles, before an explanation could take place. Thoſe who were killed were interred; and the ſurvivors remained friends with us, until a proper opportunity preſented itſelf for retaliation. It is true, that provided they did not quit their dwellings, but paid the *miri*, and ſupplied the wants of the army, they not only ſpared themſelves the trouble of a journey, and avoided the unpleaſant abode of the deſert, but ſaw their proviſions eaten with regularity, and might come in for their portion of them, preſerving a part of their doors, ſelling their eggs to the ſoldiers, and having few of their wives and daughters raviſhed.' Vol. ii. p. 44—46.

After this, it is needleſs to purſue our detail of cruelties and diſorders any farther. We ſhall add one other ſpecimen, however, of the vigour with which the work of regeneration was purſued. The indefatigable Murad had excited ſome diſturbance in Beneadi, a town in the neighbourhood of Coptos, containing 12,000 inhabitants. To repreſs theſe, a detachment of cavalry and artillery was diſpatched.

'The troops, animated with the hope of plunder, in an inſtant ſwept away the whole village: thoſe of the inhabitants that eſcaped, joined the remnant of the Meccans, marched againſt Miniet, and were put to the ſword in a ſecond encounter.' Vol. ii. p. 305.

M. Denon, after viſiting once more the ruins of Tentyra and Thebes, accompanied a detachment of the army from Keneh to Coſſeir, upon the Red Sea; and, after a ſtay of no more than two days, returned by the ſame route, accompliſhing the whole expedition in the ſhort ſpace of a ſingle week. He afterwards accompanied a diviſion that was appointed to make a circuit through the conquered country; and found many opportunities of making drawings of ruins and hieroglyphics, at Luxor, at Etfu, and among the tombs of the kings at Thebes.

Immediately after his return from this excurſion, he embarked on the Nile for Cairo, where he arrived juſt as the commander in chief was ſetting out to give battle to the Turks, who had diſembarked at Aboukir. Out of 20,000 men, who were encamped on that ſpot, 6000 were made priſoners, 4000 left dead on the field, and 10,000 driven into the ſea and drowned.

Within

Within twelve days after this ſignal victory, Bonaparte embarked in the night at Alexandria, along with M. Denon; buſied himſelf with chemiſtry and geometry during the paſſage; and arrived ſafely at the port of Frejus, after paſſing through the Britiſh ſquadron in a fog.

Such, in the abſtract, is M. Denon's account of this memorable expedition; and ſuch are a few of the new lights which his narrative has thrown on the conduct of it! We feel much admiration for the magnanimity of the Chief Conſul, in patronizing the work that contains them; and leave them, without commentary, to the meditation of our readers. M. Denon, however, did not go to Egypt as the hiſtoriographer of his patron's exploits: he went to deſcribe and delineate the monuments of its ancient grandeur. And it is time to make a few obſervations upon the manner in which this part of his talk has been performed.

The characters of the Egyptian architecture have long been known to the inquiſitive. Gigantic in all its proportions, it ſeems rather to have aimed at overwhelming the imagination by vaſtneſs, than at enchanting it by elegance; and while ideas of grandeur and of power are irreſiſtibly excited by the enormous maſſes that are piled into regularity by human labour, we are oppreſſed by a certain cumbrous and ſevere uniformity of execution, that baniſhes every idea of inventive freedom, and indicates the deſigns of an inſulated and monaſtic corporation. A temple upwards of two miles in circumference, conſtructed of ſtones from 15 to 36 feet in length, ſupported by columns 50 feet high, and 12 in diameter, and adorned with obeliſks of a ſingle ſtone 100 feet in elevation, and with coloſſal ſtatues meaſuring from 50 feet to 80, may ſerve to give ſome idea of thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures, the memory of whoſe origin has been forgotten for centuries, and which ſtill promiſe to ſurvive all the generations of mankind. We have already inſinuated that M. Denon's publication has not added very materially to our knowledge of thoſe monuments. We do not know, indeed, that he pretends to have made a ſingle diſcovery. He has given fewer *plans* than either Poccoke or Norden, and is infinitely leſs diſtinct in his deſcriptions, and leſs learned in his references, than the former of theſe travellers. He has made much better, and more numerous drawings, however, than any of his predeceſſors, and has preſented the groups of objects in a much clearer and more pictureſque manner. His views in the iſlands of Philœ and Elephantine are a great deal more perfect; and he has copied the paintings and engraved hieroglyphics in the tombs at Thebes, and the temple of Tentyra, much more correctly and extenſively. He has intermingled a variety of critical remarks and animated

ed reflections alſo, that give a certain dramatic intereſt to his deſcriptions, and indicate a cultivated taſte and an inflamed imagination. We ſhall give a very ſhort ſketch of his obſervations.

Lower Egypt afforded but few materials for his art or his enthuſiaſm. The pillar at Alexandria he ſuppoſes to have been erected in the time of the Caliphs, and imagines it to have belonged to ſome gigantic edifice, the portico or atrium of which he thinks may ſtill be diſcovered, by digging in the looſe ground in the vicinity. Some mutilated fragments of cornices and coloſſal ſtatues led him to fix the ſite of Canopus a few leagues to the weſtward of Alexandria. To our former deſcription of the pyramids he has added nothing: he is enchanted, however, with the 'mild, gracious, and tranquil expreſſion,' in the countenance of the ſphinx, and does not ſtay to peep into the catacombs. The firſt entire ſpecimen of Egyptian architecture he meets with in the famous portico of the temple of Hermopolis; and his raptures are ſufficiently high.

'A peaſant who ſhould be drawn out from his cottage, and placed before ſuch a building as this, would believe that there muſt exiſt a wide difference between himſelf and the beings who were able to conſtruct it: and, without having any idea of architecture, he would ſay, this is the work of a god; a man could not dare to inhabit it.' Vol. i. p. 380. 381.

The degenerate natives do not carry their ideas quite ſo high; but M. Denon aſſures us, that while ſitting among the ruins of Luxor, he was ſeriouſly aſked by one of their Sheiks, whether it was the French or the Engliſh that had erected theſe monuments?

He comes next to Tentyra, which he has drawn with great elegance and diſtinctneſs, to Latopolis and Thebes. The following reflections ſeem natural and judicious.

'Our national impatience was diſmayed with the conſtancy of application exhibited by the people who had executed theſe monuments: throughout was ſhewn equal care and equal aſſiduity; which would make one believe that theſe edifices were not the work of their kings, but that they were conſtructed at the expence of the nation, under the direction of colleges of prieſts and by artiſts whoſe labours were circumſcribed by invariable rules. A ſeries of years might, indeed, have brought the arts to a higher degree of perfection in ſome particulars; but each temple is ſo equally finiſhed in all its parts, that they appear all to have been executed by the ſame hand; no one portion is better or worſe than any other; there appears neither negligence, nor the bold ſtrokes of a more exalted genius; uniformity and harmony prevail throughout. The art of ſculpture, here made ſubſervient and attached to that of architecture, appears to have been circumſcribed in principle, in method, and in ſtyle of execution;

cution; a ſingle figure expreſſes nothing, when taken out of its exact ſtation in the group in which it is a part; the ſculptor had his deſign chalked out for him, and could not introduce any deviation which might alter the true meaning that it was intended to convey: it was with theſe figures, as with the cards that we uſe for our games, the imperfection of deſign is overlooked, that no obſtacle may ariſe in inſtantly diſtinguiſhing the value of each.' Vol. ii. p. 72. 73.

With the huge temples of Carnac and Luxor he ſeems ſomewhat out of humour, becauſe they are too large to be diſtinctly repreſented upon paper. A village, containing 3000 ſouls, has been erected on the ruins of a part of the latter; and yet M. Denon informs us, that its vaſt courts and galleries have all the grandeur and deſolation of an uninhabited ruin; the huts that are built on the roofs and in the corners having the appearance of ſwallows' neſts in our houſes, which deſile them without altering or concealing their general appearance! After having wandered among theſe ſtupendous remains, M. Denon makes the following ſtriking and characteriſtic reflections.

'Still temples, nothing but temples! and not a veſtige of the hundred gates ſo celebrated in hiſtory; no walls, quays, bridges, baths, or theatres; not a ſingle edifice of public utility or convenience; notwithſtanding all the pains which I took in the reſearch, I could find nothing but temples, walls covered with obſcure emblems; and hieroglyphics, which atteſted the aſcendancy of the prieſthood, who ſtill ſeemed to reign over theſe mighty ruins, and whoſe empire conſtantly haunted my imagination.' Vol. ii. p. 195. 196.

And afterwards—

'I ſtill admire with awe the organization of ſuch a government; its ſtupendous remains yet excite the mingled ſenſations of reſpect and dread. The divinity, in ſacerdotal habits, holds in one hand a book, and in the other a flail; the former, no doubt, to reſtrain, and the latter to puniſh: every thing is meaſured by the law, and enchained by it. The fine arts, ſubject to the ſame ſevere reſtrictions, bend under the weight of fetters, and their ſoaring genius is pinioned to the earth. The unveiled emblem of generation, traced even in the ſanctuary of the temples, announces, that to deſtroy pleaſure it was converted into a duty: not a ſingle circus, not a ſingle theatre, not a ſingle edifice for public recreation; but temples, but myſteries, but initiations but prieſts, but ſacrifices; ceremonies for pleaſures; for luxury, ſepulchres.' Vol. ii. p. 288. 289.

Among the moſt valuable and original of the drawings with which M. Denon has preſented us, are the repreſentations of thoſe paintings and reliefs that ſtill continue to adorn the tombs of the kings and other excavations at Thebes, and the cells

cells adjoining to the temple of Tentyra. In the former he found four apartments, the walls of which were covered reſpectively with different ſorts of arms, with implements of agriculture, with inſtruments of muſic, and with articles of furniture. Thoſe paintings, which are ſaid to be in excellent preſervation, afford a complete view of the *coſtume* of the ancient Egyptians, and the moſt deciſive evidence of the progreſs they had made in the arts. War chariots, drawn by two and by four horſes, form a frequent object in theſe decorations: and, in another part of the temple, the ſculpture repreſents perſons vaulting over ropes, and aſſes dancing on their hind legs. We do not remember that the graver Egyptians are ever themſelves exhibited as performers in a dance.

Our limits will not permit us to make any obſervations upon the zodiac, and other aſtronomical delineations that M. Denon has copied from the painted ceilings of Tentyra; but we cannot omit his account of the diſcovery of an ancient alphabetical manuſcript which he found in the hand of a mutilated mummy that was brought to him by the Arabs for ſale.

'The reader ſhould be a traveller, an inquirer, and an amateur, to ſympathiſe with my rapture on this occaſion. When it was brought me, I felt that I turned pale with anxiety: I was going to expreſs my indignation at thoſe who had violated the integrity of this mummy, when I perceived in its right hand, and reſting on the left arm, a roll of papyrus, on which was a manuſcript, that I ſhould perhaps have never ſeen without this violation. I then bleſſed the avarice of the Arabs, and my good fortune, which had put me in poſſeſſion of ſuch a treaſure, which I hardly dared to touch for fear of injuring this ſacred manuſcript, the oldeſt of all the books in the known world. I could not venture to intruſt it out of my ſight, and all the cotton of my bed was devoted to wrapping it up with the utmoſt care. What could be its contents? Was it the hiſtory of this perſonage, the remarkable events of his life? Was the period aſcertained by the date of the ſovereign under whom he lived? or did this precious roll contain maxims, prayers, or the hiſtory of ſome diſcovery?' Vol. iii. p. 71-2.

We do not pretend to be able to decypher this manuſcript, and do not recollect to have heard of any communication having been made to the public in relation to it. M. Denon obſerves, that the ſame character and ſets of characters recur repeatedly in the courſe of it.

We cannot take our leave of theſe *coloſſal* volumes without entering our proteſt againſt ſuch a form of publication. M. Denon's taſte has been formed perhaps upon the gigantic monuments of the Thebaid, and will reliſh no book that is not as large as a pannel charged with hieroglyphics; but in this quarter

ter of the world, we believe there are few readers who will think themſelves indemnified for the great price of this work by the ſatisfaction of turning over four ſquare feet of paſteboard in every leaf, and having their eyes dazzled by characters like thoſe on a tombſtone. Even in the volume of plates, the huge ſize of the page is turned to no ſort of uſe; moſt of the views being given in ſmall compartments, that do not occupy one eighth part of the ſheet, and the paper being covered by a ſingle ſubject, in no inſtance but the fanciful repreſentation of two battles with the Mamelukes. We are the more inclined to cenſure the injudicious magnitude of theſe volumes, as there is nothing either in the ſtyle or the matter of M. Denon that tallies with ſo much magnificence. He has made ſome fine drawings of monuments that had been drawn before, and brought away ſome ſlight ſketches of hieroglyphics that had not been previouſly copied; and he has recorded his obſervations and adventures in a flippant and familiar ſtyle, that partakes leſs of dignity than of pertneſs; and ſeems better adapted for the undreſs of an occaſional pamphlet, than for the monumental vaſtneſs of ſuch a publication as the preſent.

ART. IX. *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe, pendant les regnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI. &c.* MSS. trouvés dans le Cabinet de Louis XVI. Seconde Edition. Conſiderablement augmentée. Par L. P. Segur l'Ainé, Exambaſſadeur. 3 tom. 8vo. pp. 1238. à Paris. Chez Buiſſon. An 9. (1801.)

THE balance of power, and the general ſyſtem of international relations which has grown up in modern Europe, have afforded to one claſs of politicians perpetual ſubject of ridicule and invective, and to another claſs the conſtant opportunity of defending or attacking every meaſure, of diſcuſſing, or affecting to diſcuſs every political ſubject, by a reference to certain terms of art and abſtract ideas, of which it is fair to ſuſpect that they little underſtood the meaning and the force.

Of theſe reaſoners or declaimers, the former ſect are undoubtedly the moſt dangerous. The refinements of modern policy which have ſprung from the progreſſive improvement of the human ſpecies, and have, in their turn, ſecured that progreſs, and accelerated its pace, are in no danger of being either corrupted, or brought into diſrepute, by the petulance of pretended ſtateſmen. But the ſophiſtries and cavils which political ſceptics and innovators have founded, partly on a miſconception of the theory, and partly on a miſtatement of the facts, tend directly to a degradation of the ſyſtem in the eyes of ſuperficial reaſoners, and may ultimately

ultimately renew a ſtate of things, from which the unaſſiſted efforts of national heroiſm would be altogether unable to redeem any one community.

The attacks of thoſe men have, moreover, been extremely inconſiſtent and contradictory. While, at one time, they maintain, that the idea of a political equilibrium is pregnant with every ſpecies of abſurdity, and would produce, if carried into the actual affairs of nations, thoſe very evils which the ſyſtem is extolled for preventing: at another time, we are told that the notion is ſimple and obvious; that it ariſes naturally out of the paſſions of men; that it is no refinement of modern ſtateſmen, but has influenced the councils of princes and commonwealths in all ages of the world. Now—the balance of power is an unintelligible jargon, invented to cover every ſcheme; to furniſh pretexts for every act of national injuſtice; to lull the jealouſy of the people in any emergency; or to excite their alarms upon any occaſion. Now—it is uſeleſs and ſuperfluous; an interference with the natural order of things; or an attempt to effect that which would happen at any rate. Now—it is pernicious in the extreme; the parent of wars and offenſive alliances; the exciting cauſe of national violence; the watchword of ambitious princes and deſtroying commonwealths; a refinement only of injuſtice; and a ſyſtem of nothing but treachery or caprice. It is very manifeſt, without any argument, that the ſyſtem of modern policy cannot be liable to all thoſe accuſations at once, and that the declaimers, who have uſed ſuch language with reſpect to it, muſt have been talking of very different things at different times. But as the foreign policy of nations was never, at any period of modern ſtory, ſo intereſting as at preſent, we ſhall proceed to offer a few obſervations upon that ſyſtem which has been ſo little underſtood, and which is the foundation of the important work now under review.

The national jealouſy, by which at all times the European ſtates are animated, and which ranges them on different ſides in each public criſis, has been denominated, not a principle of policy, but a national emotion. Nations, it is ſaid, like the individuals which compoſe them, are moved by caprice, and actuated by paſſions; excited to contention by envy and hatred; ſoothed to reconciliation when exhauſted by the efforts of their enmity; leagued in friendſhip by the dictates of an intereſted prudence; united together by the thirſt of plunder; or combined for the gratification of ſome common revenge. The principle (we are told) which has been pompouſly called the great ſpring of civilized policy, is perhaps nothing more than a ſyſtematic indulgence of thoſe natural feelings that impel the ſavage to attack his more wealthy neighbour, or unite rival hordes in a temporary friendſhip,

ſhip, when invaded by a powerful and common enemy. The policy (it is added) which we have heard extolled as the grand arcanum of modern ſtateſmen, and dignified with the title of a ſyſtem, is nothing more than the natural reſult of a conflict between deſire of conqueſt and of ſecurity, refined on by ingenious men, and ſpun into a regular theory.

Theſe remarks are partly true, and partly unfounded. It is true, that nations are guided by human councils, and ſubject, of courſe, to the paſſions and caprices of men; but it is no leſs certain, that the more regularly any ſyſtem of government is eſtabliſhed, the more will men of ſober minds acquire a weight in the management of affairs; and that the longer the art of adminiſtering the concerns of empires is practiſed, prudence will gain the greater aſcendency over paſſion. It is true, that the dictates of feelings not always amiable, and often outrageous, are frequently, more than any impulſe of reaſon, the ſprings which actuate the operations of ſtates; but it is equally true, that in all animals the paſſions themſelves are implanted for the wiſeſt of purpoſes; that inſtinct is the principle to which, more than reaſon, the preſervation of life, and the maintenance of order in the univerſe muſt be aſcribed; and that national councils may be operating what no foreſight could combine, while they appear to be ſwayed only by prejudice and paſſion. The exiſtence of rude ſtates is indeed frequently preſerved, and their civilization inſured by the operation of principles, to aſſiſt the developement of which is the great pride of the moſt learned and ſkilful ſtateſmen: yet, the want of this aſſiſtance in thoſe rude times, and the want of a conſtant ſuperintendence and control which renders the popular feelings uſeful in one caſe, and harmleſs in another, is certainly the cauſe of that inſtability of national power, and thoſe perpetual changes in dominion—thoſe conſtant broils, and that ſtate of unceaſing inſecurity, to which we may attribute the many revolutions in the ſituation of ſavage communities, and the long continuance of their barbariſm.

That the ſyſtem which we are now conſidering has oftentimes been abuſed, no one can deny. What human inſtitution can defend itſelf from this charge? But many of the evils which are aſcribed to the principle in queſtion, have been owing only to an erroneous conception of its nature. Many of them have ariſen from failing to carry the line of policy recommended by it, to the lengths which it enjoins; and, in not a few inſtances, thoſe events which have been deemed pernicious, would have proved altogether fatal, had not its influence modified and controled them. We are deſired, with no ſmall appearance of triumph, to view the hiſtory of the laſt century; and to mark the manifold wars which the balancing ſyſtem produced; the various intrigues

to

to which it gave riſe; the deſtructive conqueſts of which it furniſhed the pretext; and the national cataſtrophes which it could not avert. But had it not been for that wholeſome jealouſy of rival neighbours, which modern politicians have learned to cheriſh, how many conqueſts and changes of dominion would have taken place, inſtead of wars, in which a few uſeleſs lives were loſt, and ſome ſuperfluous millions were ſquandered? How many fair portions of the globe might have been deluged in blood, inſtead of ſome hundreds of ſailors fighting harmleſsly on the barren plains of the ocean, and ſome thouſands of ſoldiers carrying on a ſcientific, and regular, and quiet ſyſtem of warfare, in countries ſet apart for the purpoſe, and reſorted to as the arena where the diſputes of nations may be determined? We may indeed look to the hiſtory of the laſt century as the proudeſt æra in the annals of the ſpecies; the period moſt diſtinguiſhed for learning, and ſkill, and induſtry; for the milder virtues, and for common ſenſe; for refinement in government, and an equal diffuſion of liberty; above all, for that perfect knowledge of the arts of adminiſtration, which has eſtabliſhed certain general rules of conduct among nations; has prevented the overthrow of empires, and the abſorption of weak ſtates into the bodies of devouring neighbours; has ſet bounds to the march of conqueſt, and rendered the unſheathing of the ſword a meaſure of the laſt adoption; whereas, in other times, it was always reſorted to in the firſt inſtance.

In the beginning of that century, we ſaw the gigantic power of France humbled by a coalition of princes, each reſolved to undergo immediate loſs, and run a great preſent riſk, in order to prevent the greater chance of ruin at the diſtance of a few years. In ancient times the Stadtholder would have been more jealous of Britain or Auſtria, than of France. The great Monarch, like Cæſar, would have found a Divitiacus in the heart of the empire. By ſplitting the neighbouring potentates into adverſe factions, and fighting one againſt the other, he would, in a few years, have ſubjugated the whole. No power would then have conceived that common prudence required an immediate ſacrifice of peace, in order to ward off a diſtant peril. All would have waited quietly till the invaſion came on; then, fighting with a deſperate, but an inſulated valour, all would have been conquered in detail by the ambitious enemy of Europe; and the ſtory of the Roman Empire would have been renewed, when ſubmiſſion to foreign power, and loſs of liberty, and interruption of peaceful purſuits, were no longer the phantoms of vulgar terror, or the themes of idle declamation, but real, and imminent, and inevitable calamities.

In

In the middle of the century, we indeed ſaw an ancient crown deſpoiled of its hereditary provinces; and the neighbouring ſtates in vain attempting to cruſh the new-born energies of the Pruſſian power. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the principles of an enlightened policy would not have favoured the riſe of a power, whoſe profeſſed and natural object was the balancing of the Imperial Houſe, and the protection of the ſmaller princes of the empire, againſt the preponderating, and formerly abſolute, ſway of the Auſtrian monarchs. And, at any rate, admitting the other powers to have been actuated by no ſuch views, it is clear that the ſucceſs of the Sileſian uſurpation muſt be attributed to the actual dereliction of the balancing ſyſtem, and not to its inefficacy; for, both in the Sileſian and in the ſeven years war*, the part of Pruſſia was openly eſpouſed by ſome of the great powers; in the former, by France and Bavaria; in the latter, firſt by England, and then by Ruſſia herſelf. The preſervation and accurate adjuſtment of the balance might perhaps have required ſome ſuch event as the acquiſition which Pruſſia actually made; but if the immediate object of the ſyſtem, the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed diviſion of power, was held to be a more important conſideration, it is clear that the part of Pruſſia ought not to have been taken by France and Bavaria, in the one caſe, or by England and Ruſſia on the other, until the uſurped dominions of Auſtria had been reſtored; and then the allies of that power ought inſtantly to have deſerted her, if ſhe did not remain ſatisfied with the fruits of their interference.

Soon after the ſeven years war was terminated, the diſmemberment of an ancient European kingdom was projected by the powers who had been moſt exhauſted in the Sileſian conteſt, and who wiſhed to indemnify themſelves for their loſſes at the expence of the Poles. The ſucceſs of this iniquitous tranſaction, although it only demonſtrates that the modern ſyſtem has not been carried to its proper length, that it is incapable of changing the nature of men, or diſarming the ambition and rapacity of princes, has been always quoted by a certain ſet of politicians, as an irretrievable proof of the futility and inefficacy of the great principle of modern politics. That calamitous event is indeed a ſufficient proof, that the ſtateſmen of Europe had for a while forgotten their moſt ſacred principles, and that the princes who did not interfere to prevent it, were blind to their beſt intereſts It ſerves, therefore, to ſhow us what would be the ſituation of the world, were the maxims of ancient times to be revived, and the ſalutary ſyſtem of

* It is well known that the peace of Dreſden was only a truce; that the war of 1756 owed its origin to the cauſe of the former conteſt; and that the poſſeſſion of Sileſia was only ſecured by the peace of Hubertſburgh.

modern Europe to loſe its influence over the councils of ſtates; but, for this very reaſon, the partition of Poland cannot, with any truth, be ſaid to prove the inefficacy of thoſe principles, by acting in direct oppoſition to which, the great powers of Europe permitted it to happen. If, however, the policy of the neighbouring ſtates provided no check to the injuſtice of the partitioning powers, the influence of the balancing ſyſtem upon the conduct of thoſe parties themſelves was productive of the moſt important and beneficial effects. Had the ancient maxims of national indifference and inſulation prevailed in the cabinets of princes at the criſis of Poliſh affairs in 1772, the diſtracted ſtate of that unhappy country would indeed have called in the interference of foreign force. But this interference would have proceeded from one quarter alone. Poland would have been overwhelmed, and its vaſt reſources appropriated, by one only of the conterminous powers, probably by the Ruſſian empire, which would thus have ſuddenly acquired a preponderance fatal to the reſt of Europe; and, without receiving any check in the proportional aggrandizement of the neighbouring ſtates, would have been enabled to ſtretch its reſiſtleſs arm into the very heart of the great weſtern commonwealth. But the prevalence of that national jealouſy, and anxious attention to the affairs of other ſtates, which is the maſter principle of the modern ſyſtem, prevented the uſurpation of Ruſſia, even at the moment when ſhe was actually miſtreſs of the kingdom, garriſoned the capital with her troops, and ruled the national councils by a viceroy, under the name of ambaſſador. With all theſe circumſtances in her favour, ſhe was not even the firſt propoſer of the partition. Her natural enemies, Auſtria and Pruſſia, actually gained a greater ſhare of the ſpoil; and, inſtead of being the firſt victims of her extended empire, as they infallibly would have been in ancient times, they have themſelves acquired, at the ſame moment, an increaſe of reſources, which enables them effectually to withſtand the augmented force of her power.

Although, then, it is extremely abſurd to adduce the partition of Poland as an inſtance of the balancing ſyſtem, (after the manner of the Pruſſian ſtateſmen *), it is equally ridiculous to aſſert, that it proves the inefficacy of that ſyſtem, or to deny that the reſt of Europe has been ſaved by the influence of thoſe principles upon the parties in the uſurpation, which ſhould have led the other great powers of Europe to prevent it. It is ſcarcely neceſſary

* Count Hertzberg, (the King's firſt miniſter in 1772) in a ſpeculative eſſay on this ſubject, gives the partition as an appoſite caſe of the balancing ſyſtem. It was made, he ſays, 'Selon les principes d'une balance dont les trois puiſſances partageantes etoient convenues entre elles.' Mem. tom. i. p. 296.

ſary to remark, that we by no means intend to aſſert any thing further than the injuſtice and impolicy of the tranſaction upon a great ſcale: at preſent, we only look to the effects of the balancing ſyſtem in maintaining the independence of the weaker ſtates. The caſe of Poland, as it appears to us, is one of the very few inſtances, which have ever occurred, of a nation being placed in ſuch unnatural circumſtances of embarraſſment, turbulence, and degradation of every ſort, that no change of affairs could poſſibly render it worſe, and ſcarce any revolution, by domeſtic violence, or foreign invaſion, could fail to alter it for the better Setting apart the high-ſounding phraſes of patriotiſm and national ſpirit, and the feelings of admiration which the very natural emotions of pity have taught us to couple with the name of Poland, it is impoſſible for a ſober-minded obſerver not to perceive, that ages of the moſt debaſing ſervitude had utterly diſqualified the Poliſh boors for enjoying the privileges of free ſubjects; that a lifetime divided between unceaſing tumult in public, and the revellings of a boiſterous, barbarous hoſpitality, had utterly unfitted the reſt of the State from co-operating in the formation of a conſtitution which ſhould poſſeſs either energy or regularity; and that the happieſt event which has ever befallen the fine country of Poland, has been a diſmemberment, wept over and declaimed upon by thoſe who had no experience of its neceſſity, or need of its benefits. Thoſe benefits have moſt undoubtedly been the pacification of that unhappy kingdom, by the only means which human fancy could have deviſed for accompliſhing this end, without endangering the ſecurity of the other powers, namely, a fair diviſion of the country among the neighbouring and rival powers, and a conſequent communication of the inеſtimable bleſſings which their ancient ſubjects enjoyed under a ſyſtem of peaceful government and regular police.

The memorable events which took place at the cloſe of the 18th century, it is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, were the immediate conſequence of an adherence to the principles of the modern ſyſtem of international policy. The internal ſtate of France would never have alarmed the neighbouring nations in ancient times. Without anxiety, they would have ſeen the overthrow of all regular government, the progreſs of Jacobin contagion, and the developement of thoſe popular energies which armed a people, devoted excluſively to war, with reſiſtleſs power to accompliſh the grand object of their demagogues, the overthrow of altars and thrones, and the eſtabliſhment of univerſal empire Far from combining to reſiſt the progreſs of the new horde, they would have ſplit into factions, and aſſiſted its deſtructive courſe. No efforts to check it would have been thought of, until all reſiſtance was too late; nor would thoſe modern Gauls have found reſiſtance effectual to oppoſe them from the Manlius of any capitol

in Europe. That this has not been the fate of every thing refined and valuable in Europe, is owing to the degree in which the maxims of the balancing ſyſtem began to operate their uſual effects at the very moment when the firſt changes took place in France. But that much injury has been done; that many independent ſtates have been humbled; that ſome powers have been overwhelmed; and that melancholy changes have been effected in the diſtribution of dominion, has been owing to the unprincipled ambition of certain princes; the taint of diſaffection in the people of ſome countries, which have, together, prevented the modern ſyſtem of external policy from being followed out, and have given to the common enemy of national independence an advantage proportioned to the neglect of thoſe ſound and neceſſary principles.

Let us hear no more, then, of the laſt century, as affording arguments againſt the balance of power. That eventful period in the hiſtory of mankind has been marked by the formation of vaſt ſchemes, which either by their ſucceſs may allure, or by their failure may warn, future ſtateſmen to cling ſtill cloſer by thoſe maxims of conduct which are neceſſary to the preſervation of liberty and peace.

The remarks which have been frequently made on the knowledge of the ancients, in this branch of policy, are for the moſt part juſt. Mr Hume, ſo far as we know, is the firſt who ſtated this point, in an eſſay replete with accurate reference, and diſtinguiſhed acuteneſs of claſſical illuſtration, but mingled alſo with ſome injurious perverſions of facts in more recent hiſtory; and with the miſtatement, in one or two points of the great ſyſtem itſelf, which he appears to treat with diſreſpect *. The celebrated paſſage in Polybius, which has ſo often been quoted †, is indeed a diſtinct ſtatement of one general principle in that ſyſtem; and the orations of Demoſthenes contain ſome diſcuſſions of the moſt delicate parts of the theory—diſcuſſions which, from the event of his times, we may be aſſured were but imperfectly comprehended in thoſe early ages ‡. But the number of diſcoveries, or inventions, which have been ſuddenly made in any branch of knowledge, is ſmall indeed. All the more important ſteps in the progreſs of the human mind may rather be termed improvements than inventions: they are refinements upon methods formerly known—generalizations of ideas previouſly conceived. By how many ſmall and ſlowly following ſteps was the true nature of the planetary motions brought to light! By how many inſenſible gradations did that theory receive its explanation from the

* Eſſay on the balance of Power. † Polyb. lib. 1. cap. 83.
‡ Particularly the famous ſpeech for the Megalopolitans—*paſſim.*

the great law of gravitation, which, conſtantly and univerſally acting, keeps each body in its place, and preſerves the arrangement of the whole ſyſtem? In like manner has that theory of political expediency been gradually unfolded, and its parts refined, which regulates the mutual actions of the contiguous nations of Europe; ſubjects each to the influence of others, however remote; connects all together by a common principle; regulates the motions of the whole; and maintains the order of the great complicated ſyſtem. As the newly diſcovered planets are found to obey the ſame law that keeps the reſt in their orbits; ſo the powers, which frequently ariſe in the European world, immediately fall into their places, and conform to the ſame principles that fix the poſitions, and direct the movements of the ancient ſtates. And as, even in this enlightened age, we have not yet ſucceeded in diſcovering the whole extent of the planetary law, or in reducing certain apparent irregularities of the ſyſtem to the common principles; ſo, in theſe days of political improvement, we have not attained the utmoſt refinements of international policy, and have ſtill to lament the many irregularities which continue to diſturb the arrangement of the European commonwealth.

It is not, then, in the mere plan of forming offenſive or defenſive alliances; or in the principle of attacking a neighbour, in order to weaken his power, before he has betrayed hoſtile views; or in the policy of defending a rival, in order to ſtay, in proper time, the progreſs of a common enemy: it is not in theſe ſimple maxims that the modern ſyſtem conſiſts. Thoſe are, indeed, the elements, the great and leading parts of the theory; they are its moſt prominent features; they are maxims dictated by the plaineſt and coarſeſt views of political expediency: But they do not form the whole ſyſtem; nor does the knowledge of them (for it cannot be pretended that ancient ſtates were in poſſeſſion of any thing beyond the ſpeculative knowledge of them) comprehend an acquaintance with the profounder and more ſubtile parts of modern policy. The grand and diſtinguiſhing feature of the balancing theory is the ſyſtematic form to which it reduces thoſe plain and obvious principles of national conduct; the perpetual attention to foreign affairs which it inculcates; the conſtant watchfulneſs over every motion in all parts of the ſyſtem which it preſcribes; the ſubjection in which it tends to place all national paſſions and antipathies to the views of remote expediency; the unceaſing care which it dictates of nations moſt remotely ſituated, and apparently unconnected with ourſelves; the general union, which it has effected, of all the European powers in one connected ſyſtem—obeying certain laws, and actuated, in general, by a common principle; in fine, as a conſequence of the whole,

the right of mutual inſpection, now univerſally recognized among civilized ſtates, in the rights of public envoys and reſidents. This is the balancing theory. It was as much unknown to Athens and Rome, as the Keplerian or Newtonian laws were concealed from Plato and Cicero, who certainly knew the effect of gravitation upon terreſtrial bodies. It has ariſen, in the progreſs of ſcience, out of the circumſtances of modern Europe—the greater extent and nearer equality of the contiguous ſtates—the more conſtant intercourſe of the different nations with each other. We have been told by hiſtorians *, that the principle of the balance of power was a diſcovery of the 15th century, made by the Italian politicians, in conſequence of the invaſion of Charles VIII. Againſt ſuch ſtatements as this, it is perfectly fair to adduce the arguments of Mr Hume and others, who have traced, in ancient times, vaſtly more refined notions of policy, than any that dictated the Italian defenſive league. It was, in truth, not to any ſuch ſingle event, that the balancing ſyſtem owed either its origin, or its refinement; but to the progreſs of ſociety, which placed the whole united States of Europe in the ſame relative ſituation in which the States of Italy were at that period, and taught them not to wait for an actual invaſion, but to ſee a Charles at all times in every prince or commonwealth that ſhould manifeſt the leaſt deſire of change.

The circumſtances of the European States, by promoting national intercourſe, have been ſingularly favourable to the developement of thoſe principles of eaſy and conſtant union. Conſolidated into one ſyſtem of provincial government under the empire of Rome, they were ſeparated by the ſame cauſes, and nearly at the ſame time. Reduced by a people, whoſe character and manners were never effaced by the moſt rapid conqueſts, or moſt remote emigrations, they were formed into diviſions, under conſtitutions of the ſame nature, peculiarly calculated to preſerve the uniformity of cuſtoms, which originally marked the whole. The progreſs of political government has been ſimilar in all, from the dominion of the Nobles to the tyranny of the Prince, and, in theſe latter times, to the freedom of the people. That ſpirit of commercial intercourſe, which produces a perpetual connexion, little known in the ancient world, has conſpired with the ſimilarity of ſituation, and the reſemblance of manners, to render Europe a united whole within itſelf, almoſt ſeparated from the reſt of the world—a great federacy, acknowledging, indeed, no common chief; but united by certain common principles, and obeying one ſyſtem of international law.

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* Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i.

It is from theſe natural ſources, through this gradual progreſs, and not ſuddenly from any accidental occurrences, in the fifteenth century, or from the cabinets of particular ſtateſmen, that we muſt deduce the refined ſyſtem of interference, which has regulated, for ſo long a time, the councils of Europe in foreign affairs: and we are to conſider the union of the Italian States againſt the invaſion of Charles, merely as a ſymptom of the ſame progreſſive improvement, which has ſince taken place in the other parts of Europe.

The queſtion, of the propriety of a nation interfering with thoſe concerns of its neighbours, which have only a remote connexion with its own intereſts, may be ſtated in two different forms;—either as a general queſtion applicable to any ſtate, or in its particular reference to the ſituation of a nation placed in certain circumſtances. Thus many politicians, who have no heſitation in recommending the balancing ſyſtem to ſuch powers as Auſtria and Pruſſia, placed in the heart of Europe, and ſurrounded by many other ſtates of various complexions and magnitudes, are yet of opinion, that the ſituation of Britain is very different; that ſhe is, by nature, inſulated from the reſt of Europe; that ſhe can defend herſelf againſt any invaſion, by means of her natural barrier and internal reſources; and that ſhe ought not to ſacrifice the improvement of thoſe reſources, and the means of maintaining peace, to the vain wiſh of holding the European balance, and embroiling herſelf in the ſtormy politics of foreign ſtates. To enter fully into the diſcuſſion of this great national queſtion, would carry us much beyond our neceſſary limits: But we cannot avoid remarking, that ſo long as Great Britain is engaged in a commercial intercourſe with other nations; ſo long as her inſular ſituation only ſerves to promote and extend thoſe commercial regulations; ſo long as other ſtates poſſeſs a large portion of ſea-coaſt, engage in a wide commercial circle, and are acquiring a navy of formidable power; ſo long as Britain interferes with them in other quarters of the globe, where her dominions are the moſt valuable and extenſive;—it is an abuſe of language to talk of her being ſeparated from the continent of Europe by the ſtraits of Dover. The tranſport of an army by ſea is often more eaſy than the march over a conſiderable tract of land. The fate of a naval engagement is generally more quick, deciſive, and dependent upon fortune, than the ſiege of barrier towns, or the forcing of mountainous paſſes; and the elements may, by retaining the Britiſh fleets in Plymouth or Portſmouth, while they waft the enemy's ſquadrons from Breſt or the Texel, deſtroy in a moment that bulwark to which we vainly intruſted the national defence, and render utterly uſeleſs the whole *natural force* of the country, which, after a change of weather, may diſplay, triumphantly,

its flags over every ſea in Europe, while the Conſular legions are revelling in the plunder of the Bank, or burning all the dock-yards in the kingdom. To ſay that England may truſt to her fleets, then, is to recommend a full reliance upon the chance of a ſingle battle, or the event of a ſea chace; to inculcate a filly confidence in good fortune, and to adviſe that the fate of Great Britain ſhould be committed to the changes of the elements, the ſhifting of a wind, or the ſettling of a fog. It is to her armies, that every nation, inſular or continental, muſt look for her ſure and *natural defence*. But although it would be abſurd to recommend, that the internal reſources of a country ſhould be neglected, either in order to favour its naval force, or in order to commit its defence to the movements of intrigue, and the efforts of foreign policy; yet he would be an equally dangerous counſellor who ſhould adviſe us to neglect thoſe means of preventing war, and of rendering it harmleſs when it does occur, which are only to be found in a compliance with the principles of the balancing ſyſtem.

When the different nations of Europe placed their whole glory in the ſplendour of their warlike renown, and attended only to the improvement of their military reſources, every perſon of free rank was a ſoldier, and devoted his life to the profeſſion of arms. But as ſoon as the arts of peace acquired an aſcendency, and other fame beſides that of martial deeds was ſought after, war became an object of dread, as deranging the main operations of ſociety, and expoſing the national independence to unforeſeen caſualties and dangers. Inſtead of being followed for its own ſake, it was now only reſorted to as a neceſſary evil, to avoid a greater riſk. The firſt great conſequence of this change in the occupations and character of men was the ſeparation of the military from the civil profeſſions; the intruſting a ſmall claſs in each community with the defence of the reſt; the adoption of ſtanding armies, by far the moſt important improvement in the art of government, with which hiſtory has made us acquainted. As this great change has diſarmed war of almoſt all its dangers, ſo another change, equally important, has ariſen out of it—rendered wars much leſs frequent, and confined their influence to a ſmall portion in the centre of the Continent. The European powers have formed a ſpecies of general law, which ſuperſedes, in moſt inſtances, an appeal to the ſword, by rendering ſuch an appeal fatal to any power that may infringe upon the code; by uniting the forces of the reſt inevitably againſt each delinquent; by agreeing, that any project of violating a neighbour's integrity ſhall be prevented or avenged, not according to the reſources of this neighbour, but according to the full reſources of every other member of the European community; and by conſtantly watching

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over the ſtate of public affairs, even in profound peace. Such, at leaſt, would be the balancing ſyſtem, carried to its full extent; and ſuch is the ſtate of refinement towards which it is conſtantly tending. The diviſion of labour, too, and the ſeparation of the military profeſſion, has been carried, by ſome of the richer nations, to a ſtill greater extent than the mere embodying of ſtanding armies. Thoſe ſtates, which are the moſt injured by the operations of war, are alſo the richeſt in ſuperfluous ſtock. They have contrived a ſpecies of pecuniary commutation of war, ſimilar to the commutation of military ſervice, which paved the way for the introduction of ſtanding armies: they have managed to turn off the battle from their gates, by paying leſs wealthy allies for fighting in their cauſe at a ſafe diſtance. The operations of war are in this manner rendered very harmleſs, and a foundation is laid for their gradual diſuſe. A few uſeleſs millions, and a few ſtill more uſeleſs lives are ſacrificed; the arts of peace continue to flouriſh, ſometimes with increaſed proſperity; and the policy of preferring to purchaſe defeat at a diſtance, rather than victory at home—of paying allies for being vanquiſhed, rather than gain the moſt ſplendid triumphs on their own ground—has been amply rewarded by the ſafety, increaſed reſources, and real addition of power, which reſults from an enjoyment of all the ſubſtantial bleſſings of peace, with the only real advantages of neceſſary warfare.

Such are the general outlines of the modern ſyſtem, founded upon the preſervation of a balance of power. The ſcience which profeſſes to diſcuſs the general principles of this ſyſtem, and their particular application in detail to the actual ſituation of the European powers, is, of conſequence, next to juriſprudence and police, the moſt important that can occupy the attention of the ſtateſman. It has, however, been alleged, that this is an inquiry reducible to no general or fixed principles; that it does not deſerve the name of ſcience; that it depends on the caprices of a few individuals, and the variations in their views of meaſures, occaſioned by accidental occurrences. Mr Hume, in particular, at the very time when he recommends the drawing of our concluſions on ſubjects of domeſtic policy as fine as it is poſſible, adds, 'that in theſe affairs, the inferences reſt on the concurrence of a multitude of cauſes, not, as in foreign politics, upon accidents, and chances, and the caprices of a few perſons *.' It may, however, be obſerved, that the very ſame general arguments, ſo irreſiſtibly ſtated by that acute and profound writer, to prove that politics may be reduced to a ſcience †, apply as well to the foreign as to the

* Political Eſſays. † Eſſay III.

the domeſtic polity of a ſtate. A few more particular remarks on this point may ſerve to ſet it in a light ſufficiently ſtriking.

1. All the governments of Europe have tended uniformly, and not very ſlowly, towards greater freedom and mildneſs, ſince the riſe of the commercial policy of modern times, and the general diffuſion of knowledge by the art of printing. Inſtead of a collection of deſpots, actuated, in all their plans of internal and external arrangement, by caprice or accident, the ſyſtem of European princes is now an aſſemblage of deputies from the different nations, which have intruſted them with certain powers and commiſſions, for the public good. In the execution of their truſt, indeed, they are not directly accountable to any human authority; but, even in the ſtates where no conſtitutional controul is appointed to the power of the crown, the indirect influence of a numerous and enlightened people is uniformly ſtrong upon the councils of the monarch. It is always his intereſt to rule by gentle and agreeable means, and to further, by every meaſure in his power, the proſperity of his ſtate. This intereſt, though for a while it may be concealed from his eyes, or overruled by oppoſite paſſions, can never be long hidden from him; but muſt always, in the long-run, force itſelf upon his attention, and be, for the moſt part, the guide of his conduct. The government of the moſt deſpotic princes offers conſtant examples of a ſubmiſſion to that opinion, which can ſcarcely there make itſelf heard; and not a few inſtances of obedience to the voice, which, from its reſiſtleſs power over divans themſelves, has been emphatically called the voice of God. A check is thus provided for the violence of royal paſſions, and a guide or regulator for the movements of even a deſpot's caprice. In the free governments of modern Europe, however, the influence of public opinion is direct; the voice of the nation is acknowledged; and the will of the people is in general obeyed, the only doubt being as to the particular line of conduct which that voice and will directs.

2. As almoſt all princes rule by the advice of miniſters, and muſt execute their decrees by the aſſiſtance of a great number of deputies; the connexion of thoſe men with the people at large; their reſponſibility to their country; the odium and perſonal danger which attaches to a failure of any plan executed by their intervention, whether ſuggeſted by their councils or not, muſt quicken their perception of every national danger, and imbolden them to withſtand, in the cabinet, any pernicious meaſure dictated by the ignorance or caprice of their maſter. Where ſo many muſt thus, in ſome degree, concur in every act of the ſovereign power, and ſo many are reſponſible, in the eyes of the country, for every abuſe in the government, it is manifeſt that the chances of wilful miſrule, through the unprincipled caprice, or raſhneſs, or levity,

vity, or paſſions of a ſingle monarch, are conſiderably diminiſhed; and that the true intereſts of the country, in its relations to foreign ſtates, can only be loſt ſight of or thwarted during caſual intervals, when the miniſters are utterly careleſs of popular opinion, in compariſon of their maſter's will, and the tyrant is ſo ſhortſighted, and ſo corrupted by his unfortunate ſituation, as to deſpiſe his beſt intereſts, and diſregard his chief danger. The actual reſponſibility of every miniſter to the country, even in governments the moſt unprincipled and deſpotic, and the ſubmiſſion of the ſovereign to the will of the people, however debaſed, is proved by ſo many ſtriking facts of common notoriety, that it is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſtate them in illuſtration of the foregoing remarks. 'The Soldan of Egypt' (ſays Mr Hume *) 'or the Emperor of Rome, might drive his harmleſs ſubjects, like brute beaſts, againſt their ſentiments and inclinations; but he muſt have at leaſt led his Mamelukes or prætorian band, like men, by their opinion.' There is evidently ſomewhat of inconſiſtency between the two parts of this propoſition. For, unleſs theſe Mamelukes and prætorian guards were ſo numerous as to command the whole ſtate, and ſo ſeparated from the reſt of the commonwealth as to participate in no degree in their feelings, and to be altogether unconnected with their wrongs, it is clear that in the long-run they muſt have been influenced by the national opinion. At any rate, although, in the *domeſtic* concerns of Egypt or Rome, the intereſt of the two orders might be frequently oppoſed to each other, and thoſe of the people be neglected, there can be no doubt that, in the *external* relations of the ſtate, the two claſſes formed but one body, and the beſt intereſts of the whole were the ſame. The caprice of the ſoldan or emperor, then, could never, for any length of time, ſtifle or diſobey the voice of thoſe bands whom he had to guide by their good-will, and rule by their opinion; that is, by partly yielding to, and partly directing their wiſhes.

In the moſt deſpotic governments of the Eaſt, the fury of a mob frequently obtains a change of miniſters, which is always a change of meaſures. The vizier who commands a vanquiſhed army, who adviſes an unproſperous war, or concludes a diſadvantageous peace, is generally bowſtringed at the firſt murmurs of the mob, and his body thrown to appeaſe them. This is a ſacrifice made by the moſt abſolute of monarchs to the will of the moſt enſlaved people in the world. The power of the Grand Signior, which lays every Muſſulman proſtrate at his feet, does not extend to the enacting of any law which might add to the taxes of the empire. He may cruſh the proudeſt of his baſhaws, and ſqueeze from the richeſt of his officers every particle of their accumulated wealth.

* Eſſay IV. on the Principles of Government.

wealth. He may bowſtring thouſands, whom ancient opinion and religious prejudice has taught to believe that their lives were made for his ſport. But he dares not iſſue any regular ordinance for a ſingle general impoſt; or the ſame people, who, in the ſtrange contradictions of this unnatural ſtate of ſociety, had kiſſed the axe that was lifted againſt their lives, would now raiſe their united voice with a force powerful to ſhake the innermoſt receſſes of the ſeraglio.

When Peter the Great of Ruſſia wiſhed to invert the order of ſucceſſion to the Imperial throne, from an unnatural antipathy to the Tzarowitch, whoſe rights had formerly been in ſome degree acknowledged, he did not think it ſufficient to iſſue an expreſs edict, declaring the power of the Emperor to fix upon any ſucceſſor that he choſe. He began, by accuſtoming the minds of men to ſuch an unſettled and arbitrary mode of inheritance, in caſes of private property. He publiſhed a previous ordinance, obliging each father to bequeath his whole real property to one of his children, leaving him the choice of his heir. This ſingular barbarian, notwithſtanding the many vices that ſtained his character, and the conſtant cruelties in which his reign was ſpent, had the merit of beginning the civilization of his boundleſs empire. He wiſhed to raiſe his ſavage and enſlaved people to the rank of men; and the ordinance which we have mentioned, is an inſtance of ſubmiſſion to their will, from a real or ſuppoſed neceſſity, and from a wiſh to bring about a change in their opinions. The ſucceeding Tzars have adopted a regular mode of receiving the opinions of the moſt reſpectable and enlightened part of their ſubjects, and of impoſing a check on their own authority. Upon a new and general law being drawn up, the *ukaſe* containing it is tranſmitted to each of the *governments*, and the viceroys may aſſemble the different *courts* to conſider it. If they unanimouſly diſapprove, they may preſent a *repreſentation* againſt it to the ſenate. The law is reconſidered, and is not obligatory on the realm, until another ordinance has been iſſued confirming the former *. The ſilly paſſion for legiſlation which diſtinguiſhed the Emperor Joſeph II. produced many laws diſagreeable to the people: and although the whole tenor of that weak monarch's reign demonſtrates how little he was diſpoſed to recognize the rights of his ſubjects, yet thoſe obnoxious regulations were generally abrogated almoſt as ſoon as paſſed. While he was dragooning the provinces of the Netherlands into a ſurrender of their moſt ſacred privileges, and purpoſely acting in direct oppoſition to the wiſhes of his conſtituents in the Imperial diet, he could not obtain the acquieſcence of Auſtria (where his power

* Tooke's Ruſſian Empire, vol. ii. p. 395.

power is abſolute by law) in a trifling and abſurd regulation preſcribing the interment of dead bodies in lime-pits: and the diſcontent of that part of his empire obliged him to abandon this idle meaſure *.

3. It muſt be evident to every one, that the only reaſon why the theory of international relations has been ſuppoſed incapable of being reduced to fixed principles, is, the apparently ſmall number of men concerned in regulating the external policy of ſtates. Where a great body of people are nearly intereſted, and take a part in each meaſure; where their conſent, advice, or acquieſcence, is neceſſary to the execution of every plan, it is clear that there is always a much ſmaller chance of capricious and irregular operations being carried through, than where one or two individuals only are concerned. It is a remark of Machiavel, diſtinguiſhed by his uſual acuteneſs and profundity, that although, in matters of general diſcuſſion, the people are often miſtaken, yet, in matters reduced to particulars, they are moſt ſenſible and judicious; that the prince is much more apt to be ungrateful, both through avarice and ſuſpicion, than the people; that the multitude is generally both wiſer and more conſtant than the prince; and that thoſe leagues or confederacies are more to be truſted which are made with free ſtates, than thoſe which are made with princes. For the demonſtration of theſe important and curious propoſitions, both by reaſoning and illuſtration, we refer our readers to the diſcourſes of the Florentine Secretary †, more particularly the fifty-ninth chapter of the firſt book, which is moſt in conſonance with our preſent reaſonings, and contains as ſtrict a demonſtration of the principle, as any that we meet with in geometry, making allowance for the different nature of the evidence ‡. As we have ſhewn that in all ſtates, whether free or enſlaved, the regulation of public affairs is, in ſome degree, influenced by public opinion, and that the moſt deſpotic princes are not free from its influence, either directly or through their ſubordinate agents; it may be inferred, that the principles of the Italian ſtateſmen are applicable, in ſome meaſure, to the movements of all independent communities; and that the external as well as internal affairs of ſtates are the more ſteady, the more reducible to certain laws, the greater the number of men is, to whoſe management thoſe affairs are intruſted, and the more extenſive

* Mirabeau, Monarchie Pruſſienne, tom. iv. p. 472. 4to edit.

† Diſcorſi ſopra la prima deca di T. Livio. Lib. i. cap. 29. 47. 58. and 59.

‡ Cap. lix. *Di quali confederationi ò lega altri ſi puo più fidare, ò quella fatta con una Republica, ò di quella fatta con un principe.*

tenſive the circle is, whoſe opinion or will affects that management.

4. The relative intereſts of different nations are affected by various circumſtances, either unalterable, or only ſlowly alterable, in their relative ſituation and domeſtic ſtate. The knowledge and compariſon of thoſe circumſtances forms the foundation of the ſcience, the principles of which we are now conſidering; and it is very evident that this knowledge muſt be of as difficult acquiſition, as it is important and practically uſeful. For, in order to have a clear view of the foreign relations of any power, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with the circumſtances, not only of that nation, but of all the reſt which compoſe the European commonwealth; to learn accurately their political ſtate; to inveſtigate their national characters and habits; to conſult minutely their ſtatiſtical ſituation:—ſo intimately is the federal power (the *puiſſance federative* of the foreign politicians) blended with the internal force, and the relative poſition with the inſulated ſtate of any country. The temporary circumſtances of the different powers deſerve alſo to be conſidered in a practical point of view:—the court intrigues: leading characters of the military or political departments; and the diſtinguiſhed men in the literary world. Theſe make up, in the great book of politics, what may be called the chapter of accidents; and it is a chapter which perpetually ſets all the inferences and calculations of the other parts at defiance. Except this laſt head, and it is obvious that every other branch of the ſubject is general, and reducible to fixed principles, the circumſtances which we have enumerated are of a general and invariable nature, or they vary ſlowly and regularly, or according to certain laws, which it is the buſineſs of the political philoſopher to aſcertain. The laſt kind of circumſtances which we mentioned, are, indeed, more irregular, and their diſturbing force is not denied. But, in conſidering the effects of the former, we muſt lay out of view thoſe deranging cauſes, as we demonſtrate (in Dynamics) the properties of the mechanical powers, without taking into view the effects of friction, or the reſiſtance of the medium in which the powers operate. In a practical point of view, thoſe diſturbing cauſes muſt be carefully weighed; and to inveſtigate them, is the buſineſs of the lawgiver, the prince himſelf, his miniſters of ſtate, with his agents in diplomatic affairs: in a word, of the practical politician or ſtateſman; a character of diſtinguiſhed rank in every country, filling at once the moſt dignified and difficult place which man can occupy, and very little deſerving of thoſe ill-tempered invectives which Dr Smith has been pleaſed to heap upon it, in a fit of peeviſhneſs, not unnatural to one who had ſeen how very

ſeldom

ſeldom this great and important character has been adequately ſupported *.

That ſuch diſturbing cauſes do exiſt to affect the foreign relations of every ſtate, is no more an argument againſt the ſcience of which we are treating, than the undoubted exiſtence and effects of cauſes exactly ſimilar in the domeſtic policy of ſtates is a reaſon for denying (what no one now thinks of doubting) that the principles of government are reducible to a general and certain ſcience. The degree of vigour inherent in any form of government—the freedom enjoyed by the people—the influence of the privileged orders upon the great engine of the ſtate—all theſe are liable to be affected every moment, and are actually affected by the characters of the leaders in the different departments of the conſtitution. Yet no one, ſince the days of Ariſtotle, has denied, that the doctrines of a monarchial, ariſtocratical, and democratical government are reducible to certain general principles; and that the nature of government, in general, is a ſubject of ſcientific inquiry.

In fact, the foreign affairs of nations are much leſs apt to be influenced by accidental events, than is generally imagined. The death of a civil or military chief, who had ſupported the greatneſs of the ſtate by the vigour and wiſdom of his councils, or the glory of his arms, is ſeldom, if ever, a cauſe of great change in the relative importance of that country. Great men riſe in certain circumſtances; they are diſciplined in particular ſchools; they train up ſucceſſors for themſelves; they are called forth by certain emergencies in public affairs. This is more particularly the caſe in great ſyſtems, either civil or military—in the extenſive governments, or vaſt regular armies of modern times, all the operations of which are combined, and mutually dependent one upon another. As theſe can only be carried on by the united exertions of many perſons of the ſame habits and caſt of talents, their ſucceſs muſt always depend on the union of men whoſe abilities and experience in their arts are extenſive. If the general or the ſtateſman fall, his place will be filled by ſome of thoſe whoſe talents have aſſiſted him in ſubordinate branches of employment; and the conſtant demand for merit in a certain department will generally excite men to apply their attention to the acquiſition

* Our readers will be amuſed with the little piece of ill-humour which this truly great man vents upon the ſtateſman or politician, in the paſſage here alluded to. He calls him '*an inſidious and crafty animal;*' forgetting, ſurely, that Cæſar, Cato, Demoſthenes, Richlieu, and many others, who have made the world tremble at their names, or revere their memory, muſt be ranged in this very claſs.—Wealth of Nations, Book iv. cap. 2.

tion of the excellence ſo much wanted, and ſo ſplendidly rewarded. Great occaſions draw into public life ſuch men as have long been labouring to fit themſelves for their ſtation; and new talents, new powers, frequently ſpring up in a man's mind, when he is placed in a ſituation of pre-eminent difficulty and ſplendour ſufficient to call them forth. The great object of every nation ſhould be, to remove every impediment or check which may prevent ſuch men from riſing into the ſtations for which their natural or acquired faculties render them fit. Under a free government, the reſtrictions upon the riſe of real merit are much fewer than under a deſpotiſm; and the chance of preferment is extended to a much wider circle. In thoſe countries, then, much leſs conſequence may be attached to the exiſtence or to the loſs of a particular man. It is ſeldom that we meet with Fleurys, or Turgots, or Bernſtoffs, or Haſſans: But a Walpole, or a Pitt, is, happily for mankind, frequently reproduced in the courſe of an age. Thus the appearance of thoſe illuſtrious characters, in whoſe hands the fates of nations are placed, is much leſs regulated by accident than is generally ſuppoſed, more eſpecially in modern times and in free ſtates. It follows, that, even in that branch of foreign policy which we have denominated the chapter of accidents, ſome principles may be traced; and leſs is to be imputed to blind hazard than moſt men are at firſt apt to imagine. May we be allowed to hope that the time is approaching (not rapidly, or by violent changes, but ſlowly and quietly, like all thoſe arrangements of nature which tend to the ſubſtantial improvement of the ſpecies), when the eſtabliſhment of equal rights, and rational ſyſtems of regular government over the whole of Europe, ſhall diminiſh yet farther the conſequences attached to the caprices and accidental fates of individuals, and ſhall reduce to complete order all the circumſtances that affect the intercourſe of nations; ſo as to ſubject their whole movements to certain general and invariable laws, to reduce every eccentricity of courſe, and to correct all accidental inequalities or alterations in the ſyſtem *.

We have now finiſhed the general obſervations which we purpoſed to premiſe, upon the nature and firſt principles of the ſcience, a practical treatiſe or application of which is now before

* The foregoing general concluſions are ſanctioned by the high authority of our countryman Profeſſor Stewart. Had he added the demonſtration of a propoſition, ſimply enunciated in his celebrated work on the Philoſophy of the human Mind (chap. iv. ſect. 8.), the above inquiry would have been rendered unneceſſary.

we have yet to call our reader's attention to ſome of the propoſitions in which the doctrine of the balance of power is contained: we ſhall arrange them ſo, as to exhibit a ſketch of the nature of the work before us; though in a more general way, and upon a more comprehenſive plan, than can be found in that treatiſe itſelf, which is principally deficient in fundamental principles and extenſive views. We have, in the foregoing ſtatements, inſiſted the more at large on the poſſibility of reducing the external policy of nations to certain general principles; becauſe, beſides the direct negation of this propoſition by Mr Hume and others, it has been very much the cuſtom of inferior politicians, and of the common run of mankind, more particularly in Great Britain, to decry ſuch ſpeculations as vain and illuſive; to hold them up as objects fit only for the pedantic ſtatiſt of Germany and Holland; and to deſcribe them as points that ſhould be ſettled by the finical, and too often contemptible characters, who are generally the repreſentatives of the greateſt nations, and who have brought a ſort of ridicule upon the very name of diplomacy. The graveſt ſubject that can occupy the human mind (intimately connected indeed with our preſent inquiry, though not altogether of the ſame kind with it), the *law of nations*, has been expoſed to a ſimilar contempt. Monteſquieu himſelf, lawyer and hiſtorian as he was, has, with his uſual paſſion for an epigram, groſsly miſrepreſented a ſubject as important and refined as any in his own department of municipal juriſprudence. He ſeriouſly explains 'the foundation of international law,' by telling us, that the whole ſyſtem is a ſet of obvious corollaries to a maxim in ethics—That in war nations ſhould do as little injury, and in peace as much good to each other, as is conſiſtent with their individual ſafety.' Without aſking whether it is poſſible that the author of this witticiſm ſhould ever have heard of the inſults of flags, the precedence of ſtates, nay, the whole admitted cauſes of juſtifiable war, and admitting that all the parts of the ſyſtem may be ſtrained, ſo as to come under the general propoſition; we may be allowed to remark, with great deference to ſo high a name, that ſuch obſervations are extremely uſeleſs and unſatisfactory; that we learn from this remark nothing which can give the ſlighteſt hint of the nature of public law; that it is as

that, in this branch of politics, all muſt be aſcribed to the particular characters and fortunes of individuals. In fully examining this, we have, therefore, completely examined the leading doctrines of this work. It may be proper to add, that the work, of which Segur's edition is now before us, has excited more attention on the Continent than any political publication of the preſent day; and that it is ſtudied by all ſtateſmen, as a manual of one very important branch of their ſcience.

inſtructive as if one ignorant of mathematics were to ſay, 'the whole of this troubleſome ſcience conſiſts of obvious corollaries from a very eaſy axiom—whatever is, is.' In this manner might all ſcience be ſimplified; and learners who knew what '*corollary*' was, might be charmed to hear that they had but one propoſition to learn and remember, and that all the reſt was '*corollary*' from it.

We truſt that the remarks already ſtated will ſuffice to evince how miſtaken are all ſuch views of foreign policy or international law; that thoſe ſciences will appear ſtrictly reducible to certain general principles, and leading to important applications; that thoſe ſubjects will be found highly refined and delicate, and as fully deſerving of minute inveſtigation as any within the range of the human intellect. As we proceed, farther illuſtrations of theſe remarks will occur to ſet their truth in a ſtill ſtronger point of view.

1. *Treaties* or *public pactions* are the ſolemn and authentic expreſſions of certain agreements, which the governments of friendly or neutral powers have entered into for their mutual advantage. In ſo far as refers to our preſent ſubject, they are chiefly of three kinds, *amicable, defenſive, offenſive and defenſive*. The firſt are ſimple ceſſations of hoſtilities; the next are agreements of mutual aſſiſtance in caſe of attack from a third power; and the laſt are more ſtrict unions of intereſt, for the accompliſhment of certain objects mutually beneficial. The ſecond are ſeldom pure and unmingled. Many treaties bear the name of defenſive, which, by ſecret articles, or more commonly by mutual underſtanding, and not unfrequently by the expreſs tenor of the ſtipulations, are ſtrictly of the latter kind; and, in general, a paction *bona fide* defenſive has a tendency to bring about one of the more intimate and effectual kind.

The monopolizing and jealous ſpirit of mercantile policy, in modern times, has added to the kinds of treaties juſt now mentioned, a fourth, known by the name of *commercial;* of which the object is, to ſettle a certain rate of trade between the high contracting parties; or (what comes to the ſame thing) to grant each other certain privileges of buying and ſelling, refuſed to other ſtates. Theſe treaties are in every caſe abſurd; they are meant to reſtrain that which ought in its nature to be free, and to be regulated only by the unreſtricted operations of private traders: they relate to ſubjects in which no government ought ever to concern itſelf: they are only tolerable, when their object is the abolition of reſtrictions formerly impoſed by fooliſh rulers, or gradually ariſing from the prejudices of the people.

All

All treaties have been expoſed to the invectives and ſarcaſms of thoſe who do not duly appreciate the nature of the inſtitution. They are bits of parchment, and may be torn; they are made by men of peace in their cloſets, and may be violated by ſoldiers in the field; they are deeds, by which ſtates affect to bind themſelves, while no court of public law exiſts, in which the party failing may be compelled to perform his part; they are intended to check the ambition of princes or commonwealths, but they are to be obſerved by thoſe who feel the checks, and may in a moment throw them off. 'Give me,' ſaid Prince Eugene, in the true ſpirit of theſe reaſons—'Give me,' ſaid the General, when he ſaw that his allies were ſlow to fulfil conventions made againſt their obvious intereſts, and refuſing to gratify his ambition, againſt their own ſafety and beyond their means—'Give 'me a battalion of ſoldiers; they will do more than a thouſand trea-'ties.' If all ſtates were ruled by general officers, this ſentiment would indeed be accurately true. In that caſe, a corporal would be a much more important perſonage than a publiciſt or an ambaſſador; but he would alſo be more intereſting than a municipal judge or juriſconſult; for all municipal law, as well as all public law, would yield to the truncheon and the bayonet. The ſame ſentiment would hold good, alſo, of all ſuch treaties as thoſe entered into about the time of Eugene, and thoſe to which he evidently alludes—treaties evidently diſadvantageous to one of the contracting parties, and wholly beneficial to the others. But it happens that, in the preſent ſtate of ſociety, Generals receive their commiſſion to act, and their orders to deſiſt, from men ſtrongly intereſted in the preſervation of pacific relations; in the maintenance of the national faith; in the exiſtence of a public code, to which all parties may at all times appeal.

If, by ſuch declamatory arguments, it is meant to demonſtrate, that treaties will not of themſelves be ſufficient to maintain peace or alliances—to preſerve the independence of ſtates—to inſure ſucceſs in war—we muſt admit the poſition; for we certainly never imagined that an ambaſſador's ſeal and ſubſcription communicated to the ſkin of a dead ſheep the faculty of tranquillizing or rouſing the public mind, levying armies, gaining battles, and taking towns. We would truſt more to its powers in the hands of a drummer, than of a ſtateſman, to produce thoſe effects. But that ſuch ſolemn conventions as lead to treaties, and ſuch diſcuſſions as attend them in the nations contracting, ſuch ratifications as finiſh them, ſuch ideas of pledge and form as they are uniformly ſuppoſed to convey—that all thoſe circumſtances have a moſt powerful influence, we cannot conceive queſtionable by

any one acquainted with the hiſtory of man, or the nature of the human mind. Independent of the ſpirit, indeed, with which thoſe conventions were made, the mere paction is but a bit of parchment. Independent of the ſpirit which extorted the Magna Charta and Habeas Corpus, thoſe records of the freedom and ſpirit of our anceſtors, would be moſt unavailing to the liberties of the preſent generation. Both the one and other are conventional ſigns—legal modes of expreſſing a bargain—certain ſolemn acts, the performance of which intimates to the world that certain intentions were perfected in the minds of the parties at the time—certain deeds, leaving a record which may refreſh the memory of the parties, and to which the party fulfilling may appeal. Neither the treaties of Weſtphalia (now, unhappily, a matter of hiſtory), nor the Magna Charta, can be enforced directly by the mandate of any human Court, ſuperior to both parties. If the circumſtances which gave riſe to them were materially altered, they would both become obſolete; as, indeed, the former has already become. While no material change takes place, they ſtand on record before the whole world, to animate the parties contracting—to check them in their conduct on their honour and good faith—to ſhew the ſurrounding nations what compacts have been made—and to hold up to execration thoſe that break them.

The foundation of the ſtability of every treaty is the mutual advantage of the parties. It is a juſt remark of the Florentine Secretary, that, even after the moſt unequal conteſt, no peace between nations can ever be ſolid, by which one nation gains much more than the other. If the one gains much real good, and the other only obtains ſafety from total ruin, the peace will be broken, either by the former, as ſoon as her power is recruited enough to complete the work of conqueſt, or by the latter, as ſoon as ſhe has breathed a little, and can hope to regain her loſt ground. All ſuch fooliſh treaties are rather conventions of truce, than of peace. They were one great means of conqueſt uſed by the Romans: they are rendered leſs frequent in modern times, by the principles of the balancing ſyſtem.

The obſervation of Machiavel may be extended to alliances in general between nations. The leagues, particularly thoſe of a nature both offenſive and defenſive, have generally owed their inſtability to a neceſſary diſunion of parties, ariſing from each poſſeſſing views radically incompatible with thoſe of the others; views, properly ſpeaking, ſecondary to the main object of the convention, but more intereſting and more binding to the individual party, than any views of the common cauſe.

The

attacked Louis XIV. a hundred years ago. But what difference is there as to foreign ſtates, whether ſuch an augmentation of power takes place at the expence of the Spaniſh, the Bourbons, or at the coſt of the other branch of that illuſtrious houſe? whether this ſudden change in the aſpect of one powerful rival neighbour is the conſequence of her foreign conqueſts, or of her rapid internal changes? whether the addition is drawn from the pillaged provinces of Spain, or the overthrow of all the peaceful inſtitutions, and the plunder of all the wealthy orders at home? When ſuch a ſudden and prodigious increaſe of reſources takes place in one country, as can only be matched by a ſimilar revolution developing equal powers in the neighbouring nations, thoſe neighbours are exactly in this dilemma,—either they muſt wade through all manner of turbulence and danger, to the ſudden poſſeſſion of reſources ſufficient to balance this new power; or they muſt ſubmit to this new power. One mode of eſcape only remains from alternatives equally cruel: they may unite againſt this common nuiſance; they may interfere, and abate it. If France had conquered the kingdoms of Leon and Caſtile, who doubts that Britain and Auſtria might have attacked her, though neither of them were friends of Spain? But this was not abſolutely neceſſary; for, firſt, they might have perhaps ſaved themſelves by defenſive alliance, and the peaceable improvement of their internal reſources; or, ſecondly, they might certainly have acquired in Holland, or Denmark, or Spain itſelf, an extent of territory equal to that gained by France. But the former meaſure would have been dangerous; the latter both dangerous and unjuſt. In like manner, Britain and Auſtria might have met the criſis of their affairs, ariſing from the new and ſudden acquiſition of reſources which France made at the revolution. Firſt, they might have united defenſively, as ancient allies, and worked all the while to improve their internal reſources; or, ſecondly, they might have revolutionized, and followed the French example. The firſt, however, of thoſe plans would have been dangerous; the latter, both dangerous and unprincipled. One alternative remained;—a union againſt the unheard-of nuiſance.

We heſitate not, then, to lay it down as a principle, applicable to this extreme caſe, that, whenever a ſudden and great change takes place in the internal ſtructure of a ſtate, dangerous in a high degree to all neighbours, they have a right to attempt, by hoſtile interference, the reſtoration of an order of things, ſafe to themſelves; or, at leaſt, to counterbalance, by active aggreſſion, the new force ſuddenly acquired. If a highwayman pulls out a piſtol from his boſom, ſhall we wait till he loads and preſents it, before we kill and diſarm him? ſhall we not attack him with like

arms, if he diſplays ſuch weapons, whether he takes them from his own ſtores, or ſeizes them from ſome other perſon in our ſight? * We do not attack a neighbouring nation for plundering or conquering a third power, becauſe we wiſh to avenge or redreſs the injury, but becauſe we ſhall be ourſelves affected by its conſequences. Shall we be leſs injured by the ſame conſequences, becauſe the dangerous power of doing us miſchief is developed from its receſſes within, and not forcibly ſnatched from without?

That ſuch a principle as we have now been conſidering, is liable to limitations, we do not deny: it is indeed only applicable to extreme caſes. No one would think of aſſerting the right of interference to be applicable in the caſe of gradual improvement, however great, in any nation; nor in the caſe of that more ſudden amelioration which national reſources may receive from the operation of a ſalutary reform—or a uſeful law—or a beneficial change of rulers. We only think the right competent in caſes of ſudden and great aggrandiſement, ſuch as that of France in 1790; and then, we maintain, that, if it endangers the ſafety of the neighbouring powers, no manner of importance ſhould be attached to the nature of thoſe circumſtances from whence the danger has originated. Indeed we ſuſpect that the eſſential, though not always avowed principles of modern policy, would bear us out in a wider interpretation of the propoſition. We conceive, that many of the alliances of ſtates, formed with a view to check the growing power of a common rival, and always ending in offenſive meaſures, have been formed without any pretext of violence having actually been committed by the dreaded power, or being apprehended from that quarter; and without any conſideration whatever of the ſource from whence this dangerous ſtrength has been derived, whether from external acquiſitions (the moſt common caſe) or from the ſudden developement of internal reſources, or from the gradual increaſe of national ſtrength, while neighbouring ſtates were more ſlowly increaſing or were looſing force. This increaſe it is—this comparative ſtrength, which excites the ſalutary jealouſy of modern councils towards neighbouring powers. The pretexts, indeed, for war have been various; but the cauſe of ſuch wars has generally been the ſame: the pretext has been adopted in conformity to ancient uſage or prejudices, or to humour the feelings of the multitude, and cauſe them to take part, by working on their paſſions, much more powerfully than if the real cauſe were ſtated. The great maxim has generally been,

'*Obſta*

* The doctrine of the balance of power is deduced by Vatell, from ſimilar grounds. *Vide* Droit des Gens, Liv. iii. chap. 3. § 44. & ſeq.

'*Obſta principiis*'—'*Venienti occurrite morbo.*' We recommend it as a general watchword to all nations placed in the European community—to thoſe, more eſpecially, who are neighbours of Pruſſia and France; above all we recommend it to the greater powers of Europe, the natural guardians of the great commonwealth; and to our country in particular, whoſe pre-eminent rank among them gives her a title to interfere for others, as well as for her own immediate ſafety. To her we would addreſs a language not unknown to her children in former times—the language of the balancing ſyſtem:—

> 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes; paciſque imponere morem,
> Parcere ſubjectis, et debellare ſuperbos.'
>
> *Virgil Æn.*

3. It has been urged, as a glaring inconſiſtency in a ſyſtem which has for its profeſſed object the preſervation of peace, that, according to its principles and technical language, certain nations are denominated *natural enemies*, and others *natural allies*. A little attention to the meaning of this propoſition will at once demonſtrate the futility of the allegation, and lead us to one of the moſt general and fundamental doctrines of modern international policy. It is not meant by this phraſeology to aſſert, that ſome nations ought always to view each other with ſuſpicion and enmity. The intention of ſuch a form of expreſſion is merely to ſtate a very general, and, unfortunately, an unqueſtionable fact in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies—that nations placed in certain circumſtances are uniformly found to entertain towards each other ſentiments of rivalry and animoſity. The balancing ſyſtem preſcribes the means of diſarming this bad principle in our nature of its deſtructive tendency, by teaching us to conſider other nations as our natural friends, and by making the members of each claſs unite, ſo as to act ſyſtematically, with a view to the preſervation of national peace. A few obvious conſiderations will ſhow what thoſe principles are, and will lead us, by an eaſy tranſition, to the particular ſubject of the work now before us.

The circumſtances which are uniformly found to conſtitute natural enmity between nations are threefold; *proximity* of ſituation, *ſimilarity* of purſuits, and near *equality* of power. From the oppoſite cauſes ariſe the natural indifference or relative neutrality of ſtates; a reaſonable *diſtance*, *diverſity* of objects, and conſiderable *inequality* of reſources; while natural alliance reſults from the common enmity produced by a concurrence of the three cauſes firſt mentioned, in the relations of two or more powers towards the ſame third power.

But

But it may often happen that a ſtate is involved in hoſtile relations with another of which it is not the natural enemy, either from being the accidental ally of a third power, primarily the enemy of this ſecond; or from being natural ally to this third power, in conſequence of their common relations of enmity towards ſome fourth or fifth power. Hence, indeed, ariſes the intricacy, if it has any, of the balancing ſyſtem; and hence the multiplied relations of every one power with all the reſt, ſo as to permit no one to remain, for a moment, an indifferent ſpectator of what is paſſing in the moſt remote parts of the European commonwealth. A few examples will illuſtrate the foregoing propoſition. Theſe illuſtrations contain the theory of what is called, in practice, the European balance. The work before us conſiſts, almoſt entirely, of a treatiſe drawn up by the Sieur Favier, a confidential ſervant of Louis XIV. and Louis XVI. upon the actual relations of the different powers at the commencement of the laſt unfortunate reign. The principles upon which all ſuch treatiſes proceed, we purpoſe at preſent briefly to ſketch. The utility and application of ſuch ſpeculations may, like their object, be temporary and local; the principles are of all times and places—they are regular, fixed, and general.

In conformity to the propoſition above enunciated, France is ſaid to be the natural enemy of Great Britian. Theſe ſtates, ſeparated by a narrow channel, are of ſufficient relative ſtrength to be mutually formidable; the one, by the extent and compactneſs of her territory, and by her large and uſeful population; the other, by her immenſe wealth, the defence afforded by her inſular ſituation, and the myriads of her fleets which cover the ocean. They are both engaged in ſimilar purſuits; becauſe the circumſtances of their ſituation are ſimilar. The iſland, however, is more adapted to commercial occupations, by the genius of her inhabitants, the nature of her produce, and the extent of her ſea-coaſt; from whence has reſulted a habit of application to manufactures, navigation, and trade, and, in conſequence, ſuperior ſkill in the arts, and greater extent of trading capital. The other country, eminent alſo in thoſe points of view, is, however, ſo far inferior to the iſland, that her attention has, for above a century, been conſtantly directed to emulate ſo valuable a ſuperiority; while Britain, finding herſelf deficient in direct power to ſway the continental ſtates of Europe, otherwiſe than by intrigue and gold, has returned France the compliment of attempting to beat, on her own element, the natural miſtreſs of the European continent. From this reciprocal inferiority, and conſequent emulation, has ariſen that ſpirit of rivalry, which will, it is to be feared, permanently alienate from each other, the two nations moſt

moſt formed to love and eſteem each other; beſt adapted to entertain cloſe and profitable relations of commerce; and formed, by their union, to ſecure the laſting peace, and ſway, uncontrouled, the ſceptre of the civilized world. Unhappily the natural paſſions of the people, and the ambition of their rulers, have taught both to 'bear no brother near the throne;' to ſuffer no equal in trade, in arts, or in learning; and to divide, by their irreconcileable enmity, the other powers in the ſyſtem, of which that enmity has become the corner ſtone.

Holland, from her proximity to Britain, her extenſive commerce, and her ſplendid reſources of national wealth, would have been our natural enemy, had France been out of the queſtion. But as Holland lay ſtill nearer to that ambitious power, with whoſe purſuits ſhe interfered at leaſt as much, beſides the jealouſy of her democratic government and Calviniſtic religion, it became her intereſt to league with the enemies of her formidable neighbour. Accordingly, in all the wars of the two laſt centuries, Holland has been found on the ſide of England, with only two exceptions;—the impolitic conteſt of Charles II. when he was in the pay of France, and the jealous enmity of Holland in the end of the American war, as anomalous in Dutch politics, as the war of Charles had been in the hiſtory of Great Britain. After the peace of 1782, the breach was kept open, chiefly by the ſucceſſes of the Republican power, until the year 1787; when, by one of the moſt ſkilful and ſucceſsful interferences in continental affairs, which the balancing ſyſtem has ever accompliſhed, the Stadtholder's power was reſtored, French influence deſtroyed, and the Dutch reſtored to their natural alliance with England.

The preſent alliance of the French and Batavian Republics is obviouſly no anomalous caſe: it is in every reſpect a ſubjection retained, as it was made, by the force of arms, and the influence of factious intrigue. The day is perhaps not diſtant, when even the ſlight appearances of national independence will be thrown off, and the abſorption of the United Provinces into the modern empire of the Franks, be (ſhall we ſay?) the laſt great ſacrifice to the ſweeping principle of '*Arrondiſſement*,' one of the moſt ſignal inventions of the 18th century.

Next to France, the greateſt power on the continent of Europe reſides in the Houſe of Auſtria, from the union of its hereditary dominions in Hungary, Bohemia, Auſtria, the frontier provinces, and the late acquiſitions in Poland and the Venetian territories, with the Imperial crown, which confers an authority, chiefly of indirect influence, over the princes of the empire. The hereditary loſſes of this power in the late war, have, on the whole, been trifling; but ſhe has loſt much in the power of ſwaying

ing the affairs of Italy, much of her influence in the Germanic affairs, and ſtill more of relative force, by the aſtoniſhing increaſe of France, and the augmentation alſo of Pruſſia (her natural rival in Germany), to one or other of whom, or their dependents, have accrued all that Auſtria has loſt. After all, the Auſtrian power is great and formidable. It would be the greateſt and moſt formidable in Europe, were its extenſive territories ſomewhat more compact, ſo as to derive full advantage from their central poſition; were it to acquire a ſmall addition of ſea coaſt in the Adriatic, ſo as to have eaſier vent for its numerous and coſtly products in the foreign markets; were its vaſt reſources called forth and wielded by a better formed government, or a wiſer race of ſtateſmen, ſo as to take every advantage of the fineſt climates, richeſt mountains, moſt fertile valleys, and greateſt variety of hardy ſubjects; and, more eſpecially, were its armies, the firſt in the world, organized upon a better plan, ſo as to place at their head younger leaders: Were theſe advantages (the moſt of which may be acquired) added to its immenſe natural reſources, Auſtria might be deemed the firſt power in Europe, and dreaded by all her neighbours as reſiſtleſs in the ſcale.

The circumſtances which render Auſtria the natural enemy and counterpoiſe of France, render her alſo the natural ally of Britain—the great continental ſupport of Britiſh influence. In proportion to the enmity between thoſe leading powers, this natural union between Britain and Auſtria has always been more or leſs cloſe, ſince the ſeparation of the Spaniſh from the Auſtrian branch of the houſe. It has experienced only one remarkable intermiſſion, and that a ſlight one, during the peace-loving adminiſtrations of Fleuri and Walpole. In the war which ſucceeded the fall of Walpole's miniſtry, France ſiding with the Bavarian Emperor, England naturally took the part of the Empreſs-Queen, at that time almoſt cruſhed by the union of her enemies. The ſingular alliance of 1756, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Kaunitz, and, according to the French politicians, the greateſt error France ever committed, deranged, for a while, the natural relations of the continental powers. Britain was not thrown out of amity with Auſtria; but Auſtria, ceaſing to be the enemy of France, ceaſed alſo to be the ally of Britain. Yet ſtill it is worthy of remark, that the aſſiſtance given by us to Pruſſia, during the ſeven years war, in conſequence of France ſiding againſt Frederic II. *, was pointed, not againſt Auſtria or Ruſſia, his two moſt formidable enemies,

* *Vide* Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept-ans, vol. i. cap. 1. where that Prince himſelf details the reaſons that induced him to undertake the war. One was, the certainty of both England and France *not* taking the ſame ſide; whence, he could count on the aſſiſtance of one of thoſe powers;

enemies, by checking whom we could at once have ſaved him; but againſt our own natural enemy alone, to our deſire of oppoſing whom, Pruſſia owed the aid ſhe received from us.

The chief part of the '*Politique de tous les Cabinets*,' is occupied with a treatiſe of the Sieur Favier on the Foreign Relations of France, evidently drawn up with a view to decry the policy of 1756, which dictated the Auſtrian alliance, and to ſhew the neceſſity under which France laboured of increaſing her military as well as federal power (*ſa puiſſance tant militaire que federative*), in order to regain the rank of a primary power, ſaid to have been loſt through the conſequences of the Auſtrian alliance, and the ſeven years war. This treatiſe (with a few others, chiefly ſhort excerpts from the memorials of Vergennes, Broglio, Turgot, and other French miniſters) was firſt publiſhed in 1793, by authority of the legiſlature; and, after attracting ſo great attention over all Europe, as to be deemed the beſt popular manual of young diplomatiſts and politicians, it is now republiſhed with a few additions, and with large notes, of conſiderable value, by the editor, M. Segur, formerly an eminent diplomatic character in the ſervice of the French Court. The theory of M. Segur is preciſely the reverſe of Favier's. He approves of the Auſtrian alliance, and condemns only the miſconduct that marked the management of both the civil and military adminiſtration of France, after the treaty of Vienna had ſealed and perfected the new federal ſyſtem.

Favier, adopting the opinion ſince univerſally received, attributes to the treaty 1756, and the conſequent military operations of France during the ſeven years war, not only the immediate loſs of men and money at that criſis, all for the benefit of Auſtria, without any good to the concerns of France, but alſo the ſubſequent aggrandizement of the Auſtrian Houſe, already too powerful by the exhauſtion of Pruſſia, and the valuable acquiſition of Poland, the natural ally of France, and ſcene of French influence, whoſe deſtruction he heſitates not to impute to the Auſtrian ſyſtem. Segur, on the other hand, without denying the loſſes experienced by France during the war, and the ſtill greater evils ariſing to her from the Poliſh cataſtrophe, aſcribes thoſe conſequences to the mal-adminiſtration of French affairs in the ſeven years war, and in the whole interval between the peace of Hubertſburg and the Revolution. He maintains, that the wiſeſt policy which France could poſſibly have adopted, was, the ſecuring of a long peace by an alliance with her natural enemy. He argues this point upon much the ſame grounds as thoſe choſen by the defenders of Walpole and Fleuri; and he contends, that no danger whatever could have ariſen to France from the alliance of 1756, if the adminiſtration of her domeſtic affairs had been as wiſe and

energetic

energetic as the management of her foreign relations at that æra. As Favier perpetually recurs to the ſame text, endeavouring, like all theoriſts, to reduce every thing under one head, and twiſting all facts to humour his main poſition, ſo the new editor follows him through his whole courſe, and, under the head of each power whoſe relations to France are diſcuſſed by Favier in the text, we meet with a ſeparate argument in Segur's notes, tending either to modify or overthrow the favourite concluſions of the former politician.

It appears to us (although we cannot afford room for the diſcuſſion) that the doctrine of Favier, with a few limitations, is by far the ſoundeſt. All the benefits of repoſe would have been gained by France, although ſhe had never entered into the defenſive treaty of 1755, or the ſubſequent conventions of 1756 and 1757. The chance of France being attacked was chimerical. By whom, but Auſtria or England, could ſhe poſſibly be annoyed? If by the former, of courſe the defenſive treaty was abſurd: if by the latter, clearly, Auſtria could never aſſiſt her; ſince the Britiſh forces would only attack by ſea, or by a littoral warfare, or in the American and Eaſt Indian colonies. But Auſtria was liable to attack from that power which had deſpoiled her of her fineſt provinces a few years before. Beſides, the object of the treaty turned out to be (according to the remarks on conventions which we formerly made) not defenſive, but offenſive. France was, in fact, to aſſiſt Auſtria with 24,000 men to recover Sileſia, and humble the Houſe of Brandenburg, or diſmember its dominions. After the war broke out, the ſtipulation was forgotten; that is, the terms were changed, as is very commonly the caſe; and, inſtead of 24,000, France ſent 100,000 men to be defeated by the Britiſh and Pruſſian armies. How could ſhe poſſibly gain by ſuch an object, though completely ſucceſsful in attaining it? She was fighting for Auſtria, conquering for her profit, and, if defeated, ſharing her loſſes. We object alſo to the general ſpirit of Segur's reaſonings. He always denies the poſſibility of drawing certain concluſions upon ſuch matters; and, in the true ſpirit of an old diplomatiſt and courtier, he adviſes us to look more to the peculiarities of human character, and perſonal or accidental conſiderations, than to the *criteria* more philoſophically appealed to by Favier. We have formerly treated at large of this matter, and have endeavoured to refute doctrines proceeding from ſo partial and erroneous a view of the ſubject. We ought to remark, however, that Segur is by no means ſo ignorant of political philoſophy, as we might expect from this ſpecimen, and from the nature of his former purſuits. We find him decidedly rejecting, as abſurd, the narrow notions of mercantile policy, which dictate commercial treaties, although he was himſelf ſucceſsful in the negotiation of a very celebrated one, the foundation of his fame in the diplomatic world. We return to our general ſketch.

The

The vicinity of Spain to France, their diſtance from the reſt of Europe, and the compactneſs of their territories, which renders them, as it were, parts of one great peninſula, might have rendered them natural enemies, had not Holland and Britain been ſituated in much the ſame predicament, with reſpect to France, on the north. Beſides, the inſulated poſition of Spain, joined to her great inferiority of ſtrength, from political and moral cauſes, makes her naturally dependent on her powerful neighbour. But, above all, the ſeparation of the Spaniſh from the Imperial crown and the Auſtrian dominions, and the conſequent diſputes between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, about the dominion of Italy, have thrown Spain into the arms of the natural enemy of the Houſe of Auſtria. We do not enumerate, among theſe cauſes, the family compact which ſo cloſely united the two branches of the Houſe of Bourbon, or the blood relationſhip which was the cauſe of that convention. Thoſe circumſtances may have drawn cloſer the natural ties of alliance between France and Spain; but ſtill they are to be viewed as accidental and ſubordinate. If it was the evident intereſt of Spain to depend on France, and of France to rule over Spain, the death or marriage of one of the reigning branches could never for a moment have prevented the union of the nations. The laſt will of Charles II. indeed, ſet all Europe in arms, to fight down this formidable union. But does any one imagine, that had Alberoni ſucceeded in ſtealing this document, the other powers would have ſhut their eyes on the ſtrides which Louis was making to obtain dominion over Europe, by playing off Spain againſt Auſtria? Or, had the combined enemies of that ambitious prince been prudent enough to accept of the terms extorted by his humiliation, and terminated the grand alliance-war at Gertruydenberg, can any one ſuppoſe, that the union of the two natural allies, thus apparently broken (for Louis' offers went to this length), would have ſubſiſted leſs cloſe and compact at the next criſis of European affairs?

To ſuch as believe that all great events depend more on chance than principle, and deſpiſe all general reaſonings on the train of human affairs, we would recommend two obvious conſiderations: Did the alliance of 1756 maintain indiſſoluble the unnatural union of the two powers? Or, has the diſſolution, with every cruel aggravation, of the marriage which had been intended to cement that temporary alliance, prevented peace and ſeeming amity from ſubſiſting between the murderers and the neareſt blood relations of the ill-fated Antoinette? Has not one of the various means tried by Spain to regain that power over her feeble neighbour, which the Bragança revolution (1640) overthrew, conſiſted in always endeavouring to have a Spaniſh princeſs on the Portugueſe throne? And yet, has that prevented her from ſeconding

ſeconding her policy by open force, and attacking the throne which ſhe had immediately before filled with her royal offspring? Or, to come ſtill nearer the preſent diſcuſſion, was not the family compact diſſolved in 1793, under circumſtances of complicated inſult and violence to every branch of the Houſe of Bourbon, as well as of imminent danger to the moſt deſpotic and bigotted government in the Weſt of Europe? And have the ancient politics of the Spaniſh cabinet varied one jot, in conſequence of all thoſe perſonal conſiderations, and grand occurrences? No. After a few months of languid co-operation with the combined powers (from the expectation of cruſhing the infant Republic), as ſoon as Spain ſaw that the new State could ſtand alone againſt foreign attacks, and had ſome chance of ſurviving the revolutionary ſtorms, ſhe inſtantly returned to her natural policy, and reſumed her alliance with France; that is to ſay, ſhe reſigned all her family regards, the conſequences of which had once alarmed all Europe; ſacrificed much of her trade; expoſed her ſea-coaſt to the troops and fleets of England, riſked and loſt her fleets by fighting the battles of France, and put the very exiſtence of her weak-handed government to the ſevereſt trial, by a free intercourſe with republicans and regicides—by acknowledging and receiving into her capital a Jacobin emiſſary with his crew. In a word, the Spaniſh branch of the Bourbon line is as cloſely united, or rather as ſubmiſſively dependent on the uſurper of that throne, which the ſiſter branch once filled, as ever it was during the proudeſt days of the French monarchy—during the reign of the Bourbons, the Virtues, and the Elegant Arts. In return for his homage, the haughty Sovereign of the two Indies is pleaſed to receive for his ſon, from the Corſican Adventurer, a crown patched up of the Italian ſpoils, taken from the natural enemy of Spain. The ſervice performed, and the boon granted, are equally illuſtrative of our general principles.

We might now proceed to trace the relations between Portugal and Britain on the one hand, or its connexion with France and Spain on the other; between the Italian States and the Tranſalpine Powers to the right and left of the Rhine; between the Porte and Ruſſia; or the Porte and Britain, or France; the connexions between the three powers ſurrounding the ancient and diſmembered kingdom of Poland; the relations of the Northern Crowns; the relations of the different powers poſſeſſed of colonies in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, both with the native ſtates, and with each other, in conſequence of their colonial poſſeſſions. All theſe juntos of ſtates form ſeparate aſſemblages of particular intereſts; ſmaller ſyſtems, influenced internally by the ſame principles, and connected by the ſame law with the general maſs of the European community. We have, however, ſaid enough to

to ſhew, that, in practice, as well as from theoretical conſiderations, this important ſubject is capable of being reduced to ſyſtematic arrangement, and to fixed general principles. And we have only to conclude with repeating, in a form ſomewhat different, the propoſition which at the outſet we propoſed to demonſtrate.

It appears, that by the modern ſyſtem of foreign policy, the fate of nations has been rendered more certain; and the influence of chance, of the fortune of war, of the caprices of individuals upon the general affairs of men, has been infinitely diminiſhed. Nations are no longer of tranſient or durable exiſtence in proportion to their internal reſources, but in proportion to the place which they occupy in a vaſt and regular ſyſtem; where the moſt powerful ſtates are, for their own ſakes, conſtantly watching over the ſafety of the moſt inſignificant. A flouriſhing commonwealth is not liable to loſe its independence or its proſperity by the fate of one battle. Many battles muſt be loſt; many changes muſt concur: the whole ſyſtem muſt be deranged, before ſuch a cataſtrophe can happen. The appearance of an Epaminondas can no longer raiſe a petty ſtate to power and influence over its neighbour, ſuddenly to be loſt, with the great man's life, by ſome unforeſeen victory at Leuctra. In the progreſs of freedom, knowledge, and national intercourſe, this great change has been happily effected by ſlow degrees; it is a change which immediately realizes the advantages that every former change has gained to mankind; a ſtep in his progreſs, which ſecures the advancement made during all his previous career; and contributes, perhaps more than any other revolution that has happened ſince the invention of written language, to the improvement and magnificence of the ſpecies.

Let ſtateſmen, then, reflect on theſe things; and, in the preſent awful criſis of affairs, let them often ponder upon the principles which ſhould direct their public conduct. Without neglecting the increaſe of their internal reſources, by wiſe regulations, and gradual improvements of the civil and military conſtitution of the countries intruſted to their care, let them conſtantly look *from* home, and remember that each ſtate forms a part of the general ſyſtem, liable to be affected by every derangement which it may experience; and, of neceſſity, obliged to truſt for its ſafety to a concurrence of other cauſes beſides thoſe which domeſtic policy can controul. '*Non arma neque theſauri regni præſidia ſunt, verum amici: quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur.*' Sal. Jugurth.

ART. X. *Dernieres Vuës de Politiques, et de Finance.* Par M. Neckar. An 10. 1802.

IF power could be meaſured by territory, or counted by population, the inveteracy, and the diſproportion which exiſts between France and England, muſt occaſion, to every friend of the latter country, the moſt ſerious and well-founded apprehenſions. Fortunately, however, for us, the queſtion of power is not only what is the amount of population? but, how is that population governed? How far is a confidence in the *ſtability* of political inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by an experience of their *wiſdom?* Are the various intereſts of ſociety adjuſted and protected by a ſyſtem of laws thoroughly tried, gradually ameliorated, and purely adminiſtered? What is the degree of general proſperity evinced by that moſt perfect of all *criteria*, general credit? Theſe are the conſiderations to which an enlightened politician, who ſpeculates on the future deſtiny of nations, will direct his attention, more than to the auguſt and impoſing exterior of territorial dominion, or to thoſe brilliant moments, when a nation, under the influence of great paſſions, riſes above its neighbours, and above itſelf, in military renown

If it be viſionary to ſuppoſe the grandeur and ſafety of the two nations as compatible and coexiſtent, we have the important (though the cruel) conſolation of reflecting, that the French have yet to put together the very elements of a civil and political conſtitution; that they have to experience all the danger and all the inconvenience which reſults from the raſhneſs and the imperfect views of legiſlators, who have every thing to conjecture, and every thing to create; that they muſt ſubmit to the confuſion of repeated change, or the greater evil of obſtinate perſeverance in error; that they muſt live for a century in that ſtate of perilous uncertainty in which every revolutionized nation remains, before rational liberty becomes feeling and habit, as well as law, and is written in the hearts of men as plainly as in the letter of the ſtatute; and that the opportunity of beginning this immenſe edifice of human happineſs, is ſo far from being preſented to them at preſent, that it is extremely problematical, whether or not they are to be bandied from one vulgar uſurper to another, and remain for a century ſubjugated to the rigour of a military government, at once the ſcorn and the ſcourge of Europe.

To the more pleaſing ſuppoſition, that the Firſt Conſul will make uſe of his power to give his country a free conſtitution, we are indebted for the work of M. Neckar now before us; a work, of which good temper is the characteriſtic excellence: it every where preſerves that cool impartiality which it is ſo difficult to retain

retain in the diſcuſſion of ſubjects connected with recent and important events; modeſtly propoſes the reſults of reflection; and, neither deceived nor wearied by theories, examines the beſt of all that mankind have ſaid or done for the attainment of rational liberty.

The principal object of M. Neckar's book is to examine this queſtion, 'An opportunity of election ſuppoſed, and her preſent circumſtances conſidered—what is the beſt form of government which France is capable of receiving?' and he anſwers his own query, by giving the preference to a Republic, One and Indiviſible.

The work is divided into four parts.

1. An Examination of the preſent Conſtitution of France.
2. On the beſt form of a Republic, One and Indiviſible.
3. On the beſt form of a Monarchical Government.
4. Thoughts upon Finance.

From the misfortune which has hitherto attended all diſcuſſions of *preſent* conſtitutions in France, M. Neckar has not eſcaped. The ſubject has proved too rapid for the author; and its exiſtence ceaſed, before its properties were examined. This part of the work, therefore, we ſhall entirely paſs over: becauſe, to diſcuſs a mere name, is an idle waſte of time; and no man pretends that the preſent conſtitution of France can, with propriety, be conſidered as any thing more. We ſhall proceed to a deſcription of that form of a republican government which appears to M. Neckar beſt calculated to promote the happineſs of that country.

Every department is to be divided into five parts, each of which is to ſend one member. Upon the eve of an election, all perſons paying 200 livres of government taxes, in direct contribution, are to aſſemble together, and chooſe 100 members from their own number, who form what M. Neckar calls a Chamber of Indication. This chamber of indication is to preſent five candidates, of whom the people are to elect one; and the right of voting in this latter election is given to every body engaged in a wholeſale or retail buſineſs; to all ſuperintendants of manufactures and trades; to all commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers, who have received their diſcharge; and to all citizens paying, in direct contribution, to the amount of twelve livres. Votes are not to be given in one ſpot, but before the chief magiſtrate of each *commune* where the voter reſides, and there inſerted in regiſters: from a compariſon of which, the ſucceſsful candidate is to be determined. The municipal officers are to enjoy the right of *recommending* one of theſe candidates to the people, who are free to adopt their recommendation, or not, as they may think proper. The right of voting is confined to qualified

ſingle men, of twenty-five years of age: married men, at any ſame deſcription, may vote at any age.

To this plan of election, we cannot help thinking there are many great and inſuperable objections. The firſt and infallible conſequence of it would be, a devolution of the whole elective franchiſe to the chamber of indication, and a complete excluſion of the people from any ſhare in the privilege; for the chamber bound to return five candidates would take care to return four out of the five ſo thoroughly objectionable, that the people would be compelled to chooſe the fifth. Such has been the conſtant effect of all elections ſo conſtituted in Great Britain, where the power of conferring the office has always been found to be veſted in thoſe who named the candidates, not in thoſe who ſelected an individual from the candidates ſo named.

But if ſuch were not the conſequences of a double election; and if it were ſo well conſtituted, as to retain that character which the Legiſlature meant to impreſs upon it, there are other reaſons which would induce us to pronounce it a very pernicious inſtitution. The only foundation of political liberty is the ſpirit of the people; and the only circumſtance which makes a lively impreſſion upon their ſenſes, and powerfully reminds them of their importance, their power, and their rights, is the periodical choice of their repreſentatives. How eaſily that ſpirit may be totally extinguiſhed, and of the degree of abject fear and ſlavery to which the human race may be reduced for ages, every man of reflection is ſufficiently aware; and he knows that the preſervation of that feeling is of all other objects of political ſcience the moſt delicate, and the moſt difficult. It appears to us, that a people who did not chooſe their repreſentatives, but only thoſe who choſe their repreſentatives, would very ſoon become indifferent to their elections altogether. To deprive them of their power of nominating their own candidate, would be ſtill worſe. The eagerneſs of the people to vote is kept alive by their occaſional expulſion of a candidate who has rendered himſelf objectionable, or the adoption of one who knows how to render himſelf agreeable to them They are proud of being ſolicited, *perſonally*, by a man of family or wealth. Even the uproar, and the confuſion, and the clamour, of a popular election in England, have their uſe: they give a ſtamp to the names, *Liberty, Conſtitution, and People;* they infuſe ſentiments which nothing but violent paſſions, and groſs objects of ſenſe, *could* infuſe; and which would never exiſt, perhaps, if the ſober conſtituents were to ſneak, one by one, into a notary's office to deliver their votes for a repreſentative, or were to form the firſt link in that long chain of cauſes and effects, which, in this compound kind of elections, ends with chooſing a member of Parliament.

' Above

'Above all things (ſays M. Neckar), languor is the moſt deadly to a republican government; for when ſuch a political aſſociation is animated, neither by a kind of inſtinctive affection for its beauty, nor by the continual homage of reflection to the happy union of order and liberty, the public ſpirit is half loſt, and with it the republic. The rapid brilliancy of deſpotiſm is preferred to a mere complicated machine, from which every ſymptom of life and organization is fled.

Sickneſs, abſence, and nonage, would (even under the ſuppoſition of univerſal ſuffrage) reduce the voters of any country to one fourth of its population. A qualification much lower than that of the payment of twelve livres in direct contribution, would reduce that fourth one half, and leave the number of voters in France three millions and a half; which, divided by 600, gives between five and ſix thouſand conſtituents for each repreſentative; a number not amounting to a third part of the voters for many counties in England, and which certainly is not ſo unwieldy, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to the complex mechaniſm of double elections. Beſides, too, if it could be believed, that the peril were conſiderable, of gathering men together in ſuch maſſes, we have no heſitation in ſaying, that it would be infinitely preferable to thin their numbers, by increaſing the value of the qualification, than to obviate the apprehended bad effects, by complicating the ſyſtem of election.

M. Neckar (much as he has ſeen and obſerved) is clearly deficient in that kind of experience which is gained by living under free governments: he miſtakes the riots of a free, for the inſurrections of an enſlaved people; and appears to be impreſſed with the moſt tremendous notions of an Engliſh election. The difference is, that the tranquillity of an arbitrary government is rarely diſturbed, but from the moſt ſerious provocations, not to be expiated by an ordinary vengeance. The exceſſes of a free people are leſs important, becauſe their reſentments are leſs ſerious; and they can commit a great deal of apparent diſorder, with very little real miſchief. An Engliſh mob, which, to a foreigner, might convey the belief of an impending maſſacre, is often contented by the demolition of a few windows.

The idea of diminiſhing the number of conſtituents, rather by extending the period of nonage to twenty-five years, than by increaſing the value of the qualification, appears to us to be new and ingenious. No perſon conſiders himſelf as ſo completely deprived of a ſhare in the government, who is to enjoy it when he becomes older, as he would do, were that privilege deferred till he became richer:—time comes to all, wealth to few.

This aſſembly of repreſentatives, as M Neckar has conſtituted it, appears to us to be in extreme danger of turning out to be a mere collection of country gentlemen. Every thing is determined

by territorial extent and population; and as the voters in towns muſt, in any ſingle diviſion, be almoſt always inferior to the country voters, the candidates will be returned in virtue of large landed property; and that infinite advantage which is derived to a popular aſſembly, from the *variety* of characters of which it is compoſed, be entirely loſt under the ſyſtem of M. Neckar. The ſea-ports, the univerſities, the great commercial towns, ſhould all have their ſeparate organs in the parliament of a great country. There ſhould be ſome means of bringing in active, able young men, who would ſubmit to the labour of buſineſs, from the ſtimulus of honour and wealth. Others ſhould be there, expreſsly to ſpeak the ſentiments, and defend the intereſts of the executive. Every popular aſſembly muſt be groſsly imperfect, that is not compoſed of ſuch heterogeneous materials as theſe. Our own Parliament may perhaps contain within itſelf *too many* of that ſpecies of repreſentatives, who could never have arrived at the dignity, under a pure and perfect ſyſtem of election; but, for all the practical purpoſes of government, amidſt a great majority fairly elected by the people, we ſhould always wiſh to ſee a certain number of the legiſlative body repreſenting intereſts very diſtinct from thoſe of the people.

The legiſlative part of his conſtitution, M. Neckar manages in the following manner. There are two councils; the great and the little. The great council is compoſed of five members from each department, elected in the manner we have juſt deſcribed, and amounting to the number of ſix hundred. The aſſembly is re-elected every five years. No qualification of property is neceſſary to its members, who receive each a ſalary of 12,000 livres. No one is eligible to the aſſembly before the age of twenty-five years. The little national council conſiſts of one hundred members, or from that number to one hundred and twenty; one for each department. It is re-elected every ten years; its members muſt be thirty years of age; and they receive the ſame ſalary as the members of the great council. For the election of the little council, each of the five chambers of indication, in every department, gives in the name of one candidate; and, from the five ſo named, the ſame voters who chooſe the great council ſelect one.

The municipal officers enjoy, in this election, the ſame right of *recommending* one of the candidates to the people; a privilege which they would certainly exerciſe indirectly, without a law, wherever they could exerciſe it with any effect, and the influence of which, the ſanction of the law would at all times rather diminiſh, than increaſe.

The grand national council commences all deliberations which concern public order, and the intereſt of the ſtate, with the exception

ception of thoſe only which belong to finance. Nevertheleſs, the executive and the little council have it in their power to *propoſe* any law for the conſideration of the grand council. When a law has paſſed the two councils, and received the ſanction of the executive ſenate, it becomes binding upon the people. If the executive ſenate diſapprove of any law preſented to them for their adoption, they are to ſend it back to the two councils for their reconſideration; but if it paſſes theſe two bodies again, with the approbation of two thirds of the members of each aſſembly, the executive has no longer the power of withholding its aſſent. All meaſures of finance are to initiate with government.

We believe M. Neckar to be right in his idea of not exacting any qualification of property in his legiſlative aſſemblies. When men are left to chooſe their own governors, they are guided in their choice by ſome one of thoſe motives which has always commanded their homage and admiration:—if they do not chooſe wealth, they chooſe birth or talents, or military fame; and of all theſe ſpecies of pre-eminence, a large popular aſſembly ſhould be conſtituted. In England, the laws, requiring that members of Parliament ſhould be poſſeſſed of certain property, are (except in the inſtance of members for counties) *practically* repealed.

In the ſalaries of the members of the two councils, with the exception of the expence, there is, perhaps, no great balance of good or harm. To ſome men, it would be an inducement to become ſenators; to others, induced by more honourable motives, it would afford the means of ſupporting that ſituation without diſgrace. Twenty-five years of age is certainly too late a period for the members of the great council. Of what aſtoniſhing diſplays of eloquence and talent ſhould we have been deprived in this country, under the adoption of a ſimilar rule!

The inſtitution of two aſſemblies conſtitutes a check upon the paſſion and precipitation by which the reſolutions of any ſingle popular aſſembly may occaſionally be governed. The chances, that one will correct the other, do not depend ſolely upon their dividuality, but upon the different ingredients of which they are compoſed, and that difference of ſyſtem and ſpirit, which reſults from a difference of conformation. Perhaps, M. Neckar has not ſufficiently attended to this conſideration. The difference between his two aſſemblies is not very material; and the ſame popular fury which marked the proceedings of one, would not be very ſure of meeting with an adequate corrective in the dignified coolneſs and wholeſome gravity of the other.

All power which is tacitly allowed to devolve to the executive part of a government, from the experience that it is moſt conveniently placed there, is both ſafer, and leſs likely to be complained of, than that which is conferred upon it by law. If M. Neckar

had placed ſome agents of the executive in the great council, all meaſures of finance would, *in fact*, have originated in them, without any excluſive right of ſuch initiation; but the *right* of initiation, from M. Neckar's contrivance, is likely to excite that diſcontent in the people, which alone can render it dangerous and objectionable.

In this plan of a republic, every thing ſeems to depend upon the purity and the moderation of its governors. The executive has no connexion with the great council; the members of the great council have no motive of hope, or intereſt to conſult the wiſhes of the executive. The aſſembly which is to give example to the nation, and enjoy its confidence, is compoſed of ſix hundred men, whoſe paſſions have no other controul, than that pure love of the public, which it is *hoped* they may poſſeſs, and that cool inveſtigation of intereſts, which it is *hoped* they may purſue.

Of the effects of ſuch a conſtitution, every thing muſt be conjectured; for experience enables us to make no aſſertion reſpecting it. There is only one government in the modern world, which, from the effects it has produced, and the time it has endured, can with juſtice be called good and free. Its conſtitution, in books, contains the deſcription of a legiſlative aſſembly, ſimilar to that of M. Neckar's. Happily, perhaps, for the people, the ſhare they have *really* enjoyed in its election, is much leſs ample than that allotted them in this republic of the cloſet. How long a really popular aſſembly would tolerate any rival and coexiſting power in the ſtate—for what period the feeble executive, and the untitled, unblazoned peers of a republic, could ſtand againſt it—whether any inſtitutions, compatible with the eſſence and meaning of a republic, could prevent it from abſorbing all the dignity, the popularity, and the power of the ſtate;—are queſtions that we leave for the reſolution of wiſer heads, with the ſincereſt joy, that we have only a theoretical intereſt in ſtating them.

The executive ſenate is to conſiſt of ſeven; and the right of preſenting the candidates, and ſelecting *from* the candidates alternately from one aſſembly to the other: *i. e.* on a vacancy, the great council preſent three candidates to the little council, who ſelect one from that number; and, on the next vacancy, by the inverſion of this proceſs, the little council preſent, and the great council ſelect, and ſo alternates. The members of the executive muſt be thirty-five years of age. Their meaſures are determined by a majority. The preſident, called the Conſul, has a caſting vote: his ſalary is fixed at 300,000 livres; that of all the other ſenators at 60,000 livres. The office of conſul is annual. Every ſenator enjoys it in his turn. Each year one ſenator goes out, unleſs re-

elected;

elected; which he may be once, and even twice, if he unites three fourths of the votes of each council in his favour. The executive ſhall name to all civil and military offices, except to thoſe of mayors and municipalities. Political negotiations, and connexions with foreign countries, fall under the direction of the executive. Declarations of war and peace, when preſented by the executive to the legiſlative body, are to be adopted, the firſt by a majority of three fifths, the laſt by a ſimple majority. The parade, honours, and ceremonies of the executive, devolve upon the conſul alone. The members of the ſenate, upon going out of office, become members of the little council, to the number of ſeven. Upon the vacation of an eighth ſenator, the oldeſt ex-ſenator in the little council reſigns his ſeat to make room for him. All reſponſibility reſts upon the conſul alone, who has a right to ſtop the proceedings of a majority of the executive ſenate, by declaring them unconſtitutional; and if the majority perſevere, in ſpite of this declaration, the diſpute is referred to and decided by a ſecret committee of the little council.

M. Neckar takes along with him the ſame miſtake through the whole of his conſtitution, by conferring the choice of candidates on one body, and the election of the member on another: ſo that though the alternation would take place between the two councils, it would turn out to be in an order directly oppoſite to that which was intended.

We perfectly acquieſce in the reaſons M. Neckar has alleged for the preference given to an executive, conſtituted of many individuals, rather than of one. The prize of ſupreme power is too tempting to admit of fair play in the game of ambition; and it is wiſe to leſſen its value by dividing it: at leaſt, it is wiſe to do ſo under a form of government that cannot admit the better expedient of rendering the executive hereditary; an expedient (groſs and abſurd as it ſeems to be) the beſt calculated, perhaps, to obviate the effects of ambition upon the ſtability of governments, by narrowing the field on which it acts, and the object for which it contends. The Americans have determined otherwiſe, and adopted an elective preſidency: But there are innumerable circumſtances, as M. Neckar very juſtly obſerves, which render the example of America inapplicable to other governments. America is a federative republic, and the extenſive juriſdiction of the individual States exonerates the preſident from ſo great a portion of the cares of domeſtic government, that he may almoſt be conſidered as a mere miniſter of foreign affairs. America preſents ſuch an immediate, and ſuch a ſeducing ſpecies of proviſion to all its inhabitants, that it has no idle diſcontented populace; its population amounts only to ſix millions, and it is not condenſed in ſuch maſſes as the population

lation of Europe. After all, an experiment of twenty years is never to be cited in politics: nothing can be built upon ſuch a ſlender inference. Even if America were to remain ſtationary, ſhe might find that ſhe had preſented too faſcinating and irreſiſtible an object to human ambition: of courſe, that peril is increaſed by every augmentation of a people, who are haſtening on, with a rapid and irreſiſtible pace, to the higheſt eminencies of human grandeur. Some conteſt for power there muſt be in every free ſtate: but the conteſt for vicarial and deputed power, as it implies the preſence of a moderator and a maſter, is more prudent than the ſtruggle for that which is original and ſupreme.

The difficulty of reconciling the reſponſibility of the executive with its dignity, M. Neckar foreſees; and ſtates, but does not remedy. An irreſponſible executive, the jealouſy of a republic would never tolerate; and its amenability to puniſhment, by degrading it in the eyes of the people, diminiſhes its power.

All the leading features of *civil liberty* are copied from the conſtitution of this country, with hardly any variation.

Having thus finiſhed his project of a republic, M. Neckar propoſes the government of this country as the beſt model of a temperate and hereditary monarchy; pointing out ſuch alterations in it as the genius of the French people, the particular circumſtances in which they are placed, or the abuſes which have crept into our policy, may require. From one or the other of theſe motives he re-eſtabliſhes the Salique law; forms his elections after the ſame manner as that previouſly deſcribed in his ſcheme of a republic; and excludes the clergy from the Houſe of Peers. This latter aſſembly M. Neckar compoſes of 250 hereditary peers choſen from the beſt families in France, and of 50 aſſiſtant peers enjoying that dignity for life only, and nominated by the Crown. The number of hereditary peers is limited as above, the peerage goes only in the male line, and upon each peer is perpetually entailed landed property to the amount of 30,000 livres. This partial creation of peers for life only, appears to remedy a very material defect in the Engliſh conſtitution. An hereditary legiſlative ariſtocracy not only adds to the dignity of the throne, and eſtabliſhes that gradation of ranks which is perhaps abſolutely neceſſary to its ſecurity, but it tranſacts a conſiderable ſhare of the buſineſs of the nation, as well in the framing of laws as in the diſcharge of its juridical functions: but men of rank and wealth, though they are intereſted by a ſplendid debate, will not ſubmit to the drudgery of buſineſs, much leſs can they be ſuppoſed converſant in all the niceties of law queſtions. It is therefore neceſſary to add to their number a certain portion of *novi homines*, men of eſtabliſhed character for talents, and upon whom the previous

previous tenor of their lives has neceſſarily impreſſed the habits of buſineſs. The evil of this is, that the title deſcends to their poſterity, without the talents and the utility that procured it; and the dignity of the peerage is impaired by the increaſe of its numbers: not only ſo, but as the peerage is the reward of military, as well as the earneſt of civil ſervices; and as the annuity commonly granted with it is only for one or two lives, we are in ſome danger of ſeeing a race of nobles wholly dependent upon the Crown for their ſupport, and ſacrificing their political freedom to their neceſſities. Theſe evils are effectually, as it ſhould ſeem, obviated by the creation of a *certain number* of peers for life only; and the increaſe of power which it ſeems to give to the Crown, is very fairly counteracted by the excluſion of the epiſcopacy, and the limitation of the hereditary peerage. As the weight of buſineſs in the Upper Houſe would principally devolve upon the created peers, and as they would hardly arrive at that dignity without having previouſly acquired great civil or military reputation, the conſideration they would enjoy would be little inferior to that of the other part of the ariſtocracy. When the *nobleſſe* of nature are fairly oppoſed to the *nobleſſe* created by political inſtitutions, there is little fear that the former ſhould ſuffer by the compariſon.

If the clergy are ſuffered to ſit in the Lower Houſe, the excluſion of the epiſcopacy from the Upper Houſe is of leſs importance: but, in ſome part of the legiſlative bodies, the intereſts of the church ought unqueſtionably to be repreſented. This conſideration M. Neckar wholly paſſes over.

Though this gentleman conſiders an hereditary monarchy as preferable in the abſtract, he deems it impoſſible that ſuch a government could be eſtabliſhed in France, under her preſent circumſtances, from the impracticability of eſtabliſhing with it an hereditary ariſtocracy; becauſe the property, and the force of opinion, which conſtituted their real power, is no more, and cannot be reſtored. Though we entirely agree with M. Neckar, that an hereditary ariſtocracy is a *neceſſary* part of temperate monarchy; and that the latter muſt exiſt upon the baſe of the former, or not at all—we are by no means converts to the very decided opinion he has expreſſed of the impoſſibility of reſtoring them both to France.

We are ſurpriſed that M. Neckar ſhould attempt to build any ſtrong argument upon the durability of opinions in nations that are about to undergo, or that have recently undergone, great political changes. What opinion was there in favour of a republic in 1780? or againſt it in 1794? or what opinion is there now in favour of it in 1802? Is not the tide of opinions, at this moment, in France, ſetting back with a ſtrength equal to its flow? and is there not reaſon to preſume, that, for ſome time to come, their

their ancient inſtitutions may be adored with as much fury as they were deſtroyed. If opinions can revive in favour of kings (and M. Neckar allows it may), why not in favour of nobles? It is true their property is in the hands of other perſons; and the whole of that ſpecies of proprietors will exert themſelves to the utmoſt to prevent a reſtoration ſo pernicious to their intereſts. The obſtacle is certainly of a very formidable nature. But why this weight of property, ſo weak a weapon of defence to its *ancient*, ſhould be deemed ſo irreſiſtible in the hands of its *preſent* poſſeſſors, we are at a loſs to conceive; unleſs, indeed, it be ſuppoſed that antiquity of poſſeſſion diminiſhes the ſenſe of right and the vigour of retention; and that men will ſtruggle harder to keep what they have acquired only yeſterday, than that which they have poſſeſſed, by themſelves or their anceſtors, for ſix centuries.

In France, the inferiority of the price of revolutionary lands, to others, is immenſe. Of the former ſpecies, church land is conſiderably dearer than the forfeited eſtates of emigrants. Whence the difference of price, but from the eſtimated difference of ſecurity? Can any fact diſplay, more ſtrongly, the ſtate of public opinion with regard to the probability of a future reſtoration of theſe eſtates, either partial or total? and can any circumſtance facilitate the execution of ſuch a project, more than the general belief that it will be executed? M. Neckar allows, that the impediments to the formation of a republic are very ſerious; but thinks they would all yield to the talents and activity of Bonaparté, if he were to dedicate himſelf to the ſuperintendence of ſuch a government during the period of its infancy: of courſe, therefore, he is to ſuppoſe the ſame power dedicated to the formation of an hereditary monarchy; or his parallel of difficulties is unjuſt, and his preference irrational. Bonaparte could repreſent the perſon of a monarch, during his life, as well as he could repreſent the executive of a republic; and if he could overcome the turbulence of electors, to whom freedom was new, he could appeaſe the jealouſy that his generals would entertain of the returning nobles. Indeed, without ſuch powerful intervention, this latter objection does not appear to us to be by any means inſuperable. If the hiſtory of our own reſtoration were to be acted over again in France, and royalty and ariſtocracy brought back by the military ſucceſſor of Bonaparte, it certainly could not be done without a very liberal diſtribution of favours among the great leaders of the army.

Jealouſy of the executive is one feature of a republic, in conſequence, that government is clogged with a multiplicity of ſafeguards and reſtrictions, which render it unfit for inveſtigating complicated details, and managing extenſive relations with vigour,

gour, conſiſtency, and diſpatch. A republic, therefore, is better fit for a little ſtate than a large one.

A love of equality is another very ſtrong principle in a republic; therefore it does not tolerate hereditary honour or wealth; and all the effect produced upon the minds of the people by this factitious power is loſt, and the government weakened: But, in proportion as the government is leſs able to command, the people ſhould be more willing to obey; therefore a republic is better ſuited to a moral, than an immoral people.

A people who have *recently* experienced great evils from the privileged orders and from monarchs, love republican forms ſo much, that the warmth of their inclination ſupplies, in ſome degree, the defect of their inſtitutions. *Immediately*, therefore, upon the deſtruction of deſpotiſm, a republic *may be* preferable to a limited monarchy.

And yet, though narrowneſs of territory, purity of morals, and recent eſcape from deſpotiſm, appear to be the circumſtances which moſt ſtrongly recommend a republic, M. Neckar propoſes it to the moſt numerous and the moſt profligate people in Europe, who are diſguſted with the very name of liberty, from the incredible evils they have ſuffered in purſuit of it.

Whatever be the ſpecies of free government adopted by France, ſhe can adopt none without the greateſt peril. The miſerable dilemma in which men living under bad governments are placed, is, that, without a radical revolution, they may never be able to gain liberty at all; and, with it, the attainment of liberty appears to be attended with almoſt inſuperable difficulties. To call upon a nation, on a ſudden, totally deſtitute of ſuch knowledge and experience, to perform all the manifold functions of a free conſtitution, is to intruſt valuable, delicate, and abſtruſe mechaniſm to the rudeſt ſkill, and the groſſeſt ignorance. Public acts may confer liberty; but experience only can teach a people to uſe it; and, till they have gained that experience, they are liable to tumult, to jealouſy, to colliſion of powers, and to every evil to which men are expoſed, who are deſirous of preſerving a great good, without knowing how to ſet about it. In an old eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of liberty, like our own, the encroachments which one department of the ſtate makes on any other are ſlow, and hardly intentional; the political feelings, and the conſtitutional knowledge which every Engliſhman poſſeſſes, creates a public voice, which tends to ſecure the tranquillity of the whole. Amid the crude ſentiments and new-born precedents of ſudden liberty, the Crown might deſtroy the Commons, or the Commons the Crown, almoſt before the people had formed any opinion of the nature of their contention. A nation grown free in a ſingle day is a child born with the limbs and the vigour of a man, who would take

take a drawn ſword for his rattle, and ſet the houſe in a blaze, that he might chuckle over the ſplendour.

Why can factious eloquence produce ſuch limited effects in this country? Partly becauſe we are accuſtomed to it, and know how to appreciate it. We are acquainted with popular aſſemblies; and the language of our Parliament produces the effect it ought upon public opinion, becauſe long experience enables us to conjecture the real motives by which men are actuated; to ſeparate the vehemence of party ſpirit from the language of principle and truth; and to diſcover whom we can truſt, and whom we cannot. The want of all this, and of much more than this, muſt retard, for a very long period, the practical enjoyment of liberty in France, and preſent very ſerious obſtacles to her proſperity; obſtacles little dreamed of by men who ſeem to meaſure the happineſs and future grandeur of France, by degrees of longitude and latitude, and who believe ſhe might acquire liberty, with as much facility as ſhe could acquire Switzerland or Naples.

M. Neckar's obſervations on the finances of France, and on finance in general, are uſeful, entertaining, and not above the capacity of every reader. France, he ſays, at the beginning of 1781, had 438 millions of revenue; and, at preſent, 540 millions. The ſtate paid, in 1781, about 215 millions in penſions, the intereſt of perpetual debts, and debts for life. It pays, at preſent, 80 millions in intereſts and penſions, and owes about 12 millions for anticipations on the public revenue. A conſiderable ſhare of the increaſe of the revenue is raiſed upon the conquered countries; and the people are liberated from tithes, corvées, and the tax on ſalt. This, certainly, is a magnificent picture of finance. The beſt informed people at Paris, who would be very glad to conſider it as a copy from life, dare not contend that it is ſo. At leaſt, we ſincerely aſk pardon of M. Neckar, if our information as to this point be not correct: but we believe he is generally conſidered to have been miſled by the public financial reports.

In addition to the obvious cauſes which keep the intereſt of money ſo high in France, M. Neckar ſtates one, which we ſhall preſent to our readers—

'There is one means for the eſtabliſhment of credit,' he ſays, 'equally important with the others which I have ſtated—a ſentiment of reſpect for morals, ſufficiently diffuſed to overawe the government, and intimidate it from treating with bad faith any ſolemn engagements contracted in the name of the ſtate. *It is this reſpect for morals which ſeems at preſent to have diſappeared;* a reſpect which the Revolution has deſtroyed, and which is unqueſtionably one of the firmeſt ſupports of national faith.'

The terroriſts of this country are ſo extremely alarmed at the power

power of Bonaparte, that they aſcribe to him reſources, which M. Neckar very juſtly obſerves to be incompatible—deſpotiſm and credit. Now, clearly, if he is ſo omnipotent in France, as he is repreſented to be, there is an end of all credit; for nobody will truſt *him* whom nobody can compel to pay; and if he eſtabliſhes a credit, he loſes all that temporary vigour which is derived from a revolutionary government. Either the deſpotiſm or the credit of France directed againſt this country, would be highly formidable; but, both together, can never be directed at the ſame time.

In this part of his work, M. Neckar very juſtly points out one of the moſt capital defects of Mr Pitt's adminiſtration; who always ſuppoſed that the power of France was to ceaſe with her credit, and meaſured the period of her exiſtence by the depreciation of her aſſignats. Whereas, France was never more powerful, than when ſhe was totally unable to borrow a ſingle ſhilling in the whole circumference of Europe, and when her aſſignats were not worth the paper on which they were ſtamped.

Such are the principal contents of M. Neckar's very reſpectable work. Whether, in the courſe of that work, his political notions appear to be derived from a ſucceſsful ſtudy of the paſſions of mankind, and whether his plan for the eſtabliſhment of a republican government, in France, for the ninth or tenth time, evinces a more ſanguine, or a more ſagacious mind, than the reſt of the world, we would rather our readers ſhould decide for themſelves, than expoſe ourſelves to any imputation of arrogance, by deciding for them. But, when we conſider the pacific and impartial diſpoſition which characteriſes *the Laſt Views on Politics and Finance*, the ſerene benevolence which it always diſplays, and the pure morals which it always inculcates, we cannot help entertaining a high reſpect for its venerable author, and feeling a fervent wiſh, that the laſt views of every public man may proceed from a heart as upright, and be directed to objects as good.

ART. IX. *Minſtrelſy of the Scotiſh Border:* Conſiſting of Hiſtorical and Romantic Ballads, collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland; with a few of modern date, founded upon local tradition. 2 vol. 8vo. Kelſo: Printed for T. Caddel jun. & W. Davies, London. 1802.

THE taſk which Mr Scott has here undertaken, requires no common combination of abilities. He appears before the public in the diſtinct characters of author and editor, and unites, in his own perſon, the offices of antiquary, critic, and poet. Such

Such a taſk is not light: its execution, therefore, is entitled to indulgence in cenſure, and to liberality in praiſe.

By the publication of the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Dr Percy conferred on literature an ineſtimable benefit. Every age is eaſily enamoured of its own productions, and neglectful of antiquated merit. The reverend Prelate's labours corrected this error. He dug up many jewels from among the ruins of time. He reſcued from oblivion the ſcattered records of the taſte and feeling of former days. He excited the intereſt of the poet and of the hiſtorian; and united, in friendly league, criticiſm and antiquarian ſcience. His work fortunately became popular; and its popularity paved the way to ſimilar collections, among which is to be reckoned the work before us.

The *Minſtrelſy of the Scotiſh Border* contains poems of three different claſſes: ancient *hiſtorical* ballads, ancient *romantic* ballads, and *modern* compoſitions, chiefly in imitation of the latter. Beſides theſe, the Notes and Illuſtrations occupy much ſpace in the volumes, and form no inconſiderable portion of the editor's merit.

The legitimate aim of hiſtory and of poetry is the ſame—to improve mankind, *delectando, pariterque monendo:* but the object is attained by different means. Hiſtory follows human events through the courſe of time; poetry ſeizes their prominent features, their permanent principles, the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever. Hiſtory is a ſubject of profound philoſophical inveſtigation; but poetry, as Sir Philip Sidney obſerves, 'is indeed the right popular philoſophy.' In a publication which endeavours to unite their ſeparate advantages, ſomething muſt be conceded on both ſides. It is no objection to theſe volumes to ſay, that the poetry is ſometimes trivial, any more than it would be to remark, that the hiſtorical facts are not always correct.

The firſt merit of an editor, with reſpect to hiſtory, is his *fidelity*. This merit, if we may judge from internal evidence, Mr Scott poſſeſſes in an eminent degree. Very few indeed of the pretended reſtorers of literary hiſtory, eſpecially among our own countrymen, ſtand blameleſs in this reſpect. The long diſputed charges againſt Macpherſon, and the proved and acknowledged forgeries of Pinkerton, are inſtances too well known to need a comment. Occaſional artifices may indeed be juſtified by the ſtate of public taſte. Perhaps, if Dr Percy had not a little ſoftened down the roughneſs of his valuable *Reliques*, he would have found neither readers nor followers. But the neceſſity of deception no longer exiſts: and Mr Scott has felt that he might confidently publiſh the rudeſt of theſe ballads, in the very ſtate in which they were heard by our anceſtors. A few verbal corrections (which we ſhall preſently ſhow to have been

been injudiciouſly made) ſcarcely make an exception to this remark.

The *activity* and *zeal* of the collector appear from the number of fragments, and the variety of ſources from which they were drawn. We muſt regret, with him, that many compoſitions of great intereſt and antiquity, compoſitions formerly popular over a wide extent of country, and quoted as authority by cotemporary poets and hiſtorians, ſhould now be irrecoverably loſt. But this conſideration renders us the more ſenſible of his merit in amaſſing the preſent remains. They are ſaid to be drawn, partly from the recital of ſhepherds and aged perſons in the receſſes of the Border mountains, and partly from the MSS. of different Border antiquaries. Theſe authorities are certainly the beſt; and as Mr Scott informs us that he began to conſult them in early youth, we may conclude that he has preſerved many poems, which would otherwiſe have become, by this time, irrecoverable.

Selection from the maſs ſo obtained was his next duty; and, in this exerciſe of the judgment, it is ſcarcely poſſible to meet univerſal approbation. What one man would deem trivial, another will eſtimate highly: what one would reject with ſcorn, another treaſures up with admiration. On the whole, it is better perhaps to run the hazard of being voluminous than faſtidious: and ſo the editor ſeems to have decided. Perhaps the omiſſion of one or two trifling pieces (ſuch as *Armſtrong's Goodnight*, vol. i. p. 183.) would have rendered the work leſs heavy. If ſuch pieces had never been publiſhed before, they could not claim admiſſion on the ground of poetical merit; and, where they had been previouſly printed, the reaſons for their rejection would be ſo much ſtrengthened, that they ſhould only have been admitted for the ſake of ſome very important illuſtration. The hiſtorical grounds of ſelection are either events or manners; to both which theſe volumes apply. The period of time which they include, is chiefly confined to the 16th century; during which, the ſtate of politics on the Scotiſh Border may eaſily be inferred from the *Sang of the Outlaw Murray*, the *Battle of Otterbourne*, and the *Raid of the Reidſwire*, which deſcribe events of a public nature.

The ſtate of morals, however, and the condition of private life, among the Borderers of thoſe ages, are ſtill more remarkable; and if this collection had no other merit than that of preſerving the memorials of manners that can never return, it would be entitled to conſiderable praiſe. Subſiſting by rapine, which they accounted lawful and honourable, they blotted honeſty out of the liſt of their virtues, at the ſame time that they were trained, by their perilous expeditions, to a high degree of enterpriſing courage, activity, and fineſſe. The inſecurity of

their poſſeſſions made them free and hoſpitable in their expenditure; and the common danger bound the ſeveral clans together by aſſurances of inviolable fidelity, and even ſoftened their mutual hoſtility by the tacit introduction of certain laws of honour and of war. In theſe traits, we ſeem to be reading the deſcription of a Tartarian or Arabian tribe, and can ſcarcely perſuade ourſelves that this country contained, within theſe two centuries, ſo exact a prototype of the Bedouin character. Camden has ſketched it with conſiderable accuracy, in the following paſſage of his Britannia.

'What manner of cattle ſtealers they are, that inhabit theſe valleys, in the marches of both kingdoms, John Leſley, a Scotchman himſelf, and Biſhop of Roſs, will inform you. They ſally out of their own borders, in the night, in troops, through unfrequented bye-ways, and many intricate windings.—All the day-time, they refreſh themſelves and their horſes in lurking-holes they had pitched upon before, till they arrive, in the dark, at thoſe places they have a deſign upon. As ſoon as they have ſeized upon the booty, they, in like manner, return home in the night, through blind ways, and fetching many a compaſs. The more ſkilful any captain is to paſs through thoſe wild deſerts, crooked turnings, and deep precipices, in the thickeſt miſts and darkneſs, his reputation is the greater, and he is looked upon as a man of an excellent head. And they are ſo very cunning, that they ſeldom have their booty taken from them, unleſs, ſometimes, when, by the help of blood-hounds following them exactly upon the track, they may chance to fall into the hands of their adverſaries. When being taken, they have ſo much perſuaſive eloquence, and ſo many ſmooth inſinuating words at command, that if they do not move their judges, nay, and even their adverſaries (notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their natures), to have mercy, yet they incite them to admiration and compaſſion.' Vol. i. p. lvi. lvii.

The publication now before us contains many curious and intereſting illuſtrations of this peculiar character. The laxity of Border morals, in reſpect to property, is ſeen in the very animated ballad of *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*, the *Lochmaben Harper*, *Dick o' the Cow*, &c. On the other hand, courage, fidelity, enterprize, are exemplified in *Kinmont Willie*, *Jock o' the Side*, and *Archie o' Cafield*. And, finally, the natural tendency of the human mind, in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, to ſuperſtition and romantic wonder, appears from moſt of the ancient poems in the ſecond volume.

To *illuſtrate* theſe particulars, the editor has brought together much valuable matter in an introduction of 138 pages, and in long notes and occaſional diſſertations diſperſed through the body of the work. Among theſe we notice, with particular approbation, a diſcourſe in the 2d volume (p. 167, &c.), on the *Fairies* of

of Popular Superſtition, in which the author takes a much wider range than was to have been expected from a collector of Border ballads; and evinces an extent of reading, and ſagacity of conjecture, which have never before been applied to this ſubject. We recommend this treatiſe, as by far the moſt learned, rational, and entertaining, that has yet been made public, upon the ſubject of theſe ſuperſtitions. It is perhaps of little conſequence, whether the manner of theſe illuſtrations be exactly ſuitable to the matter; yet we cannot but notice a falſe oratorical taſte, which ſeems foreign to the office of a commentator. Inſtead of detailing, with appropriate ſimplicity, the events neceſſary to the introduction of his work, he begins thus: 'From the remote period when the Roman Deity Terminus retired behind the ramparts of Severus,' &c. It ſeems to have been a ſimilar error in taſte which ſuggeſted the title of the book itſelf—*Minſtrelſy*; a word not only inapplicable in its original ſenſe, but rendered in ſome meaſure ludicrous, by the currency it has obtained among our modern ſonneteers, or, as they ſtyle themſelves, Minſtrels. The Engliſh idiom is not always preſerved, eſpecially in words of technical origin. Thus (in Introduct. p. iii.), 'They were forfeited,' *i. e.* their eſtates. So (in vol. ii. p. 218-223) 'abſtraction' and 'abſtracted' are uſed for ſtealing and ſtolen.

We come now to conſider the poetical merit, which, though not the only, muſt be the chief object of ſuch a publication; and which, we may add, is here attained in a very eminent degree. It is the buſineſs of poetry to delineate Feeling: and where ſhall we look for feeling ſo undiſguiſed and powerful, as in thoſe early periods of civilization, which have already excited men to the cultivation of their intellectual energies; but have not yet fettered them with that multiplicity of rules which forms them into the mere machines of poliſhed ſociety. The minds of men in ſuch a ſtate are indeed leſs delicate, leſs attractive of general ſympathy, than in ſucceeding periods; but they are more poetic, more intereſting in particular contemplation, more diſtinctly marked and intelligible. We are not, then, to view theſe poems as *facta ad unguem*—high-poliſhed, and elaborate ſpecimens of art; but as exhibiting the true ſparks and flaſhes of individual nature.

Hence we ſhall find a ſavage wildneſs in the ſuperſtition of the *Lyke-Wake Dirge*, and in the tumultuous rage of the *Fray of Suport*; but we may trace gradations from theſe to the exquiſite tenderneſs of the Fragments: Vol. ii. p. 157.

'I've heard them lilting, at the ewe milking,' &c.

Of which, by the by, Mr Scott would have done well to tell us *how much* he deems ancient, and to give us 'the poſitive evidence' that convinced him *the whole* was not ſo.

The *Lament of the Queen's Marie* (vol. ii. p. 154.), connected with its tale *, bears ſo ſtrong a ſtamp of nature, that we cannot reſiſt quoting it; hoping, at the ſame time, that Mr Scott will ſpare no pains to recover the remainder, if there be any.

'—" O ye mariners, mariners, mariners,
That ſail upon the ſea,
Let not my father nor mother to wit,
The death that I maun die!"—

'When ſhe cam to the Netherbow port,
She laughed loud laughters three;
But when ſhe came to the gallows foot,
The tear blinded her e'e.

'—" Yeſtreen the Queen had four Maries,
The night ſhe'll hae but three;
There was Marie Seton, and Marie Beatoun,
And Marie Carmichael, and me."—'

The ballad of *Fair Helen of Kirconnell* (vol. i. p. 72.), founded on a well-known and affecting incident, has been often given to the public; but never ſo perfect as in its preſent ſhape. The following ſtanzas are of exquiſite merit:

'I wiſh I were where Helen lies,
Night and day on me ſhe cries,
O that I were where Helen lies,
On fair Kirconnell Lee!

'Curſt be the heart that thought the thought,
And curſt the hand that fired the ſhot,
When in my arms † burd Helen dropt,
And died to ſuccour me.

'O think na ye my heart was ſair,
When my love dropt down, and ſpak nae mair,
There did ſhe ſwoon wi' meikle care,
On fair Kirconnell Lee.

'As I went down the water ſide,
None but my foe to be my guide,
None but my foe to be my guide,
On fair Kirconnell Lee;

'I

* The Queen's Marie was a Frenchwoman, who was executed, with her lover, for the murder of an illegitimate child.

† We read *bird*, as forming a ſimple and natural metaphor: its force is deſtroyed, by making it ſynonymous with maid.

'I lighted down, my ſword did draw,
I hacked him in pieces ſma,
I hacked him in pieces ſma,
For her ſake that died for me.

'O Helen fair, beyond compare,
I'll make a garland of thy hair,
Shall bind my heart for evermair,
Until the day I die.

'O Helen fair! O Helen chaſte!
If I were with thee, I were bleſt,
Where thou lies low, and takes thy reſt
On fair Kirconnell Lee.'

The following verſes, though of a very different character, afford perhaps a fairer ſpecimen of the kind of pathos and ſimplicity that belong to the old romantic ballad. King Honor had been murdered by a traitor, and his Queen, who was left in a ſtate of pregnancy, was cloſely guarded, till it ſhould appear whether ſhe was to produce a boy or a girl. The latter was to be ſpared; but a boy was to be immediately killed. The Queen makes her guards drunk, and ſays—(Vol. ii. p. 77-79.)

'—"O narrow, narrow, is this window,
And big, big, am I grown!"—
Yet, thro' the might of Our Ladye,
Out at it ſhe has gone.

'She wandered up, ſhe wandered down,
She wandered out and in;
And at laſt, into the very ſwine's ſtythe,
The Queen brought forth a ſon.

Then they caſt kevils them amang,
Which ſould gae ſeek the Queen;
And the kevil fell upon Wiſe William,
And he ſent his wife for him.

'O when ſhe ſaw Wiſe William's wife,
The Queen fell on her knee;
—"Win up, win up, Madame!" ſhe ſays:
"What needs this courteſie?"

'—"O out o' this I winna riſe,
Till a boon ye grant to me;
To change your laſs for this lad bairn,
King Honor left me wi'.

'"And ye maun learn my gay goſs hawk
Right weel to breaſt a ſteed;
And I ſall learn your turtle dow *
As weel to write and read.

* *Dow*—Dove.

' " And ye maun learn my gay goſs hawk
To wield baith bow and brand;
And I ſall learn your turtle dow
To lay gowd * wi' her hand.

' " At kirk and market when we meet,
We'll dare make nae avowe,
But—" Dame, how does my gay goſs hawk?"—
—" Madame, how does my dow?"—

Among the many inſtances of ſpirited deſcription, there is none more ſtriking than the picture of Old Walter Scott of Harden in the fight for Jamie Telfer's cattle: (Vol. i. p. 87.)

' But Willie was ſtricken ower the head,
And through the knapſcap † the ſword has gane,
And Harden grat for very rage,
When Willie on the grund lay ſlane.

' But he's ta'en aff his gude ſteel cap,
And thrice he's waved it in the air—
The Dinlay ‡ ſnaw was ne'er mair white
Nor the lyart locks of Harden's hair.

' " Revenge! Revenge!" auld Watt can cry,
" Fye, lads, lay on them cruellie!" &c.

The rage of *The bauld Bacleugh*, when he is informed that the Engliſh warden, Lord Scroop, had impriſoned a Scotchman in time of truce, is alſo deſerving of an extract: (Vol. i. p. 128-9.)

' He has ta'en the table wi' his hand,
He garr'd the red wine ſpring on hie—
Now Chriſt's curſe on my head," he ſaid,
But avenged of Lord Scroop I'll be!

' " O is my baſnet § a widow's curch? ||
Or my lance a wand of the willow tree?
Or my arm a ladyes lilye hand,
That an Engliſh Lord ſhould lightly ¶ me?

' " And have they ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Againſt the truce of Border tide?
And forgotten that the bauld Bacleuch
Is Keeper here on the Scotiſh ſide?

' " And have they e'en ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Withouten either dread or fear?
And forgotten that the bauld Bacleuch
Can back a ſteed, or ſhake a ſpear?

' " O

* *Lay gowd*—To embroider in gold.
‡ A mountain in Liddeſdale.
|| *Curch*—Coif.
† Head-piece.
§ *Baſnet*—Helmet.
¶ *Lightly*—Set light by.

' " O were there war between the lands,
As well I wot that there is none,
I would ſlight Carliſle Caſtell high,
Tho' it were builded of marble ſtone.

' " I would ſet that caſtell in a low, *
And ſloken it with Engliſh blood!
There's nevir a man in Cumberland,
Should ken where Carliſle Caſtell ſtood." '

In many of the recitals is a mixture of rough humour, which, like the characterizing touches of Hogarth's pencil, gives an animation often attempted in vain by more poliſhed writers. Of this the ballad of Kinmont Willie affords many examples, eſpecially where he is borne out of priſon in irons on the ſhoulders of Red Rowan, the ſtarkeſt man in Tiviotdale. Vol. i. p. 134.

' Then ſhoulder high, with ſhout and cry,
We bore him down the ladder lang;
At every ſtride Red Rowan made,
I wot the Kinmont's airns play'd clang!

" O mony a time," quo' Kinmont Willie,
" I hae ridden horſe baith wild and wood,
But a rougher beaſt than Red Rowan,
I ween my legs hae ne'er beſtrode.

" And mony a time," quo' Kinmont Willie,
" I've prick'd a horſe out oure the furs,
But ſince the day I backit a ſtead,
I never wore ſic cumbrous ſpurs."

Thinking, as we do, reſpecting the real ſtandard to which the merit of theſe poems is to be referred, we cannot agree with the editor in the opinion which he has expreſſed of that claſs of tragic ballads to which the *Bonny Hynd*, and (we may add) *Jellon Grame*, the *Cruel Siſter*, &c. belong. The cauſe of virtue and morality is not ſo ſlight as to be injured by the animated diſcuſſion of themes, which (as the editor juſtly obſerves) were favourites with the early Grecian muſe; eſpecially with thoſe 'lofty, grave tragedians,' who, in the opinion of no lax moraliſt, were 'teachers beſt of moral wiſdom.' It is not the knowledge that enormities exiſt, but the concealment, or the falſe or defective ſtatement of what conſtitutes their criminality, that vitiates, while it weakens moral principle. The Newgate Regiſter, or the Beggar's Opera, may have done harm, by the ignorance of their authors; but who was ever corrupted by Othello? The ballads above mentioned

* *Low*—Flame.

have ſuch poetic merit, as is more than a ſufficient antidote to their ſuppoſed immoral tendency; and if Mr Scott poſſeſſes others of equal beauty, we truſt he will not be deterred, by conſcientious ſcruples, from giving them to the public.

If we were diſpoſed to be very apprehenſive, indeed, as to the effect of any ancient ballads upon our national morality, we might very well take exception at the greater part of this collection. The glory of outlaws, and the renown of cattle-ſtealers, is commemorated in almoſt every one of the hiſtorical poems; and the heroines of all the romantic ballads, we believe, without one exception, have the misfortune to be mothers before marriage. It is amazing, indeed, to obſerve with what invariable uniformity the circumſtances of pregnancy and parturition are brought forward to heighten the intereſt of every love-ſtory. When Lillie Flower, for inſtance, is to be murdered by the ungrateful Jellon Grame, ſhe ſays,

"Your bairn, that ſtirs between my ſides
Maun ſhortly ſee the light;
But to ſee it weltering in my blood,
Would be a piteous ſight."—

'The Laſs of Lochroyan,' in like manner, exclaims,

"And wha will father my young ſon,
Till Lord Gregory comes hame?"

The fate of the romantic 'White Lilly' is this ſimply deſcribed:

'About the dead hour o' the night,
The ladye's bour was broken;
And, about the firſt hour o' the day,
The fair knave bairn was gotten.' Vol. ii. p. 65.

The whole ſtory of 'Willie's Ladye' turns on a difficult delivery. The fair 'Lady Janet' commits a *faux-pas* of the ſame kind; and ſo common does the indiſcretion appear to have been, that the bold baron, her father, is made to inquire after it in this eaſy manner:

'Out then ſpoke her father dear,
And he ſpoke meek and mild;
And ever, alas, my ſweet Janet,
I fear ye gae with child.'

'Fair Annie's' caſe, however, is the moſt aggravated. She makes the following very pertinent interrogatory:

'But how can I gang maiden like,
When maiden I am nane;
Have I not borne SEVEN ſons to thee,
And am with child again?'

After

After all this, we are not ſurpriſed that 'Coſpatrick' wedded eight wives ſucceſſively, without finding one virgin among them; though we think his lamentation, on the failure of the laſt experiment, rather too violent for the occaſion.

> 'I am the moſt unhappy man,
> That ever was in Chriſten land;
> I courted a maiden meik and mild,
> And I hae gotten nothing but a woman with child.'

In the *wording* of theſe poems, no preciſe rule ſeems to have been followed; and hence, ſome moderniſms have crept in, which a more attentive collation of MSS. or oral traditions, together with a due regard to the probable date of the compoſition, would, perhaps, have excluded. Some expreſſions very much reſemble the ſtyle of our modern poetaſters; as, 'wave danger back on thee,' vol. ii. p. 65.;—'whoſe notes made ſad the liſtening ear,' vol. ii. p. 49. Some words ſeem ſubſtituted for more appropriate provincial terms; as '*braided* her yellow hair,' vol. ii. p. 229. which is in ſome copies '*ſhed*,' a locally deſcriptive word. So, 'a red-hot gad of *iron*,' vol. ii. p. 240, ſhould be '*airn*,' more ſuitably to the rhyme.

Having reviewed the remains of antiquity, which conſtitute the chief value of this work, it remains to ſay ſomething of the productions avowedly modern.

They have all conſiderable merit, and often touch upon true feeling; as in Mrs Cockburn's *Flowers of the Foreſt*, (vol. ii. p. 163.), of which Burns himſelf has noticed the pathetic exclamation:

> 'O fickle fortune! why this cruel ſporting?
> Why thus perplex us, *poor ſons of a day?*'

But we may in general obſerve, that they breathe not enough the rude energy of the Scotiſh ballad: they have too little ſimplicity to ſuit the reſt of the collection. We can ſcarcely conceive that an unaffected lover of Scotiſh muſic would expreſs its effect, as Mr Leyden has done (vol. ii. p. 2.), by references to Aſiatic literature, and in all the luxuriancy of Aſiatic diction.

This diſcordance becomes ſtill more ſtriking, when the compoſitions are announced as imitations of the ancient ſtyle. Their profeſſed aim is 'to unite the vigorous numbers and wild fiction of the ancient ballad, with greater equality of verſification and elegance of ſentiment.' We do not diſapprove this attempt. Let the modern poet imitate, if he can, the excellencies, and avoid the defects of the old ballad writers; but let him begin by adopting their ſtrength of ſentiment, and energy of expreſſion; and let him take eſpecial care to draw his ornamental additions from

from purer ſources than the Bonny Jeans, the Alonzos, and Imogenes of the day. After all, this is, in fact, to create a new ſpecies of compoſition; a diluted taſte, which probably may not ſuit the palate of the genuine lover of antiquity. Undoubtedly, Mr Scott, and his friend Mr Leyden, have diſplayed great powers of imagination, and harmony of numbers. The *Eve of St John*, *Glenfinlas*, *Thomas the Rhymer*, *Lord Soulis*, and the *Cout of Keeldar*, are all (but particularly the two firſt) much ſuperior to the numerous tales of wonder with which our patience has of late been ſo heavily taxed. But do they in the leaſt reſemble the general ſtyle of antiquity? Or are they even like any one old ballad in this collection? Where, for inſtance, ſhall we find an ancient ſtanza like the following (vol. ii. p. 288.)?

> 'Yet fragments of the lofty ſtrain
> Float down the tide of years;
> As buoyant on the ſtormy main,
> A parted wreck appears.'

It is our opinion, therefore, that the modern part of this work will obtain (and, with certain deductions, will deſerve) the applauſe of a numerous claſs of readers. But that claſs is different from the one which will juſtly reliſh the ancient compoſitions. Mr Scott has announced ſome intended additions, which we hope he will ſpeedily give to the public, together with a ſecond edition of the preſent work: as that publication will afford him an opportunity of modelling the whole anew, we take the liberty of ſuggeſting, that the whole of the modern part may be conveniently thrown into one volume, which will loſe nothing of its intrinſic value by being ſeparate from the reſt.

Although we have freely cenſured the defects of this collection, we wiſh it to be underſtood that we conſider them as *pulchro in corpore nævos*, as thoſe common literary imperfections, '*quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parùm cavit natura.*' The work, upon the whole, is highly intereſting and important to literature: and the manner in which it is executed reflects no ſmall degree of credit on the editor.

Thoſe who feel an intereſt in Scotch printing, will remark with pleaſure the ſingular beauty of the type. With appropriate reference to the ſubject, it was executed on the Border, and proceeds from the preſs of Mr Ballantyne of Kelſo.

Art.

ART. XII. *On the Neceſſary Truth of certain Concluſions obtained by Means of Imaginary Expreſſions.* By Robert Woodhouſe, A. M. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. (In the Tranſactions of the Royal Society of London. 1802.)

NO ſmall part of the modern mathematics depends on the doctrine of imaginary or impoſſible quantities. It is natural to expect that the grounds of a doctrine, on which reſts ſo large a portion of the analytical edifice, have been fully examined; that all objections have been ſucceſſively anſwered; and that no room is left for doubt or cavil. The contrary, however, will, in reality, be found to be the caſe. Mathematicians have been more attentive to improve and extend their methods, than ſolicitous to examine the principles on which they are founded. Men of a ſcientific turn, who wiſh to reaſon as well as to compute, and who will not aſſent to the truth of the concluſion, without fully comprehending every ſtep in the reaſoning that leads to it, have juſtly to complain of the myſtery and paradox attending the uſe of impoſſible quantities.

Imaginary expreſſions occur in mathematical inveſtigations in two ways, which it is proper to diſtinguiſh. Sometimes they merely mark an operation that cannot be performed, or an abſurd concluſion: and this always happens when a contradiction takes place in the conditions to be fulfilled. This office of imaginary expreſſions is attended with no difficulty; it is allowed to be legitimate, and its uſe is to point out the limitation of problems. In other caſes, imaginary expreſſions are introduced into mathematical inveſtigations (and ſometimes they occur very unexpectedly *) when no inconſiſtency really takes place in the relations of the magnitudes concerned, and when we are certain that the quantities ſignified are poſſible and real. When this happens, on carefully examining the reaſoning employed, it will be found that ſome contradiction is implied, or that ſome impoſſible ſuppoſition is unwarily admitted. The fault here is in the reaſoning itſelf, and not in any inconſiſtency in the conditions to be fulfilled. The proper remedy ſeems to be, to trace back the inveſtigation till we arrive at that ſtep where the abſurdity is implied; and, by turning the reaſoning into a new train, to bring out a real and intelligible reſult by legitimate means. Mathematicians have, however, followed a different courſe. The imaginary expreſſions of real quantities have been retained, and rules have been invented for operating with them as if they were real quantities: they are multiplied and divided, added and ſubtracted. And

* As in what is called the irreducible caſe, in Cubics.

And although ſuch expreſſions are unintelligible, and in all caſes imply an impoſſibility, yet (what is paradoxical) the concluſions obtained by their means are uniformly found to be true.

In the 68th volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions of London, we find a memoir 'On the Arithmetic of impoſſible quantities,' written by a mathematician who has thrown much light on the different matters he has treated; and all whoſe writings are equally remarkable for the ingenuity and elegance which they diſplay. Juſtly conſidering the operations of the imaginary arithmetic as nugatory in point of ſcience and of logical reaſoning, he has, in ſeveral inſtances, compared inveſtigations by means of impoſſible quantities with the parallel inveſtigations in which real quantities only are concerned: and he has ſhewn that, while the latter ſtrictly demonſtrate certain properties of the hyperbola, the former, by means of the imaginary characters, lead to the ſame properties of the circle. The imaginary arithmetic is therefore no more than a particular method of tracing the affinity between the circle and hyperbola; and the truth of its deductions reſts ultimately on an argument from analogy.

By the ſpeculations of Mr Playfair, the imaginary inveſtigations aſſume a ſcope and purpoſe: and if he has not gone the length of proving that the concluſions obtained by means of impoſſible quantities are neceſſarily true, he has at leaſt pointed out a ſource from which a ſtrict demonſtration may in all caſes be drawn.

In the paper before us, Mr Woodhouſe, after having ſtated the objection commonly urged againſt the uſe of imaginary quantities, thus proceeds:

'From the very conceſſions of the mathematicians that have oppoſed the uſe of impoſſible quantities, is to be derived a powerful argument, an argument ſufficiently ſatisfactory to the mind, that operations with impoſſible quantities are really regulated by the rules of a logic equally juſt with the logic of poſſible quantities. It is conceded and mentioned as a paradox, that the concluſions obtained by the aid of imaginary quantities are moſt true and certain. Now, if operations with any characters or ſigns lead to juſt concluſions, ſuch operations muſt be true by virtue of ſome principle or other; and the objections againſt imaginary quantities ought to be obviated upon the unſatisfactory explanation given of their nature and uſes.'

The drift of this argument is not very plain. If it is only meant to ſay that there muſt be ſome way or other of accounting for the paradox, that truth is produced by unintelligible operations, or by faulty reaſoning, the poſition will hardly be denied. On the other hand, if it is intended to argue, that every general method, that uniformly leads to true concluſions, muſt therefore be regulated by the rules of ſound logic, the inference

cannot

cannot be admitted. We are of opinion that the imaginary arithmetic is one glaring inſtance of the contrary; but it is not the only inſtance that can be produced. The differential calculus, as laid down by Leibnitz and his followers, is another example of a method, even more extenſive than the imaginary arithmetic, always leading to truth, and yet founded in falſe and inconcluſive reaſoning. We apprehend that, in both inſtances, the paradox is to be accounted for in the ſame way; namely, that the falſe ſuppoſitions always implied in either method, are obviated and corrected by the very operations which the rules of the calculus require to be performed *.

Mr Woodhouſe next animadverts on the principle of analogy advanced by Mr Playfair: and it muſt be allowed that his ſtrictures are well founded, in ſo far as they go to prove that principle to be imperfect; and that there is room for farther reſearches on this ſubject.

After the obſervations we have premiſed, it will be expected that we are to proceed, with ſome degree of ſcepticiſm, to the examination of our author's own mode of explanation; which profeſſes to reconcile with the rules of logic, and with the principles of ſound reaſoning, operations in which other mathematicians have been able to diſcover nothing but obſcurity and contradiction. Every logical proceſs may be traced to certain ultimate principles: and the juſtneſs of the concluſion depends upon the clearneſs of thoſe principles, no leſs than upon the legitimacy of the intermediate inferences. Our attention will therefore be naturally directed to the peculiar notions on which our author founds this explanation: and, that we may proceed fairly, we ſhall quote his own words.

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* 'Il me ſemble que comme dans le calcul differentiel, tel qu'on l'emploie, on conſidére et on calcule en effet les quantités infiniment petites ou ſuppoſées infiniment petites elles-memes, la veritable metaphyſique de ce calcul conſiſte en ce que l'erreur reſultant de cette fauſſe ſuppoſition eſt redreſſée ou compenſée par celle qui naît des procédés mêmes du calcul, ſuivant les quels on ne retient dans la differentiation que les quantités infiniment petites du meme ordre.' La Grange, Theorie des Fonct. Analyt. p. 3.

In the imaginary arithmetic, the characters $x\sqrt{-1}$ and $y\sqrt{-1}$ are in many operations treated like real quantities: but in certain multiplications (as $x\sqrt{-1} \times y\sqrt{-1} = -xy$) it will be found that the ſign $\sqrt{-1}$ is in reality a mark to ſhow that the ordinary rule, for the ſign of the product in real quantities, is to be reverſed, and that $-$ muſt be written, where, in real quantities, $+$ would be required. It is by this uſe of the ſign $\sqrt{-1}$ that the falſe ſuppoſition implied in impoſſible quantities is compenſated.

'The developement of e^x (into the series $1 + x + \frac{x^2}{2} +$, &c.) is general, whatever x is, provided it be a real quantity; but $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$ can never be proved equal to the series $1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{1}{2}x^2 - \frac{1}{2\cdot 3}x^3\sqrt{-1}$ &c. What then is to be understood by $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$? Merely this, that $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$ is an abridged symbol for the series of characters $1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{x^2}{2} -$ &c. not proved, but assumed, by extending the form really belonging to e^x to $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$.'

'To remove all doubt and occasion of cavil, it is to be understood that $\left(e^{x\sqrt{-1}} + e^{-x\sqrt{-1}}\right)$ means, that the terms of the series which $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$ represents, are to be connected with the terms of the series that $e^{-x\sqrt{-1}}$ represents, according to the rules obtaining for the addition of real quantities: Again, that $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, not by bringing $x\sqrt{-1}$ under the predicament of quantity, and making it the subject of arithmetical computation, but by giving to the signs + and − their proper signification, when used with real quantities; and they designate reverse operations.'

After it is demonstrated that $e^x = 1 + x + \frac{x^2}{2}$ &c. most mathematicians put $e^{x\sqrt{-1}} = 1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{x^2}{2}$ &c. without further ceremony; thus supposing that the impossible case is included in the developement of the real function. Mr Woodhouse gets rid of this absurdity, by making that an affair of notation, which others assume as a thing demonstrated. It will not be necessary for us to inquire how far the matter is mended by this artifice; because the great objection to the use of impossible quantities, and to the logical justness of the conclusions obtained by their means, still remains in its full force. What does the series of characters denote? Will it be granted, that the mind can proceed one step in the investigation of truth, without clearly comprehending the objects about which it reasons?

We are next required to grant, that $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, not by bringing $x\sqrt{-1}$ under the predicament of quantity, and making it the subject

ſubject of arithmetical computation, but by giving to the ſigns + and — their proper ſignification when uſed with real quantities. We confeſs we conſider this poſtulate more deſerving the name of a metaphyſical ſubtlety, than of a principle of reaſoning clearly laid down. The ſigns + and — denote operations to be performed with numbers; and they have no ſignification at all, unleſs the numbers to be operated with are diſtinctly conceived in the mind. We contend, that when we put $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, we treat the character $x\sqrt{-1}$ as the repreſentative of a number: and that the expreſſion $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, is really ſuppoſed to be included in the general caſe A—A=0, which is legitimate and intelligible only ſo long as A repreſents a real number.

We ſhall be ſpared the taſk of examining further into a mode of explanation which, at the outſet, is liable to ſo great objections. Operations deduced from ſuch principles are undeſerving the name of reaſoning; and they cannot afford one particle of evidence either of truth or of falſehood. We admit it, that the operations of the imaginary arithmetic exhibit, to the eye, a ſeries of transformations ſimilar to thoſe that take place in real inveſtigations: but, in point of ſcience and of reaſoning, there is a wide difference between the two. For, in real inveſtigations, all the characters are ſignificant, and the principles from which we ſet out are clear: and if we ſtop ſhort at any ſtep of the proceſs, we obtain a propoſition diſtinctly apprehended by the mind, and linked to the premiſes by a chain of legitimate deductions. In imaginary inveſtigations, on the other hand, if we ſtop ſhort of the concluſion, when the impoſſible quantities have diſappeared, we find nothing but a parcel of characters that offers no meaning to the underſtanding. The excellent geometer, who has advanced the principle of analogy, ſetting aſide the imaginary operations, has directed our attention to the concluſion to which they lead, and has ſhewn its connexion with another truth that is ſtrictly demonſtrated. His reſearches, indeed, ſtop here; and he has left the evidence of the one propoſition to reſt on the affinity it has with the other, or on the analogy of the curves to which the two propoſitions may, in all caſes, be referred. We have only to go one ſtep further to arrive at a ſatisfactory ſolution of the whole difficulty: for, if we diſmiſs all reference to the circle and hyperbola, and, by a general notation, contrive to expreſs the related propoſition in algebraic language, free from impoſſible quantities, it will manifeſtly appear, that there is a neceſſary connexion between them, independent either of the real or imaginary inveſtigation. If the one propoſition be ſuppoſed to be true, then, by a very extenſive principle of analyſis, the other will follow as

a neceſſary conſequence of that propoſition. But this is not the place to enlarge on this ſubject, the importance of which has already occaſioned us to tranſgreſs our limits.

The mode of application not admitted, the preſent paper will be found to contain nothing new or intereſting to geometers. It is only incumbent on us to notice, that ſome juſt obſervations occur in diſcuſſing the controverſy concerning the logarithms of negative numbers, towards the end of the paper.

We cannot conclude our remarks on this article, without expreſſing our diſapprobation of the mode in which Mr Playfair's method of reaſoning is attacked, not openly, and by name, but indirectly, covertly, and by inſinuation.

ART. XIII. *Oupnekhat (id eſt, Secretum Tegendum) opus ipſa in India rariſſimum, continens antiquam et arcanam, ſeu Theologicam et Philoſophicam, doctrinam, è quatuor ſacris Indorum libris, Rak Beid, Djedjr Beid, Sam Beid, Athrban Beid, excerptam; ad verbum, è Perſico idiomate, Samſcreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum converſum; diſſertationibus et annotationibus, difficiliora explanatibus, illuſtratum: ſtudio et opera Anquetil Duperron, Indicopleuſtæ, R. Inſcript. et Human. Litter. Academiæ olim Penſionar. et Directoris.* Tomus I. 4to. pp. 846. Paris. 1801.

IF intolerance and fanaticiſm be the uſual concomitants of Iſlamiſm (an aſſertion, we think, ſomewhat too generally expreſſed), the deſcendants of Tamerlane, who reigned in Hindûſtan, furniſh ſome remarkable exceptions to the received opinion. At the head of theſe illuſtrious perſonages, we ſhould, perhaps, place Dara Shecuh, the eldeſt ſon of the Emperor Shah Gehan. The attention which this Prince beſtowed in inveſtigating the antique dogmas of the Hindu theology, and the munificence with which he rewarded the learned Brahmans, whom he collected from all parts of the empire, furniſhed his brother Aurengzebe with a pretext to miſrepreſent his motives, and to alarm the zealous moſlems with the danger of an apoſtate ſucceeding to the throne. The melancholy cataſtrophe which enſued; the death of the unhappy Dara, with the long and brilliant reign of the ſucceſsful hypocrite, who founded his greatneſs on the deſtruction of his brothers, are detailed in the page of hiſtory. If the ſceptical philoſopher be diſpoſed to exclaim with the Roman Epicurean, 'Tanta Religio potuit ſuadere malorum,' we muſt ſtate our conviction, that ambition, not fanaticiſm, prompted the deed; though the ſteps by which he mounted the throne, threw the rigid veil of ſuperſtition over the ſubſequent conduct of Aurengzebe, and gave that tone to his court.

Under the patronage of Dara Shecuh, a variety of Sanſcrit works were tranſlated into the Perſic language, and, amongſt others,

others, that which M. Anquetil Duperron calls Oupnekhat, vel Secretum Tegendum. But before we proceed to conſider the merits of his tranſlation, we think it uſeful to premiſe a few obſervations, to illuſtrate the nature of the original work, and to define the expectations, which might have been formed of the verſion. In this part of our taſk, we ſhall derive little aſſiſtance from the venerable tranſlator, who ſeems too readily to adopt the common error of conſidering every thing that is oriental as curious, every thing that is ancient as ſublime, and every thing that is myſterious as profound.

The Hindû Vedas are referred, by the records and traditions of the Brahmans, to the earlieſt periods of ſociety. Though it may be impoſſible to verify their real date, their relative antiquity appears manifeſt from their ſtyle, already obſolete when the Puranas were compoſed, to whatever æra theſe latter compoſitions may be referred. Criſna, the iſland-born, obtained the name of Vyaſa, or the Divider, from having arranged them in their preſent form, and divided them into four portions, the laſt of which, named Atharvana, ſeems compoſed in a ſtyle ſomewhat more modern, though the whole muſt have been anterior to the period, at which Vyaſa was born, in an iſlet of the Yamuna. They contain the rude metaphyſics, and primeval dogmas of the ancient Brahmans, with a minute detail of religious rites, ceremonial obſervances, and incantations, or *mantra*, which ſerved, or were ſuppoſed to ſerve, as a ſpecific for every calamity, phyſical and moral. But of the falſe religions which have ſucceſſively obtained in the world, the abſurd dogmata have frequently furniſhed a ſtriking contraſt with the ſtate of ſcience amongſt their followers: knowledge and the arts ſpring forth, and are progreſſive; the powers and operations of nature are calculated and obſerved; the human mind becomes the object of its own reſearches; general deductions and general maxims enlighten and regulate the conduct of ſtates, and the tranſactions of individuals: but the conſecrated veil which covers the arcana of ſuperſtition, cannot be withdrawn without impiety; and an enlightened age frequently views the univerſal prevalence of unphiloſophical, abſurd, or barbarous dogmata. The maſſive ſtructures of ancient Egypt atteſt a conſiderable progreſs in mechanics; but the wars of Typhon and Oſiris, and the obſcene rites of their local deities, are an inſult to reaſon, and to nature. Would we profit by Grecian ſcience, it is to Ariſtotle, and not to Heſiod, we muſt have recourſe: yet the old bard was probably the faithful hiſtorian of opinions which prevailed more or leſs generally, till Europe was enlightened by the divine rays of a religion revealed from above. The Coran relates that Mohammed was tranſported into the moon; but the Khaliſs who ſucceeded

him, and implicitly believed in the pretended miracle, employed mathematicians to meaſure a degree of the circle. From theſe obſervations, our readers will poſſibly infer, that if Indian literature be capable of affording curious or inſtructive information, it probably is not from the ſacred Vedas that the ſtream will flow. Theſe precious volumes have not hitherto been peruſed by any European. The preceding obſervations are collected from paſſages occaſionally cited by the Pauranicas and their commentators; and from the valuable productions of Sir William Jones, who had inſpected ſeveral extracts. But it has happened to the Vedas as to the Coran. Though the text of both be held ſacred by the followers of their reſpective doctrines, yet a recondite and philoſophic ſenſe may frequently be elicited from many, or from moſt of their expreſſions; and in a ſubſequent age, the ample commentaries of theologians, metaphyſicians, and juriſconſults, have wrought up the ſcanty materials of their ſacred books into a comprehenſive but obſcure epitome of knowledge, divine and human.

The term Upaniſada, which really ſignifies arcanum, is uſed by the Hindûs to deſignate a ſelection of one or more chapters from the Vedas. The volume of theſe *excerpta*, tranſlated by order of Dara Shecuh, is now preſented to the public, clothed in a Roman garb, by M. Anquetil. The plan which this gentleman has adopted for the execution of this taſk, is, in our opinion, ſingularly injudicious. He has endeavoured to execute a tranſlation altogether literal, and as this is utterly impoſſible, from the diſcrepancy of the Perſic and Latin idioms, he has attempted to make it more intelligible, by inſerting alſo the more claſſic forms of expreſſion between parentheſes. The words alſo, which in his manuſcript appeared in red characters, he has tranſported *literatim* into his verſion: and, that they might not be diſfigured by the Latin inflections, he has marked their caſe, by prefixing the Greek article. The reſult is, a Latin production, which an Œdipus might divine, but a Priſcian could never conſtrue; with a confuſed mixture of words, Perſic, Arabic, and Sanſcrit, admirably exemplifying

'That Babyloniſh dialect
Which learned pedants much affect.' HUDIBRAS.

We have been ſo fortunate as to procure a copy of the Perſic work, and having collated a great variety of paſſages with M. Anquetil's tranſlation, are happy to do juſtice to its accuracy, and to add our teſtimony to the very complete knowledge of the Perſic he has exhibited throughout his work. It is painful to detract from this encomium, by mentioning, that our author hints that he derived conſiderable aſſiſtance from his knowledge of the Sanſcrit; and that he has it in contemplation to publiſh

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a dictionary of that language: whilſt the work before us furniſhes the moſt deciſive proofs of his being totally unacquainted with it.

To enable our readers to judge of M. Anquetil's performance, we inſert his verſion of the preface of the Prince Dara Shecuh, giving an account of the motives for undertaking the work; to which we will annex our own tranſlation, from the Perſic copy in our poſſeſſion.

'Laus dzati (enti), quod, vox pes τῶ biſmillah (in nomine Dei) in omnibus libris ſamavi (cœleſtibus) è ſecretis antiquis ejus eſt; et alham am alketab (inſpiratio primæ ſauratæ) quod in Koran madjid (glorioſo), deſignatio (illius) cum eſm (nomine) ſupremo ejus eſt; et cuncti malaick (legati Dei, angeli), et libri ſamavi ex anbia ve aolia (à prophetis et amicis Dei emiſſi); et omne (id omne) comprehenſum in hoc eſm (nomine) eſt.

'Verùm, poſtea quam ὁ fakir abſque triſtitiâ Mohammed Daraſhakoh, in anno mille & quinquaginta (1050) τῶ hedjiri, quo cum Kaſhmir (in τὸν Kaſchmir), paradiſo ſimili, iverat; cum ui attractiva eenaiet alhi (favoris Dei) et beneficio na monteha (non terminato, infinito), fauſtæ (ejus) voluntatis, perfectum kamalan (perfectorum) cremoremaarfan, oſtad oſtadan, pîr piran, peiſchvaï peiſchvaïan, mohed hakaiek agah (decus doctorum, magiſtrum magiſtrorum, ſenem ſenum, ducem ducum, unitarium (unitatis Dei aſſertorem), veritatum conſcium), molaſchah, pax τῶ allah (Dei) et excelſi (ſuper illum)! invenit.

'Et cum guſtus (voluptas) τῶ videre doctos cujuſlibet ſectæ, et audire verba excelſa unificationis, ſimul (ei) proveniſſet, et plurimos libros myſticos cum conſpectu (in conſpectum ſuum) attuliſſet, et reſalha (ſcripta breviora) compoſita feciſſet; et ſitis τῶ petere tohid (unificationem), quod mare eſt ſine fine, momento cum momento (in dies) amplior (aucta fieret); et ſententiæ (opiniones) ſubtiles (arduæ) cum corde (ad cor ejus) pervenirent, quòd ſtatus earum, niſi cum verbo Alhi (Die), et magiſterio (documento) dzat na monthaï (entis non finiti) poſſibilitatem non habet: et cùm (in) Koran venerando (auguſto), et Fourkan nobili (benigno) plurima ænigmaticè dicta (tecta) ſint, et hodiè ſcientes illa pauci inveniri queant; (Daraſchakoh) voluit, quòd omnes libros ſamavi (cœleſtes) cum conſpectu (in conſpectum ſuum) afferrent, ut ab ipſis illis (eliceret) verbum Alhi (Dei), quod ipſum interpretatio ſui ipſius eſt; et ſi in (uno) libro contractum ſit, in libro altero fuſè expoſitum inventum fiat, et ex illa fuſâ expoſitione iſtud compendium ſcitum efficitur.

'Intuitum ſuper Toret (legum Moyſis), et Andjil (evangelium J. Chriſti), et Zabour (pſalmos Davidis), et alios codices conjecit: verùm expoſitio tohid (unificationis) in illis etiam (libris) compendioſa & enigmatica (tecta) erat; et ex interpretationibus paucis, quas homines à commentariis fecerant, petitum cognitum non redditum eſt.

'In pede illius fuit (hinc evenit), quòd è quo reſpectu (quâ cauſâ) in Indouſtan, unitatis contemplatore, ſermo cinatio tohid (de unificatione)

tione) multa eſt ; et theologis externis et internis ſectæ antiquæ indicæ, ſuper vahedat (unitate) negatio, et ſuper mohedan (unitariis) ſermo non eſt ; quin potiùs pes æſtimationis (illis) eſt ſuper τῷ (præcipuum ducunt) contradicere (repugnare) inſipientibus hujus temporis, qui ſe ipſos doctos (eſſe) firmatum dederunt ; et, in pede (victimis) occiſionis, et vexationis, et impietatis, et negationis (veri), Deum cognoſcentibus et unitariis lapſis, omnibus verbis tohid (unificationis), et cuncto (quod) è Fourkan laudando, et oraculis authenticis prophetiæ puræ manifeſtum eſt, reſiſtentiam oſtendunt, (et) viam latronum viam Dei efficiunt.

' Poſt à verificatis his gradibus (his cognitis) compertum fuit, quòd in medio hujus tribûs antiquæ, præ omnibus libris ſamavi (cœleſtibus) quatuor libri aſmani (cœleſtes), quod, Rak Beid, et Djedjr Beid, et Sam Beid, et Athrban Beid, ſit, ſuper anhiaï (prophetas) illius temporis ; quòd major illorum [Brahma qui] Adam ſeſieullah (ſelectus à Deo) et (ſuper quem) pax ! eſt, cum cunctis preceptis delapſi (ſint) : et hæc ſignificatio ex ipſis his libris apparens eſt.

' Et optimum (purior pars) horum quatuor librorum, omnia ſecreta ſelouk (religioſi inſtituti), et eſchgal (applicationum animi) unificationi puræ, in illa contenta ſunt ; & illud Oupnekhat nominant.

' Huic (Principi) veritatis indagatori ipſi elucidatæ, cùm intuitus ſuper principium vahedat (unitatis) entis foret (fuiſſet), cùm linguâ arabicâ, et ſyrianâ, et eerakanâ (per ſika, et) ſahnſcretâ (ſamſcreticâ), voluit quòd hæc Oupnekhatha (τοῦ Oupnekhat capita), quod theſaurus unificationis erat ; ſcientes illum in iſtâ tribu etiam pauci manſerant ; cum linguâ perſica (in linguam perſicam), ſine minus et plûs, et abſque affectu (ſtudio) animi, cum interpretatione, recto (ſincero) cum recto, voce cum voce, (de verbo ad verbum) cum tranſlata oſtendiſſet, (feciſſet), intelligerent, quòd hæc collectio (ſynagoga), quæ illum librum ab homine iſlamico (fideli), hoc quantùm (tantoperè) co-opertum et abſconditum habent, hoc quodnam ſecretum eſt.

' Et, ut in his diebus, urbs Benares, quæ porta ſcientiæ hujus tribûs eſt, dependentiam cum (ab) hoc veri indagatore habebat, τοῦ Pandetan & Saniaſan, qui completo (convenienti) tempore [τοῦ Beid et] τοῦ Oupnekhat ſcientes (facti) fuerant, cùm congregatos feciſſet, ipſe (Daraſchakoh) hoc kholaſſeh (optimum) unificationis, quod Oupnekhatha, id eſt, ſecreta tegenda ſit, et monthaï (ſcopus) petitionis cunctorum aoulia Allah (amicorum Dei) eſt, in anno mille, ſexaginta & ſeptem τοῦ hedjri, ſine affectu animi (ſtudio, è ſamſkreto) tranſlatum cum oſtendiſſet (reddidiſſet) ; et quodlibet difficile, quodlibet verbum altum, quod volebat et petens illud fuit, et quærebat et non invenit ; ex hoc Kholaſſeh (optimo) libro antiquo, quod, ſine dubio et ambiguitate, primus liber ſamavi (cœleſtis) et fons verificationis (agnitionis pro vero) et mare unificationis eſt, congruens Khoran glorioſo, quin imò, explicatio illius eſt.

' Et manifeſtè apparens ſit, quòd hoc aieteh (comma, verſus) genuinè in veritate hic liber antiquus eſt ; quòd aieteh cum (in) Koran benefaciente, in libro (eſt) abſcondito, non perveniens niſi ad mundatos arab (domino) mundorum : id eſt, Koran benefaciens in libro eſt, quòd

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ille liber abſconditus eſt, (et) cum comprehenſum non faciunt niſi cor quod purificatum ſit; et deſcendere factus (demiſſus) à nutritore (conſervatore) [mundi et] mundanorum: et cui (cuivis) cognitum ſit, quòd hoc aïeteh, in veritate, Zabour, & Toret, & Andjil non eſt; quin imò, è verbo tanzib (deſcendere facto) hoc modo manifeſtum efficitur, quòd in veritate, louh mahfouz (tabula aſſervatorum, cui æterna rerum fata inſcribuntur), etiam (aïeteh) non eſt; (et) cùm Oupnekhat, quod ſecretum abſcondendum, eſt, principium (originale exemplar) hujus libri ſit, et τὸ aïethhaï τῶ Khoran glorioſi, genuinè in illo inventa fiant: proindè cum verificatione (certum efficitur) quòd liber abſconditus, hic liber antiquus ſit.

'Et ex hoc (libro), cum hoc (huic) fakir (Daraſchakoh) non ſcita, ſcita; non intellecta, intellecta fuerunt.

'Et, niſi, ἀ τῷ (præter) utilitatem capientes fieri, ipſum (Daram) et natos ipſos ejus, et amicos ipſos ejus, et petentes veritatem, petitum et intentum cùm non fuerit; fortunatus, qui, ut affectum animi infelicem (pravum) tranſire fecit (reliquit), purè (ſincerè), cum modo Dei (excelſo) hanc tranſlationem, quod cum ſecreto akbar (per ſecretum magnum) deſignatum redditum, tranſlationem (eſſe) verbi Alhi (Dei), ut ſcivit, dereliction em partialitatis, ut monſtravit, legit & intelligit, ſine ceſſatione, et ſine metu, & ſine triſtitiâ, et liberatus (ſalvus, beatus), et mavid (confirmatus) (in hoc ſtatu) eſt futurus.'

We will now proceed to lay before our readers an Engliſh verſion of the above preface, from the Perſic original, which will enable them to appreciate the merit of M. Anquetil's.

"In the name of God, the merciful, the compaſſionate.

Praiſe to that being, whoſe antique myſteries are compriſed by all inſpired writers in the phraſe (Biſmilla), 'in the name of God,' and thankſgiving, which is the commencement of all books in the ſacred Coran, refers to that dread name, which includes the hoſt of angels, the inſpired ſcriptures, the prophets, and the patriarchs.

When Dara Shecuh, the reſigned worſhipper of God, viſited Caſmir in the year of the Hegira 1050 (A. D. 1640), by the bleſſing of the Moſt High, and the unlimited efficacy of his divine will, he met with Mola Shah, the chief of the learned, the teacher of teachers, the inſtructor of inſtructors, the guide of guides, verſed in the ſubtleties of unitarianiſm; may he be joined with God!

As that prince already reliſhed the pleaſure of ſeeing the learned of each ſect, and of hearing the ſublime doctrines of unitarianiſm; had peruſed various treatiſes of the Suſi philoſophers, and even compoſed ſome himſelf, the thirſt of exploring the unitarian doctrines (which are a boundleſs ocean) daily increaſed, and his mind attained a degree of acuteneſs and ſubtlety, which would have been impoſſible without the immediate aſſiſtance and favour of the divine will. Now, the ſacred Corân being frequently ob-

ſcure, and few at this day being found capable of explaining it, he determined to read all inſpired works; that the word of God might furniſh a commentary on itſelf, and what is conciſely expreſſed in one book, might be elucidated by a reference to others; the abridged by the more diffuſe.

With this view, he peruſed the pentateuch, the goſpels, and the pſalms; but the unity of God was obſcurely and enigmatically expreſſed in theſe works; nor did he derive more inſtruction from the ſimple tranſlations of hired linguiſts.

He next deſired to aſcertain how it happened, that, in Hinduſtan, the unity of God is the frequent theme of diſcourſe, and that the ancient philoſophers of Hind (both thoſe who publiſhed, and thoſe who concealed their tenets) neither denied nor objected to the doctrine of the Divine unity, but, on the contrary, held it as an axiom. Unlike the ignorant race of the preſent day, who ſet up for philoſophers, though they have fallen into the tract of bloodſhed and infidelity, denying the attributes and unity of God, and contradicting the proofs of that doctrine derived from the Coran and authentic traditions: theſe may be conſidered as the banditti on the path of God.

In the courſe of this inquiry it was diſcovered, that, amongſt the Hindus, four inſpired books were held peculiarly ſacred, viz. the Rik Veda, the Jajur Veda, the Sam Veda, and the Athervana Veda, which had deſcended from the ſkies to the prophets of thoſe times, of whom Adam (purified by God) may bleſſings attend him! was the chief, containing rules and precepts; and this doctrine (viz. the unity of God) is clearly expreſſed in thoſe books.

The eſſence of thoſe works, which relate to religious rites, and meditations on the unity of God, is compriſed in the Upaniſada, which was extracted by the prophets of thoſe days, illuſtrated by copious commentaries and expoſitions, and has always been read and conſidered as an excellent epitome.

As the object of this explorer of truth (Darah Shecuh) was not the acquiſition of languages, whether Arabic, Syriac, Jraki or Sanſcrit, but the proofs of the unity of the Supreme Being, he determined that this Upaniſada, which might be conſidered as a treaſure of unitarianiſm, ſhould be tranſlated into Perſic, without adding or expunging, and without bias or partiality, but correctly and literally, that it might appear what myſteries are contained in thoſe books, which the Hindus ſo carefully conceal from Moſlems.

As the city of Benares, which is the ſeat of Hindu ſcience, was a dependency of this explorer of truth (Darah Shecuh), having aſſembled the Pandits and Saniaſſis, who are now the expounders of the Vedas and Upaniſadas, he cauſed a tranſlation

to

to be made of this Upaniſada, or myſterious ſecret, which compriſes the object of the reſearches of ſo many theologians. This was completed, in an impartial manner, in the year of the Hegira 1067, (A. D. 1656.) Every difficulty, and every ſublime doctrine which had occurred before, but could not be explained, was elucidated by this ancient compilation; which, without doubt, is the firſt of inſpired works, the fountain of truth, the ſea of unitarianiſm; not only conſentaneous with the Coran, but a commentary upon it.

It ſeems evident, that the following text of the Coran relates to this antient book, viz. "The holy ſcriptures are in that book which is concealed; which none can expound but the man of pure heart; and which was ſent from the ſkies by the Preſerver of mankind." Now, this deſcription is not applicable either to the pſalms, the pentateuch, nor the goſpel; and from the expreſſion, 'ſent from the ſkies,' it cannot apply to the Book of Fate. But the Upaniſada, the original of this book, is a very antient work; a myſterious ſecret; and comprehends all the conditions ſpecified in the holy text, which doubtleſs refers to it. From it, this adorer of God knew and underſtood what before was unknown and incomprehenſible. But, excluſive of the benefits reſulting from it to himſelf, his poſterity, and friends, let the ſearcher after truth, laying aſide his prejudices, and the pleaſures reſulting from ſenſual gratification, diſpaſſionately peruſe this tranſlation of the great arcanum as the word of God; and, if he underſtand it, he will remain free from terror and anxiety, in the perpetual practice of virtue.

Such is the preface of Dara, which we have ſelected for the amuſement of our readers, in preference to any ſingle paſſage we could have extracted from the work itſelf. The tenets of the Vedas lie diſperſed through the chapters, and are compriſed in puerile fables. But we ſhould have thought it our duty to exhibit a ſummary of theſe doctrines, had this tranſlation been made from the original, or the Perſic verſion borne ſuch marks of authenticity, as would have juſtified us in conſidering this Upaniſada as a genuine epitome of the Indian ſyſtem. It may be proper to ſtate the grounds of our doubts.

Such Perſic tranſlations of Sanſcrit works as we have had an opportunity of comparing with the originals, are frequently mutilated, and often perverted; the tranſlator ſeldom ſucceeds in giving the full meaning of his author, and never catches his ſpirit. The Moſlem doctors, whom Dara employed to tranſlate the Upaniſada, were probably actuated by a very different principle from that of affording a fair repreſentation of a ſyſtem at variance with their own; the ſubtleties of Hindu metaphyſics would probably be conſidered as beneath their attention; and the difficulty

of underſtanding their abſtruſe doctrines would add to the bias, already ſtrong, of giving an inadequate repreſentation. But, this ſuppoſition becomes ſtill ſtronger, when it is conſidered that the tranſlation was not completed till the very year in which the unfortunate Dara loſt his life; ſo that its publication was probably poſterior to the death of that Prince, and when Aurengzebe already held the uſurped reins of empire. Even the preface we have exhibited, in which the Upaniſada is obviouſly preferred to the Coran, ſeems to have been written rather with a view to render Dara unpopular amongſt his Moſlem ſubjects, than to be the genuine ſentiments of a Moſlem prince. The impolicy of publiſhing them by the ſucceſſor to the throne, affords an additional argument on this head. But let this be as it may, and notwithſtanding the aſſertions in the preface, the tranſlation has evidently been made not only with a bias, but with a determined intention of reconciling the Upaniſada with the Coran. To prove this, we have only to ſtate, that Brahma is ſaid to be Adam in one place, and in another the angel Gabriel; Viſnu is Michael; and Mahadeva, Raphael. Whether this work really conſiſts of extracts from the Vedas, or is defaced by Mahometan interpolations, is a point we do not undertake to determine: the following grounds of ſcepticiſm may, however, be ſtated. In an extract, from the Rik, or firſt Veda, the Atharvana Veda is mentioned, which it is almoſt certain is of much later date: in another, Criſna, the eighth Avatara, is mentioned, though he, if he lived at all, was contemporary with Vyaſa, who arranged and divided the Vedas into their preſent form, in a much more recent age. Theſe facts are, however, inconcluſive; for we are convinced that innumerable interpolations are now incorporated even with the antient text of the original.

We have borne a willing teſtimony to the knowledge M. Anquetil has exhibited of the Perſic language: the leſs agreeable taſk remains of proving that the intended author of a Sanſcrit dictionary, is unacquainted with the language he propoſes to explain. We ſhall not draw our proofs from the many erroneous explanations he has given of Sanſcrit terms, in which the public might balance between oppoſite authorities; but ſhow that this gentleman knows the words which occur in his text (and which are as common as any in the language), only through the medium of the Perſic character. In the Devanagari alphabet, in which all Sanſcrit books are written, the ſound of G and of K have each a diſtinct repreſentative: in Perſic they are repreſented by the ſame character. Hence, Gavalzani is become Kaplkiani; Garga, Kark; Gandharva, Kandherb; Ghian and Aghian, Kian and Akian, &c. Again, the ſhort vowels are omitted in the Perſic, though diſtinctly repreſented in the Devanagari: hence, the Rik Veda

Veda is Rak; the Jajur, Djedjr, &c. The diacritical points are often omitted: hence, Samudra, the ocean, is Samandr; Budya, knowledge, is Badia; Aditi, the ſun, is Adat; Vayu, the wind, Baïb; Varuna (the Indian Neptune) Baran, &c. Theſe examples will, we conceive, prove concluſive as to the fact we would eſtabliſh: we haſten, therefore, to quit this unpleaſant topic.

To conclude—We are of opinion, that a tranſlation of the Upaniſada, from the Sanſcrit into Engliſh, would prove a performance of ſome intereſt; but that the value of the work before us is conſiderably diminiſhed, by coming through the medium of a Perſic tranſlation. It is ſtill further reduced, by the injudicious plan adopted by the Latin tranſlator; inſomuch, that nothing leſs than the beatitude promiſed by Darah Shecuh, at the concluſion of his preface, to thoſe who ſhall read and underſtand it, could induce any one to perſevere in ſuch an attempt, through the medium of M. Antequil's verſion.

ART. XIV. *Poems:* By Mrs John Hunter. London: Printed by Benſley. 8vo. 1802.

THESE poems have ſome merit; but their beauties are not of the very higheſt order. They are chiefly remarkable for a modeſt ſimplicity, both of thought and expreſſion; and are compoſed, in general, with an unambitious plainneſs, that aims only at the natural repreſentation of moderate affection; and eſcapes the dangers of extravagance, by renouncing all pretenſion to magnificence, force, or novelty.

There is, in fact, no flow, either of words or of ſoul, in the compoſitions of this poeteſs; no exuberance of fancy, or brilliancy of diction; but a timid and conſtrained ſucceſſion of correct and obvious ſentiments, in tame and perſpicuous language. She neither riſes into grandeur, nor ſinks into graceful familiarity; and wants not only the energy that is neceſſary for great undertakings, but the facility by which little ones are performed with applauſe. Though her ſubjects are not often very arduous or extenſive, ſhe ſeems afraid to truſt herſelf into them too far: ſhe throws an unaſſured and faltering hand acroſs the lyre; and, after ſtriking a few ordinary notes, hurries forward to a concluſion, as if embarraſſed with her taſk, or fatigued with the petty exertion.

Though, in general, but little diſpoſed to venture out of the ſafe and beaten track, ſhe has been ſometimes tempted to tranſgreſs into originality. The effort, however, ſeems too violent to produce a very pleaſing effect; and it is rather ſurpriſe, than admiration, that is excited by ſuch cold and laborious extravagance. We ſhall quote only the following recipe for making a lamp to burn in the ſhrine of *Bona Fortuna*.

'It

'It ſhall be form'd of ſilent tears,
Slow dropping in the cave of care,
Through the cold gloom of ling'ring years
Congeal'd to cryſtal by deſpair.' P. 58.

The following lines, deſcribing the departure of the gloomy month of November, indicate the ſame heavy exaggeration, united to a greater degree of obſcurity and incoherence.

'Why ſudden ſtops my ſtruggling breath,
Why heaves ſo ſtrong my aching breaſt?
Hark! ſounds of horror ſweep the troubled glade!
Far on a whirlwind borne the fatal month is fled!

'I watch'd his flight, and ſaw him bear
To Saturn's orb the ſullen band;
Where Winter chills the ling'ring year,
And gloom eternal ſhades the land.
On a lone rock, far in a ſtormy main,
In cheerleſs priſon pent, I heard the ghoſts complain.' P. 4.

Whenever any of Mrs Hunter's poems, indeed, exceed twenty lines, we commonly find the compoſition extremely disjointed and abrupt. *La Douce Chimere* is the affected title prefixed to a very indifferent ode to Fancy, in which the following lines, though a little fantaſtic, ſhine out among the rubbiſh of the remainder.

'Thy art can on the moon's beam ſend
The heart's warm wiſh from friend to friend,
Through air and ocean's waſte.
And on ſome bright unchanging ſtar,
Though abſent long, and diſtant far,
Remembrance may be plac'd.

'Tis happineſs to dwell with thee;
Whate'er we think, whate'er we ſee,
Glows with a brighter dye;
All nature wears a lively green,
The heav'ns expand a blue ſerene,
And man forgets to ſigh.' P. 10. 11.

In ſome lines to the memory of Chatterton, we find nothing ſo remarkable, as the tremendous Alexandrines that cloſe the two following couplets:

'Rapid as thought aroſe the glowing ſcene,
Till poverty, deſpair, and death, ruſh'd in between.'

And,

'Thy name ſhall live on time's recording page,
The wonder and reproach of an enlighten'd age.' P. 22.

Next,

Next come five or ſix birth-day odes to the fair writer's ſon, which have more of affection and good ſenſe in them, than of poetry or inſpiration. They contain ſome ſtanzas, however, that are very pleaſingly written. They are followed by a ſhort poem 'to her daughter, on being ſeparated from her on her marriage,' of which the following lines are amiable and elegant.

'Yet will it be, as when the paſt
Twin'd every joy, and care, and thought,
And o'er our minds one mantle caſt
Of kind affections finely wrought?
Ah no! the groundleſs hope were vain,
For ſo we ne'er can meet again!

'May he who claims thy tender heart
Deſerve its love, as I have done!
For, kind and gentle as thou art,
If ſo belov'd, thou'rt fairly won.
Bright may the ſacred torch remain,
And cheer thee till we meet again!' P. 33. 34.

'Cariſbrook Caſtle' is the longeſt performance in the volume; but we cannot give it much praiſe. It begins with an invocation to 'the queen of inventive thought,' to 'lend her lightly quivering beams;' and proceeds on the old melancholy ſyſtem of rouſing one of the old inhabitants of the edifice from his grave, to frown and make ſpeeches among its ruins at midnight. The antient legend of Cariſbrook unfortunately contains but a few obſcure incidents; and Mrs Hunter, in ſpite of her invocation, does not help out their ſcantineſs by any act of invention. King Charles, of courſe, is the principal figure; but he is very ill drawn; and, though plentifully bepraiſed and bewailed, excites ſcarcely any intereſt in the reader. What, indeed, can be done with ſuch a ſtanza as the following?

'Why did'ſt thou ſeek this luckleſs ſtrand,
Where for thy life the toils were ſpread?
Hypocriſy rul'd o'er the land,
Good faith and gratitude were fled;
Yet ſtill a loyal few remain'd,
Whoſe hearts allegiance true maintain'd:
But fate forbade their hope to ſave,
And led thee through a maze of ſorrow to the grave.' P. 45.

The poem concludes with this moſt lamentable quartain—

'Sure daſtard fear muſt have ſuppreſt
The groan which heav'd a nation's breaſt:
'Tis ours in happier times to prove
The monarch's ſafety in his people's love.' P. 48.

It would be invidious to quote any more of this lady's Alexandrines; but we would be glad to know what ſhe means by 'the pure *endleſs* univerſal mind;' or how ſhe propoſes to extricate the conſtruction of the following ſtanza.

'See from its centre bends the rifted tower,
Threat'ning the lowly vale with frowning pride,
O'er the ſcar'd flocks that ſeek its ſhelt'ring ſide,
A fearful ruin o'er their heads to pour.' P. 65.

The 'Songs and Ballads,' many of which have been for ſome time familiar to the lovers of muſic, appear to us by far the moſt valuable part of the publication. They are by no means, however, without great faults. 'The Wandering Lady,' whoſe ſong is ſaid to be founded on a true ſtory (though it contains no ſtory at all) addreſſes her whole ditty to her *ſheep*, like any ſhepherdeſs of romance.

'My ſheep, *companions kind and true,*
Yes, I can feel a pang for you.' &c. P. 77.

We had really imagined that this ſenſeleſs jargon was out of faſhion even with our ſweet ſingers. Throughout the ſongs, we meet with too many of the feeble expletives of our common ballads. One loving damſel inſiſts upon following her ſwain abroad,

'On all his wandering ſteps to wait,
And give the comfort *in her pow'r.*'

This, however, ſeems to be a favourite phraſe; for we find it again. Another damſel complains—

'This anxious aching boſom finds
No comfort in its power.'

Another enters into a hall, full

'Of lords, and knights, and ladies fair,
Who *ſilent all remain.*'

Theſe lines have not much meaning. There are others, however, that are altogether unintelligible: as,

'Where the green ivy twining,
Binds round the burn's brow.'

Or,

'Plunge them in ſeas of melted ore,
Crown them with poniards dip'd in gore.'

The beſt ſongs in the book are thoſe that are beſt known; though there are ſeveral which we do not remember to have met with before, that poſſeſs very conſiderable merit. We inſert the following:

'Time

'Time may ambition's neſt deſtroy,
Though on a rock 'tis perch'd ſo high,
May find dull av'rice in his cave,
And drag to light the ſordid ſlave;
But from affection's temper'd chain
To free the heart he ſtrives in vain.

'The ſculptur'd urn, the marble buſt,
By time are crumbled with the duſt;
But tender thoughts the muſe has twin'd
For love, for friendſhip's brow deſign'd,
Shall ſtill endure, ſhall ſtill delight,
Till time is loſt in endleſs night.' P. 66.

The following ſtanzas ſeem to have been compoſed in imitation of our older ſong-writers.

'Far, far from me my love is fled,
In a light ſkiff he tempts the ſea,
The young deſires his ſails have ſpread,
And hope his pilot deigns to be.

'The promis'd land of varied joy,
Which ſo delights his fickle mind,
In waking dreams his days employ,
While I, poor I, ſing to the wind.

'But young deſires grow old and die,
And hope no more the helm may ſteer;
Beneath a dark and ſtormy ſky
Shall fall the late repentant tear.' P. 98-99.

There is not much meaning in the ſucceeding lines; but they are rather pretty.

'O tuneful voice, I ſtill deplore
Thoſe accents, which, though heard no more,
Still vibrate on my heart;
In echo's cave I long to dwell,
And ſtill would hear the ſad farewell,
When we were doom'd to part.

'Bright eyes, O that the taſk were mine,
To guard the liquid fires that ſhine,
And round your orbits play;
To watch them with a veſtal's care,
And feed with ſmiles a light ſo fair,
That it may ne'er decay.' P. 103.

Thoſe lines, alſo, are not without ſpirit—

'Ah, to forget! the wiſh were vain!
Our ſouls were form'd thus fond to be;

No

No more I'll murmur and complain,
For thou, my love, wilt think on me.

'Silent and ſad, I take my way,
As fortune deigns my bark to ſteer;
Of hope a faint and diſtant ray
Our far divided days ſhall cheer.

Ah! to return, to meet again!
Dear bliſsful thought! with love and thee!
No more I murmur and complain,
For thou, my love, wilt think on me.' P. 96.

Upon the whole, we are of opinion that this volume will ſcarcely carry down the name of its author to a very diſtant generation. The greater part of the pieces it contains may be ſaid to be very decently written: but they are extremely deficient in fire and animation; and are neither calculated to move by their pathos, nor to enchant by their beauty. Mrs Hunter appears, from her book, to be a very amiable and accompliſhed woman: but poetry really does not ſeem to be her vocation; and rather appears to have been ſtudied as an accompliſhment, than purſued from any natural propenſity. Her verſes are ſuch as we might expect from half of our well-educated ladies, if poetry were to be taught, like muſic or painting, in the ordinary courſe of female inſtruction, and odes and elegies exacted at the boarding ſchool with as much rigour as concertos and pieces in crayons.

ART. XV. *Obſervations on the two lately diſcovered Celeſtial Bodies.* By William Herſchell, L.L.D. F.R.S. From Phil. Tranſ. 1802.

OUR aſtronomical readers are acquainted with the intereſting diſcoveries which have, within the ſpace of a few months, introduced to our acquaintance two new celeſtial bodies; the one named *Ceres*, by its diſcoverer Piazzi; the other called *Pallas*, by its diſcoverer Olbers. Our own indefatigable aſtronomer Dr Herſchell, who has himſelf, by his numerous and accurate obſervations, ſo far extended the bounds of human knowledge, appears to have directed his attention, without loſs of time, to the new and intereſting field of obſervation opened to him by his brethren on the Continent. The reſults of his firſt inquiries were, as might be expected, extremely intereſting. He found that the magnitude of theſe ſuppoſed planets, or, as he calls them, moving ſtars, was much inferior to that of the other primary planets, or even of their ſatellites. Thus he found that Ceres has a diameter only three eighths the diameter of

of the moon. In the preſent paper, beſides extending the ſame obſervation, and the ſame concluſions to Pallas alſo, this excellent aſtronomer has given us a ſet of new and accurate obſervations, tending to eſtabliſh ſome very ſingular and intereſting facts. We hold it to be a duty indiſpenſably incumbent on us to preſent our readers with a ſketch of this very valuable paper.

The firſt remarkable circumſtance that ſtrikes us in all the obſervations, is the great difference between the real magnitudes and the lucid diſks. By one meaſurement with the moſt delicate micrometer, expreſsly adapted for the purpoſe of ſuch experiments, the real diameter of Ceres was found to be only three fourths of the lucid diſk; and that of Pallas only two thirds. The angle which the former ſubtends, was found to be only $0''.38$.; that of the latter no more than $0''.13$. He calculates by a rough eſtimate, that the diameter of Ceres is only 161.6 miles, and that the diameter of Pallas is no more than $110\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

From the very ſmall quantity of matter which theſe bodies contain, we cannot expect that they can have any ſatellites: accordingly various obſervations concurred to convince Dr Herſchell that this is conſiſtent with truth. He alſo determined that Ceres has a viſible diſk, but that Pallas cannot be diſcovered to have any. The laſt ſet of obſervations are extremely important for aſcertaining the preciſe nature of the two new bodies. By them it is aſcertained, that both the ſtars have at all times a ſmall coma or hazineſs, which grows denſer near the nucleus.

Our author next proceeds to make his obſervations upon the reſults of theſe inquiries. He begins by defining planets to be celeſtial bodies of a conſiderable ſize and ſmall eccentricity of orbit, moving in planes not very different from that of the earth, in direct curves, at conſiderable diſtances from each other, with no atmoſpheres that bear any proportion to their diameters, and of bulk ſufficient to retain ſatellites in their orbits. It is evident that, with this definition, the new ſtars but ill agree. Our author then defines comets to be very ſmall celeſtial bodies, moving in directions wholly undetermined, and in moſt eccentric orbits, ſituated in every variety of poſition, and having very extenſive atmoſpheres. Although the definition agrees in moſt particulars with the circumſtances of the new ſtars, it differs in that of the atmoſphere, which, in the comets, is at the very leaſt a hundred times greater than the diameter of the nucleus, and in the new ſtars is only a few times greater. Dr Herſchell therefore maintains, that theſe bodies are neither referable to the claſs of comets nor planets, but he gives them the name of Aſteroids, which he thus defines:

'Aſteroids are celeſtial bodies, which move in orbits either of little or of conſiderable eccentricity, round the ſun, the plane of which may be inclined

inclined to the ecliptic in any angle whatſoever. Their motion may be direct or retrograde, and they may or may not have conſiderable atmoſpheres, very ſmall comas, diſks, or nuclei.' P. 229.

Having thus followed the Doctor through his very intereſting ſpeculations, we muſt now proceed to the more invidious, but equally neceſſary part of our office, and offer a few remarks upon the Doctor's theory; premiſing, that we rely with the moſt implicit confidence on the accuracy of his obſervations, from long experience of his great ſkill, patience, and fidelity, and from our knowledge of the unrivalled excellence of his inſtruments. It is to his concluſions alone that we object; and, with all poſſible deference, we hold ourſelves as well qualified to judge of the truth of theſe, as if we had ourſelves made or verified the obſervations upon which they are founded.

And, firſt, we muſt poſitively object to the unneceſſary introduction of new terms into Philoſophy. The ſcience of Aſtronomy is, beyond any other branch of the mixed mathematics, loaded with an obſcure and difficult technology. As all nations have been obſervers of the heavenly bodies, ſo all languages have contributed to form the nomenclature of the aſtronomer. Not only are the ſame bodies indifferently known by a variety of names, but, ſo defective is the phraſeology, that no one liſt can be given in two or three languages, or according to two or three ſyſtems of mythology. To a perſon who had reſided in ancient Italy and Greece, on the banks of the Nile, of the Ganges and Euphrates, in modern Europe, and amongſt the Gothic nations, the aſtronomical technology might be natural and ſimple, as it is compoſed of all the languages ſpoken, all the mythologies received, and many of the court kalendars publiſhed in theſe various countries and diſtant ages. Knowing, as we do, the great power of words in miſleading and perplexing our ideas, we cannot allow the unneceſſary introduction of a new term to eſcape unnoticed. Where a new object has been diſcovered, we cheerfully admit the right of the diſcoverer to give it a new name; but we will not allow a needleſs multiplication of terms, or an unneceſſary alteration in the old claſſification of things, to be either juſtifiable or harmleſs, a ſubſtitute for real diſcovery, or a means of facilitating the progreſs of inventions. It remains, therefore, to inquire, whether the circumſtances of Ceres, or of Pallas, diſtinguiſh them from the bodies formerly known?

We cannot admit the difference of magnitude to be of any importance, while the largeſt and the ſmalleſt planets, Jupiter and Mercury for inſtance,—the largeſt and ſmalleſt ſatellites,—the largeſt and ſmalleſt comets, between which the difference of magnitude is ſtill more remarkable,—while all theſe bodies are ſeveral-

ly

ly arranged under the ſame claſſes, from conſiderations wholly independent of their ſize, it is but a clumſy and cumberſome invention to arrange a new body under a ſeparate claſs, from the mere difference of its bulk. The ſame remark applies, though certainly with diminiſhed force, to the other criterion aſſumed by the Doctor, the difference in the poſition of the planes of motion; and, moſt unqueſtionably, the mere circumſtance of wanting ſatellites is no diſtinguiſhing mark, while ſo many of the acknowledged planets have none; nor, indeed, is it by any means certain that, as the Doctor ſeems to think, the maſs of matter in the new planets is inſufficient to retain ſecondary bodies in their orbits. The proportion of their diſtances from the centre of the ſyſtem, or their proximity to each other, is evidently no better criterion.

In ſhort, if it ſhall be admitted that comets move in eliplſes; that the chief difference between thoſe bodies and planets conſiſts in the greater eccentricity of the cometic orbits, in the perceptible atmoſphere which accompanies them, and in the ſtate of ignition which we have every reaſon to believe is the cauſe of that atmoſphere; the more philoſophical view of the ſubject would certainly be, to conſider both planets and comets as bodies of the ſame nature, forming different parts of one great ſyſtem. Indeed, Dr Herſchell himſelf admits the probability of the comets cooling in the proceſs of time; and their atmoſphere diminiſhing, ſo as to reduce them to the ſtate of planets in every thing but their magnitude and eccentricity; and he applies the ſame remark to the caſe of the new bodies. Such an obſervation is obviouſly deſtructive of the principle of arrangement for which he contends. But whatever may be our opinion upon this ſubject, or however much we may be diſpoſed to admit the propriety of diſtinguiſhing comets from planets, in the preſent ſtate of our knowledge, the grand circumſtance of concentricity is evidently ſufficient to authoriſe a claſſification of the new bodies under the head of planets; and the diſcovery of them is chiefly valuable on account of their coincidence, in certain particulars, with the nature of comets, and their differing from thoſe bodies in the extent of their atmoſpheres, probably in decreaſed ignition. If it ſhall be found demonſtrated, that the cometary orbits are elliptical, and not parabolic, theſe new planets will form a ſort of link in the ſyſtem, in conſequence of an intermediate ſtep between the greater and the ſmaller, the concentric and eccentric heavenly bodies. In the mean time, we muſt enter our proteſt to the formation of a ſeparate claſs, diſtinguiſhed by a new and uncouth name.

Such being our opinion, it is of much leſs conſequence to inquire, whether the new name of *Aſteriod* is the moſt appropriate that could be imagined. To us, that name preſents the

idea of ſome body reſembling fixed ſtars; whereas the two new planets have no one circumſtance in common with thoſe diſtant bodies. If a new name muſt be found, why not call them by ſome appellation which ſhall, in ſome degree, be deſcriptive of, or at leaſt conſiſtent with their properties? Why not, for inſtance, call them *Concentric Comets*, or *Planetary Comets*, or *Cometary Planets?* or, if a ſingle term muſt be found, why may we not coin ſuch a phraſe as *Planetoid* or *Cometoid*.

Dr Herſchell's paſſion for coining words and idioms has often ſtruck us as a weakneſs wholly unworthy of him. The invention of a name is but a poor achievement in him who has diſcovered whole worlds. Why, for inſtance, do we hear him talking, in page 220 of this volume, of the *ſpace-penetrating power* of his inſtrument—a compound epithet and metaphor which he ought to have left to the poets, who, in ſome future age, ſhall acquire glory by celebrating his name? The greateſt diſcoverers have ſcarcely ever immortalized their deeds by efforts of nomenclature. Columbus, Cabral, Gama, and Cook, left the honour of being attached to the regions which they had penetrated, to the impoſtors who ſucceeded them, or the princes and ſaints whom they ſerved.

The other papers of Dr Herſchell, in the late volumes of the tranſactions, do not deſerve ſuch particular attention. His catalogue of 500 new nebulæ, which concludes this volume, though extremely valuable to the practical aſtronomer, leads to no general concluſions of importance, and abounds with the defects which are peculiar to the Doctor's writings—a great prolixity and tediouſneſs of narration—looſe, and often unphiloſophical reflections, which give no very favourable idea of his ſcientific powers, however great his merit may be as an obſerver—above all, that idle fondneſs for inventing names, without any manner of occaſion, to which we have already alluded, and a uſe of novel and affected idioms. Thus, he begins by telling us about his *teleſcopic ſweeps;* he then ſpeaks of the *natural hiſtory* of the heavens; he then prelects upon the *conſtruction of the heavens*, an expreſſion by which he indeed means nothing more than the arrangement of the fixed ſtars; but which is immediately founded upon the vulgar notion of the ſky being a blue vault, and tends to ſupport that idea. We do not object to the needleſs phraſes of *binary ſiderial ſyſtems*, of *inſulated ſtars*, of *quintuple* and *multiple ſtars*, of *erratic orbits*, *cluſtering ſtars*, *multiple flexures*, *empty centres*, *ſtellar nebulæ*, *milky nebuloſity*, *lacteous chevelure;*—theſe terms, though uſeleſs, clumſy, and confuſing, are nevertheleſs ſufficiently conſiſtent and etymological. But what ſhall we ſay of ſuch a phraſe as a *ſtraight-line orbit?* Does not this ſet all etymology

mology and conſiſtency at defiance? Upon this ſubject, we ſhall not further enlarge: but Dr Herſchell muſt excuſe any of his readers, who ſhall either ſhut his book in diſguſt, when he heaps ſo many uſeleſs difficulties in their way, or ſhall fail to comprehend his meaning, when he thus carefully obſcures it, by unintelligible and undefined terms.

To the ſpeculations of the Doctor on the nature of the ſun, contained in the laſt volume, we have many ſimilar objections; but they are all eclipſed by the grand abſurdity which he has there committed, in his haſty and erroneous theory concerning the influence of the ſolar ſpots on the price of grain. Since the publication of Gulliver's voyage to Laputa, nothing ſo ridiculous has ever been offered to the world. We heartily wiſh the Doctor had ſuppreſſed it; or, if determined to publiſh it, that he had detailed it in language leſs confident and flippant.

ART. XVI. *Principes d'Economie Politique, ouvrage couronné par L'Inſtitut National, dans ſa Séance du 15 Nivoſe, an IX, et depuis revu, corrigé et augmenté par l'Auteur.* Par N. F. Canard, Ancien Profeſſeur de Mathématiques à l'Ecole Centrale de Moulins. Paris. 1801. 8vo.

IN the year 1800, the National Inſtitute of France propoſed the following queſtion, as a ſubject of prize eſſays, '*Is it true, that, in an agricultural country, taxes of every deſcription fall ultimately on the proprietors of land?*' The problem is highly important, but of very difficult ſolution. It has attracted the attention of economical authors, both in England and upon the Continent, for more than a century; though, prior to the ſpeculations of Queſnai, it can hardly be ſaid to have ever been ſtated in a very ſtrict form. Since the firſt publication of that philoſopher's diſcoveries, his famous project of a territorial tax has been the ſubject of much reaſoning among French writers; whoſe topics, on both ſides, were ſo plauſible, that the argument was not yet brought to a cloſe, when the diſtractions of the Revolution ſuſpended for a while the calm diſcuſſions of philoſophy. It is pleaſing to obſerve, after the tempeſt has ſubſided, that the minds of men ſpring back to the ſame difficulties which formerly provoked their emulation, and exerciſed their ingenuity. Amidſt, indeed, that undiſtinguiſhing reprobation of the paſt, which in the feelings of the populace has very naturally ſucceeded to fanaticiſm and terror, the economiſts are confounded with the Jacobins and Anarchiſts; the enlightened advocates of regulated freedom have been claſſed with the moſt criminal diſturbers of ſocial peace. But though the name of

thoſe virtuous ſages is for a while ſubjected to unjuſt calumny, and though their excellent writings may be laid aſide or prohibited, the impulſe which they gave to the public mind ſtill remains in force. The important queſtions which they ſtarted, again occur for inveſtigation. The reforms of adminiſtration, which they recommended, force themſelves upon the memory of thoſe who have witneſſed a change of dynaſty, rather than of ſyſtem. Even thoſe proſpects of political improvement, which flattered the benevolent anticipations of the œconomiſts, will ſoon be recogniſed as ſound concluſions of ſcience; and it will at length be acknowledged, that Turgot, and Mirabeau, and Queſnai, were the friends of mankind, and that their genius and their labours were devoted to the refinement of ſocial happineſs, and the conſolidation of the political fabric.

The prize of the National Inſtitute was adjudged to M. Canard for a Memoir, which, by ſubſequent alterations, he has formed into the preſent work. It certainly does not preſent a ſatisfactory ſolution of the queſtion propoſed, nor even, in our opinion, an approximation to it; on the contrary, we are inclined to ſuſpect, that the view which he has taken of the ſubject is in many reſpects erroneous. His Eſſay, however, is written with conſiderable ability. From ſome of the following criticiſms, it will probably appear, that he has added nothing to our knowledge of political economy, and that the ſtyle and form which he has adopted are not very well calculated either to illuſtrate or to diffuſe truths already aſcertained. At the ſame time, the work will be read with pleaſure by thoſe, who, being already maſters of the ſubject, can be gratified with the variety of aſpects under which it may be conſidered, as well as with the comparative ſtate of their favourite ſcience among the learned of different countries.

In conducting his inveſtigation of the problem propoſed by the Inſtitute, the author found himſelf obliged to recur to ſome of the fundamental principles in the theory of political economy. The truth is, that the equable diffuſion, or excluſive incidence of taxes, cannot be aſcertained by any direct induction of particular facts; but muſt be obtained ſynthetically, after a juſt analyſis, both of price, and of the order according to which the annual produce is diſtributed among the people. M. Canard has therefore given his Eſſay a more general title than belongs to the queſtion which firſt ſuggeſted it; and he appears, by this title, to have been tempted to introduce ſeveral chapters which have no relation to the principal object of inquiry.

In the *firſt* chapter, the author gives an explanation of fundamental principles; or rather of the ſenſe in which he employs certain terms: for they are ſtated more in the manner of definitions

tions that are assumed, than of truths to which we are conducted by analysis. He begins with illustrating a distinction between necessary and superfluous labour: by the former, he means that of which the produce is indispensably necessary to the existence and preservation of man, as well as to the continuance or replacement of stock: by the latter, he means that portion which ministers to our superfluous accommodations, and of which the produce, if not consumed in superfluous enjoyment, goes to augment the quantity of accumulated stock. He afterwards proceeds to this position, that every thing which has exchangeable value derives its price from the several quantities of labour that have successively been employed upon it. As different forms of the same proposition, he assumes, that all property consists in so much accumulated labour; and that the exchangeable value of every portion of property consists in the labour which it will purchase or command. What other writers, accordingly, have called accumulated stock or capital, he denominates *travail exigible;* and as every addition to this accumulated stock is derived from the produce of what he has styled superfluous labour, he introduces another epithet into this phrase, denominating accumulated stock *travail superflu exigible.* Proceeding in the application of these terms, he asserts, that all wealth, property, and riches, consist only of *travail superflu exigible;* and that necessary labour, being absorbed either in necessary consumption, or in the replacement of capital, can never form a part of the actual mass of riches. In the same style, he lays it down as a principle, that it is the accumulation of unconsumed superfluous labour, which creates all the sources of revenue; from which it follows, that all revenue consists in the profit of this accumulated stock.

In all this, M. Canard appears to us to display very little sagacity. He has, without any necessity, affected to change the established forms of expression; and has confounded principles which are very carefully distinguished in the works from which he evidently derived his information. In asserting that exchangeable value consists of labour stored up, he appears to have preferred the errors of our English writers to the accurate and precise notions of exchangeable value which he might have found in various excellent works, published in his own language; particularly those of M. Turgot and of the Abbé Morellet. But we shall, in another part of this article, enter into a more detailed explanation of the fallacies involved in this supposition. It appears quite a puerile mistake to say, that accumulated stock alone is wealth; and that the produce, reserved for immediate consumption, forms no portion of the mass of riches. Surely, it is the capability of being consumed, that renders any produce a part of

wealth; and if it were neceſſary to make a diſtinction, in this reſpect, between ſtock already in conſumption, and ſtock accumulated into capital, it would be more natural and more juſt to ſay, that the latter indirectly aids the production of riches, while the former itſelf is wealth. It ſuggeſts alſo a very imperfect view of the ſubject to ſay, that accumulated wealth is the *ſource* of all revenue. It is unqueſtionably a neceſſary condition for the reproduction of revenue; but it is only one of ſeveral conditions, all of which are neceſſary. In the theory of national wealth, the natural fertility of the ſoil, the natural powers of human labour, and the accumulation of capital for the requiſite advances, are all of them conditions of which the exiſtence is indiſpenſable to reproduction. It gives but a partial view of the actual arrangements of nature, to fix upon any one of them, ſingly, as the ſource of revenue: yet ſuch is the propenſity of ſpeculative men to ſimplify, that each of the three conditions has been ſeparated from the reſt for that purpoſe. The economiſts ſelected the firſt; ſome other French writers, who have not riſen to ſuch reputation, inſiſt upon the ſecond; and M. Canard, with leſs plauſibility than either, has affirmed that the ſource of revenue is accumulated ſtock. It was an unavoidable corollary from that propoſition, to infer, as he has done, that all revenue conſiſts in the profit of ſtock. But he loſes, in this manner, the advantages of that very uſeful and accurate claſſification, which diſtinguiſhes revenue, according to the three great orders of the people among whom it is diſtributed, into rent, profit, and wages.

The *ſecond* chapter, on *Money*, is a very trivial one. It contains nothing but what the author might have aſſumed as familiar to all his readers. The work is certainly not ſuited to thoſe to whom the ſubject is entirely new. But this chapter does not even enumerate one half of the propoſitions, with regard to money, which may now be conſidered as perfectly well aſcertained.

The ſubject of the *third* chapter is the *determination of the price of commodities*. It opens with a very formal and diſtinct enunciation of the principle, which we have already noticed in our account of the firſt, and which aſſigns the quantity of labour employed on a commodity, as the eſſential conſtituent and meaſure of its exchangeable value. This notion, which is certainly incorrect, is far from being peculiar to M. Canard: it is much employed in the treatiſe of Smith on the Wealth of Nations, and has the effect of involving, in very great obſcurity, all the obſervations which that profound author has delivered on the analyſis of price. An ingenious and very learned economiſt * appears to have ſuppoſed,

* Plan for altering the manner of collecting a large portion of the public revenue, &c. By the Earl of Lauderdale.

poſed, that this principle originated with Mr Rice Vaughan, whoſe excellent diſcourſe on Coinage was compoſed during the reign of Charles I.; but it may be found in writers of a much earlier date, and, to omit the intermediate authorities, is expreſsly ſtated and illuſtrated in a paſſage of Ariſtotle's Ethics *. There is, indeed, no neceſſity of ſuppoſing, that any one of theſe writers borrowed the idea from his predeceſſors: it is one of thoſe errors which are obviouſly ſuggeſted by our uncorrected notions of natural equity. As it has been admitted, without ſuſpicion, into ſome ſyſtematical works which deſervedly poſſeſs a high reputation, and ſtill continues to infect the reaſonings of many politicians, our readers, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed that we take this opportunity of explaining our reaſons for rejecting it. It is proper that we ſhould tranſcribe M. Canard's ſtatement in his own language.

'Il s'agit maintenant de déterminer ce qui fixe le prix de ce qui a de la valeur parmi les hommes. D'abord, le prix n'eſt autre choſe que le rapport de valeur d'une choſe à une autre; et comme on compare tout à la valeur de l'or ou de l'argent, le prix eſt le rapport de la valeur de chaque choſe à celle d'une quantité déterminée de l'un ou de l'autre de ces métaux. Or, maintenant, quelle eſt la cauſe que peuvent déterminer ces différens rapports; ou, ce qui revient au même, quel eſt le principe qui aſſigne à chaque choſe ſa valeur? Il eſt certain d'abord que, puiſque tout ce qui a du prix eſt le réſultat du travail, la valeur d'un objet quelconque doit être en raiſon du travail qu'il a coûté. Il eſt certain, en ſecond lieu, que, ſi tous les hommes étaient bornés aux beſoins abſolus de leur conſervation, ſi tout leur travail était naturel, et qu'il ne différât que par le temps, ce ſerait la durée ſeule du travail qui en meſurerait la valeur: ainſi les jours et les heures ſeraient les unités et les fractions d'unités nominales qui détermineraient les valeurs de toutes choſes. C'eſt probablement à de ſemblables diviſions de temps que doivent leur première origine les unités nominales adoptées chez les différens peuples, telles que le franc, la livre ſterling, le florin, etc. Mais les différentes eſpèces de travail appris préſentent une ſi grande variété dans la valeur du travail, que le temps ne peut lui ſervir de meſure.' P. 26. 27.

When labour is ſaid to be a meaſure of exchangeable value, there are two ſenſes in which this propoſition may be underſtood; two ways in which the labour, that is to form this meaſure, may be eſtimated. The exchangeable value of a commodity may be either meaſured by the quantity of labour that had been employed in its own production, or by the labour that had been employed on the commodity for which it is exchanged. According to the doctrine which we are about to examine, theſe two quantities of labour muſt have been equal. Thoſe authors, accordingly,

* Ethic. Nichom. V. c. 8. Edit. Duval.

accordingly, who urge this doctrine moſt confidently, uſe, as their meaſure of value, ſometimes the one quantity, and ſometimes the other. That the value or price of an article depends on the labour that has been employed in producing it, and that the value or price of an article conſiſts in the labour which it will purchaſe or command, are ſtated by them as the ſame propoſition in two forms.

Though it were true, in point of fact, that what is given in exchange for a commodity is juſt ſo much labour as was employed in producing the other commodity for which it is exchanged, it would be a nugatory inference, that that labour meaſures the exchangeable value of the firſt commodity. The concluſion would reach no farther than this, that, in the exchange of two ſubjects, each meaſures the exchangeable value of the other; or that the exchangeable value of a certain quantity of any one article, may be meaſured by the quantity of another for which it is actually exchanged. But, in point of fact, it is not true, that the thing purchaſed in every bargain is merely ſo much labour; for the value of the raw material, on which that has been employed, can neither, to uſe the language of mathematicians, be rejected as nothing, nor eſtimated as a conſtant quantity. The value of raw materials, like that of manufactured articles, and of labour itſelf, varies with the proportion of ſupply and demand. In ſome manufactures, indeed, the price of the raw material is, in proportion to the labour employed, almoſt infinitely ſmall: for example, the value of the flax in a pair of lace ruffles, that of the kelp and ſand in a veſſel of cut glaſs, that of the iron and charcoal in a ſteel watch-ſpring. But, in all theſe inſtances, the ſupply of the raw material is abundant. There are other manufactures, in which the value of the raw material is, in proportion to that of the labour employed, by no means ſo ſmall. In a ſhaul of Caſhmere, for example, the value of the wool, which is of a very rare kind, greatly exceeds the value of all the labour beſtowed in weaving and embroidering it. In the price of a diamond, the whole value of the labour employed by the miner, the lapidary, and the jeweller, may be conſidered as almoſt infinitely ſmall in compariſon of the value of that labour, if we may uſe the expreſſion, which nature has beſtowed in effecting ſuch a beautiful and rare cryſtallization of one of her moſt ordinary ſubſtances.

It is equally incorrect to ſay, that the exchangeable value of a commodity may be meaſured, or is determined, by the labour that has been employed in its production. That the wages of the whole labour, employed in production or in manufacture, form a component part of price, is an undeniable principle; in other words, that the quantity of the commodity bought muſt

be

be adequate to replace, by a circuit of other exchanges, the whole commodities advanced or conſumed in the manufacture of the commodity ſold. But the proper mode of introducing this principle into the theory of exchangeable value, is, not to ſtate the value of labour as conſtituting the whole price, or forming an adequate meaſure of it, but to view it as a condition which limits the eventual ſupply of each commodity. If the whole quantity of commodities, advanced or conſumed in the production of an article, be not replaced by its exchangeable value in the market, the ſupply of that particular commodity will certainly be ſo far leſſened, until, by the influence of this diminution upon its value, that replacement is complete. But, in the actual exchange of any one commodity for any other, no regard is paid to the quantity of labour employed in producing either; the quantities, reciprocally exchanged, are proportioned by the competition between the ſupply and demand of both. Theſe are ſubject to continual fluctuation. If of two commodities, the demand of the one is increaſing at a particular time while the ſupply remains unaugmented, and the demand of the other is diminiſhing while the ſupply remains undiminiſhed, it is manifeſt, that, at that particular time, the reſpective quantities of the two commodities exchanged for each other may have coſt, in their production, very unequal quantities of labour. Quantities of labour, it is probable, very nearly equal, are expended, in order to ſend to the London market the fineſt black and the fineſt blue cloths. But a ſudden death in the royal family will raiſe the price of black cloth to the height of twice or thrice that of blue; one yard of the former will be conſidered as exchanging for two or three yards of the latter; that is, in the language of which we diſpute the propriety, a certain quantity of labour is given on the one ſide, for twice or thrice that quantity of labour on the other.

It is evident, that all the errors on which we have animadverted, originate in an imperfect view of the real nature of exchangeable value, and of the principle by which it is at all times regulated. We ſhall, therefore, take this opportunity of ſtating and explaining its definition.

The value of any commodity is the aſſignable quantity of any other commodity, for which an aſſigned quantity of the former may be exchanged. In this reſpect, every commodity may be conſidered as exchangeable for every other; and what we call the value of any one may be expreſſed by aſſigning a quantity of any other. Under the name of commodities, in this general definition, we comprehend not only rude produce and manufactured articles of every kind, but money, likewiſe, or the coined metals of every denomination, and labours of every deſcription.

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The reciprocal value of any two commodities, that is, the reſpective portions of each, which are exchanged for one another, is determined in every inſtance of exchange by competition; or by the proportion between the ſupply and the demand of each of the two commodities. The exchangeable value, therefore, of any two commodities is liable to vary with the variation of four circumſtances, and will depend upon the reſult of the combined variations of all. Theſe four circumſtances are, the demand and the ſupply of the one commodity, and the demand and ſupply of the other. Whoever attempts to aſcertain the variation of prices from one age to another, muſt, with reſpect to every two commodities compared together, take into conſideration all of theſe four circumſtances. There can be no doubt, that the exchangeable value of labour, that is, the quantity of corn or of cloth, for example, which is given in exchange for a certain quantity of labour, is regulated at all times by the reſult of the ſame four circumſtances: the ſupply of that particular ſpecies of labour which is in queſtion, the demand for that particular labour; the ſupply of the particular kind of grain or cloth in queſtion, and the demand for that grain, or that cloth. All of theſe circumſtances ſeverally affect the reciprocal value of any one kind of labour as exchanged for any one kind of grain, or for any one kind of cloth. Let us take, for an example, the labour of a common ploughman, and eſtimate the exchangeable value of that quantity, which is underſtood to be included in a day's work, in terms of one particular ſpecies of grain, ſuch as oats. It is evident that the quantity of oats, given in exchange for a day's labour at the plough, will become greater; if there is either a diminiſhed ſupply of ploughmen, or an increaſed demand for them; or an increaſed ſupply of oats, or a diminiſhed demand for that ſort of grain. On the other hand, the quantity of oats, given in exchange for a day's labour at the plough, will become leſs, if there is either an increaſed ſupply of ploughmen, or a diminiſhed demand for them; or a diminiſhed ſupply of oats, or an increaſed demand for that ſort of grain. In each of theſe ſingle changes, while the three other circumſtances remain permanent, the change of relative price will take place as already deſcribed. But two, or more, or all, of the four circumſtances may be fluctuating at one time; and the final reſult of value will depend upon the degree in which the ſeveral variations co-operate, or counteract the effect of each other.

Though M. Canard has adopted, in its moſt unqualified form, the error which we have thus endeavoured to expoſe, it has not led him to any falſe concluſions in his account of the manner in which prices are determined. He appears to have contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing it abſolutely, as an important and fundamental

damental truth in political economy; and with an inconſiſtency, of which he ſeems unaware, proceeds to derive from the principle of mutual competition the various concluſions which he has arranged, in this fifth chapter, on the ſubject of prices. It may be inferred, from the details into which we have found it neceſſary to enter, that he has not ſtated that principle in the moſt explicit manner, nor developed all the conſequences, with reſpect to the theory of exchange, which it involves. The ſtyle, likewiſe, in which he has preſented the ſubject, is liable to great objection. He has thought proper to adopt the language and forms of algebra; and ſeveral pages, and even folded ſheets, are crowded with characters and ſymbols. It is right that our readers ſhould have a ſpecimen of this, as well as of the other parts of the work. Let the difference between the higheſt price demanded by the ſellers, and the loweſt price offered by the buyers, be called L; and let x repreſent that part of this difference which the ſellers are finally content to take in addition to the loweſt price; $L-x$ will be that other portion of the difference, which the buyers finally ſucceed in retrenching from the higheſt price. Call the deſire of the buyers to purchaſe B, and their competition N; call the deſire of the ſellers to diſpoſe of their goods b, and their competition n. It is evident that x, the portion of the difference that is paid by the buyers, will increaſe in proportion to their deſire and their competition; x will therefore be in the ratio compounded of B and of N, or will increaſe as $B\,N$. For the ſame reaſon, the other portion $L-x$ will increaſe as $b\,n$. We have thus the following proportion, $x : B\,N :: L-x : b\,n$, which gives the equation, $b\,n\,x = B\,N\,(L-x)$, from which we get $x = \frac{B\,N}{B\,N + b\,n} L$. He proceeds through twenty pages with this calculation, into which a great many more terms as well as new ſymbols are introduced; but our readers, we conceive, have already had enough of it.

In its own province, the peculiar language of algebra will never fail to gratify thoſe who can appreciate the admirable ſtructure of the moſt perfect inſtrument that has yet been invented by man. But that injudicious and unſkilful pedantry ought moſt ſeverely to be cenſured, which diverts an inſtrument from its proper uſe, and attempts to remove thoſe landmarks by which the ſciences are bounded from each other. The peculiar forms of expreſſion, which have been introduced into the modern analyſis, are ſanctioned by the facilities which they afford, both of perſpicuous abridgement, and of proſecuting a train of inveſtigation to new and remote reſults. But M. Canard has only tranſlated, into a language leſs readily underſtood, truths, of which the ordinary enunciation is intelligible and familiar to all. We will not deny that ſome branches of political economy,

economy, eſpecially thoſe which relate to circulation, money, and the analyſis of price, admit of being treated with a preciſion which almoſt approaches to mathematical exactneſs. But a ſubject may poſſeſs this preciſion, without requiring, or even admitting, the ſymbolic repreſentations of algebra. We would not even exclude altogether the uſe of analogies borrowed from mathematical learning; they afford much delight to thoſe minds which are habituated to paſs, occaſionally from the vague concluſions of moral induction, to the full aſſurance of knowledge in the ſtricter ſciences. Both as illuſtrations, and as ornaments, ſuch analogies may be introduced with the happieſt effect. But the frugal and claſſic taſte, with which Beccaria has interſperſed alluſions of this nature, forms a contraſt to the pedantry and profuſion with which M. Canard has overloaded his compoſition.

The *fourth* chapter treats *of the circulation of money and of credit.* It contains a tolerably correct view of the leading propoſitions upon that ſubject; but none of them are preſented in a new light, or traced to any new conſequences.

In the *fifth* chapter, which is entitled, *On the cauſes of the increaſe and the decline of wealth*, he profeſſes to demonſtrate, that the proſperity of ſtates has a neceſſary limit; that induſtry and economy muſt ultimately give place to luxurious and waſteful expence; and that nations are deſtined, by a law of nature, to fluctuate in a ſeries of changes. The opinion is far from being new; he has placed it, however, in a new aſpect. The reverſes, which are exhibited by the hiſtory of the moſt celebrated ſtates, have ſuggeſted this melancholy idea, and, in ſo early an age of the world as the preſent, they ſtill give it too much plauſibility: yet, it may be doubted, if it be not more agreeable to the juſt rules of philoſophical anticipation, to flatter ourſelves with a proſpect of unchecked improvements in opulence as in knowledge, than to acquieſce in that mournful analogy which aſſimilates the political fortunes of a people to the progreſs of individual life, and ſubjects to the ſame law of neceſſary alteration, the geological ſurface of our planet, and the proſperity of its diverſified inhabitants. Whichſoever of theſe concluſions may ultimately be verified, one thing at preſent ſeems probable, that a juſt ſtatement of the moral and political deſtinies of man will involve a wide range of complicated facts, and a moſt comprehenſive view of the circumſtances of his nature and condition. Upon this probability alone, we ſhould have ſuſpected the accuracy of M. Canard's reaſonings, who compreſſes the ſtatement into very great ſimplicity indeed, and reſolves the whole explanation into a ſort of arithmetical eſtimate.

The increaſe of national wealth is occaſioned by the permanent exceſs of the annual produce above the annual conſumption; and this exceſs is determined by the prevalence of economy

above extravagance; of the diſpoſition to ſave and accumulate, above the paſſion for expence. When a nation is in this active, healthful, and flouriſhing condition, it gains from all other nations, according to M. Canard, an annual balance of trade proportioned to the ſurplus of its produce above its own conſumption. This balance muſt ultimately be paid in the precious metals; and the increaſe of money, inſtead of being received into the channels of circulation by an augmentation of prices, is inveſted as an addition to productive capital or ſtock. To this, however, there is a natural and neceſſary limit. In proportion as the balance of trade increaſes, the competition of capitaliſts gradually lowers the rate of intereſt, as well as the profits of ſtock. But, in proportion as the rate of intereſt and profit is lowered, there is the leſs temptation to employ ſurplus wealth in the ſhape of capital; and, of courſe, there is the greater temptation to ſpend it as revenue. The augmentation of national wealth has a conſtant tendency, therefore, to diſcourage the ſpirit of accumulation, and to encourage the ſpirit of expence. The latter muſt ultimately become predominant over the former; the annual conſumption will then exceed the annual produce; the balance of trade will be permanently unfavourable; and the nation will be impoveriſhed and ruined, in a progreſſion exactly the converſe of that by which it had previouſly attained to wealth and grandeur. Thus, according to our author, the gradual diminution of profits and intereſt is at once the effect of increaſing riches, and the proximate cauſe of that growing expenditure which ſwallows up all riches: and thus nations are repreſented as if fated to revolve for ever in a circle.

Before pointing out the fallacy of this piece of reaſoning, we cannot refrain from expreſſing our ſurpriſe, that an author, who appears converſant with the moſt recent improvements of political ſcience, ſhould aſſume the reality of a balance of trade; more eſpecially as the ſuppoſition does not form an indiſpenſable part of his argument. That decreaſe in the intereſt of money and the rate of profits, which he views in ſo ſingular a light, might ſurely take place in a country which confined itſelf to its own inland trade, ſtudiouſly avoiding the relations of foreign commerce. And there is no abſurdity in believing that the balance of produce and conſumption might lean either to one ſide or the other, in a kingdom bounded, as Berkeley has ſuppoſed, by a brazen wall of a thouſand cubits. There is no need of a balance of foreign trade, paid in the precious metals, in order to realize that ſurplus of the annual produce, which, in a thriving country, is added to the maſs of accumulated ſtock. The addition is made by an actual diſtribution of this ſurplus among the induſtrious claſſes of the people: for the only difference between what he now denominates

minates accumulation, and what we ſtrictly call conſumption, *is*, that the conſumers are different; being, in the one caſe, totally unproductive of value, and, in the other, replacing what they conſume.

If, in the foregoing argument of M. Canard, it were true, that the lowering of profits operates as a diſcouragement to the farther inveſtment of capital, it would not be a juſt inference, that a progreſſive decline of national wealth muſt enſue. We ſhould only be warranted to infer this, that the increaſe of national wealth had a *maximum:* that there was a point, beyond which the amount of capital, productively employed, could receive no augmentation. Every acceſſion of wealth to the nation, over and above that amount, would be ſpent and conſumed as revenue; becauſe there was no temptation of profit to employ it in the form of ſtock. But that amount of capital would ſtill be maintained, becauſe, up to that point, there was an adequate profit derived from it. There would be no diminution, therefore, of the national capital, and no progreſſive decline of wealth. The annual produce and annual conſumption would be equally balanced; the condition of the people would be ſtationary.

But it is very far from being true, that the diminution of profits, which originates in an increaſed competition of capitals, operates as a diſcouragement to the farther inveſtment of capital. It is in this particular that the author appears to have miſled himſelf through the reaſonings of the preſent chapter. Competition unqueſtionably regulates profits, as well as the other elements of price. But the only reaſon why an increaſed competition lowers the rate of profit, is, that, in conſequence of an enlarged capital, the amount of profits, upon the whole, is increaſed. A greater quantity of ſtock draws a larger ſum of profits; that is, the motive to inveſt capital increaſes with the increaſe of capital. An augmentation of the ſtock, which is productively inveſted, is followed by a fall in the rate of profit; only becauſe the actual profits, as now extended, admit of being abridged, without deſtroying the motive to continue that inveſtment. And this fall of the rate, inſtead of cauſing a diminution in the amount of profits, is itſelf only an effect of theſe profits having previouſly been increaſed, and is, in fact, no more than a return towards their former amount. After a reduction of the rate has taken place, it may be ſaid that the motive to employ a certain ſpecific ſum is leſs than it was. But that forms no objection; becauſe the reduction can only take place, when the circumſtances of the country are ſuch, that the ſtock of all the capitaliſts has, upon an average, received a proportionate augmentation. That augmentation ariſes out of an exceſs of the annual

produce

.ce above conſumption, which depends upon natural habits .untry and economy, and muſt, of courſe, diffuſe an increaſe ·ıy among the various individual capitals, of which the na- .apital is compoſed.

preſent circumſtances of the world, in general, or of any .iar nation, do not permit us to anticipate a period at .he enlargement of productive capital can be ſuppoſed to .. *maximum.* Such is the reaction of expence and repro- upon each other, that, in order to define that *maximum* ·ral terms, it would previouſly be neceſſary to aſſign the .e limit, both of produce and of conſumption. But the virtue of the ſoil, as well as the effective powers of ·y, the numbers of the human ſpecies, as well as the .ſication of luxurious wants, have each of them a range ·ible extenſion, which, to our apprehenſions, muſt be pro- ·ed indefinite.

We cannot pretend to explain the contents of the *ſixth* chapter. .. entitled, *General Point of View*, and is occupied with a long .ting parallel, between the circulation of merchandize and .ey, in oppoſite currents or canals, and, what is held to be .tly ſimilar, the circulations of venous and arterial blood in .ſcular ſyſtem. It is a ſimile of about twenty pages, and is .duced, to the indulgence of the reader, by the following ex- .ions.

'On a vu ci-deſſus l'eſpèce de ſimilitude qu'il y a entre la circula- .. du ſang et celle du travail. *Prolongeons* cet aperçu *autant qu'il* .'*étendre*, et analyſons tous les traits de reſſemblance qu'il y a entre .eux eſpèces de circulation. Il eſt néceſſarie auparavant d'expoſer .bleau de la circulation du ſang.' P. 107.

An offence of ſuch magnitude, againſt all the rules both of .e and of ſcientific method, lies beyond the reach of our ani- .verſion, being quite unprovided for in the criminal code of .ticiſm. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with remarking, .t ſcarcely any ſubject has been more unfortunately expoſed to .udicious analogy, than that of the circulation of money. This .y title, indeed, involves a falſe metaphor. In an article of our .rmer number, * we pointed out a ſingular miſtake, into which .r Smith has been led, by admitting certain figurative expreſſions .to his reaſonings, with regard to paper-money. Another proof .curs at preſent to our recollection, of the folly of indulging in .eſe analogies, however briefly they may be ſtated. Dr Smith, .n his Wealth of Nations, calls money 'the great *wheel* of circu- .ation,' and paper-money, 'a new and leſs expenſive wheel.' .Mr Hume ſays, in his Political Diſcourſes, 'money is *none* of

* *Vide* p. 179.

of the wheels of trade; it is the *oil* which renders the motion of the wheels more ſmooth and eaſy.

The *ſeventh* chapter treats of *States in their mutual relations.* It contains a tolerably diſtinct abridgement of thoſe reaſonings and illuſtrations, by which Dr Smith has expoſed the errors of the mercantile ſyſtem. We mean to ſay, that it is immediately abridged from the Wealth of Nations; though M. Canard makes no acknowledgement of this. It was with much pleaſure that we found thoſe liberal and enlightened maxims, with reſpect to the foreign relations of commerce, in a work which has been ſanctioned by the approbation of the National Inſtitute. At the preſent important criſis, the prevalence of ſuch views, among the leading ſtateſmen of France, might prove of permanent and eſſential benefit to the world.

In the firſt part of the *eighth* chapter, the title of which is *Taxation*, he profeſſes to reſolve very clearly the queſtion propoſed by the Inſtitute, to which he gives a decided negative. He endeavours to ſhow, that taxes diffuſe themſelves equally over all the different branches of revenue, on whatever branch they may nominally be impoſed; and whether they are levied at the ſource of revenue, or upon conſumption. But, of this propoſition, he has not preſented any proof which to us appears ſatisfactory. He explains his argument, by ſtating a caſe. The rent of land, he aſſumes, is ſettled, like the price of any commodity, by the reciprocal competition of the landlord or ſeller, and of the farmer or buyer. If, at the moment when they are about to conclude a bargain, the ſtate impoſes a tax upon rent, their reciprocal competition will ſtill operate in ſuch a manner that this tax will be equally ſhared between the two. What is true of the landlord and farmer, is true of all perſons, in the relation of buyer and ſeller; and every tax, affecting the ſubject of ſale, will be proportioned between them, whether it be nominally impoſed on the one or upon the other. But if this holds with regard to a ſingle buyer and a ſingle ſeller, a little conſideration will ſatisfy us, that it muſt hold equally with regard to a ſucceſſion of many buyers and ſellers; and whether the tax be impoſed upon the original ſeller, or upon the firſt conſumer, or upon any one of the intermediate purchaſers, it will, in all caſes, be proportionally paid by all. Now, this argument is certainly erroneous; inaſmuch as it proceeds upon the aſſumption, that the contract between a proprietor of land and his farmer is exactly of the ſame kind with a bargain about any vendible commodity. The contrary of this is a point very clearly aſcertained; and about which even thoſe writers are agreed, who are moſt hoſtile to the project of a territorial impoſt; and who deny, moſt confidently, the ultimate incidence of taxes upon the neat produce of land. The

rent

…s to the landlord, is all that portion of the pro-
… or however small it may be, which remains
… expences of the farmer are replaced, to-
… the usual rate. The whole effect of
… landlord is, that he shall draw no
… effect of competition on the part
… lord shall draw no more. But
… may be, depends neither upon
…, but upon the fertility of the earth
…ure. When a tax, therefore, is imposed,
… the bargain between these two parties, it
…red between them: because the farmer already
… more from the land than the replacement of his stock,
… necessary profits: any part of the tax that he might be
…ed to pay would, in truth, form an additional advance, for
…ch it would be necessary that he should be reimbursed. The
…ible tax is a certain annual expence, a certain portion of capital annually advanced, the whole of which must be replaced out of the annual reproduction, before the surplus or rent produce can be set aside for the landlord. Instead of being shared between him and the farmer, it is wholly deducted from that surplus which constitutes the rent.

We are rather inclined to believe, that the same train of reasoning, which thus proves that all taxes on land are paid by the proprietor alone, requires very little extension, in order to lead us to a more general conclusion, that all taxes whatever ultimately fall on the neat surplus of the annual reproduction. The argument, perhaps, has not yet been fixed in such a form as to leave no room for objection; but this proposition appears to us the nearest approximation to truth, that has yet been offered upon the subject. It forms a necessary part, as most of our readers must be aware, of the system maintained by the followers of Quesnai; but, in the examination of that system by its antagonists, and even in the illustration of it by its most intelligent advocates, a line of distinction has not always been sufficiently marked between the theoretical conclusion, or general fact, of the ultimate incidence of taxes, and the practical theorem of a direct territorial tax. For ourselves, we will confess, that, while we entertain more than doubts with respect to the expediency of the latter, we have very little hesitation as to the truth of the former. At any rate, the one is not a necessary inference from the other; for, in proceeding to discuss the practicability of that project, other principles and views of political economy must be brought into consideration. Though taxes are finally paid out of the neat produce, it may perhaps be more expedient that they should be drawn from it circuitously than directly: because the productiveness of a tax is not the only circumstance to which a wise financ-

man will attend; and becauſe it is not quite demonſtrated, that a circuitous tax muſt be leſs productive than a direct one.

But although the territorial incidence of all taxes does not appear to ſuggeſt neceſſarily a direct impoſt upon land, which is the great practical tenet of the economiſts, it is intimately and neceſſarily connected with their great theoretical tenet, as to the ſource of national riches. Theſe two poſitions, indeed, are involved in each other; or, rather, they may be ſaid to form two views of the ſame general fact, one of which preſents it indirectly. Reflecting upon this circumſtance, of the logical relation that apparently ſubſiſts between theſe two aſſertions, it has ſometimes ſtruck us as a ſort of preſumptive evidence in favour of the economical theory, that each of them had ſeparately preſented itſelf to reflecting minds, long before the French philoſophers had incorporated them together in a ſyſtematic demonſtration. It may be ſaid of all great and permanent diſcoveries, which have unfolded the operations of nature, that ſome occaſional gleams of light broke out from time to time, before the full truth was revealed. The whole hiſtory of the mathematical and phyſical ſciences forms a continued illuſtration of this remark. Nor does it fail to be true in thoſe branches of knowledge which are ſuppoſed to preſent a leſs appropriate field of diſcovery. In the philoſophy of the mind, for example, the great fact of aſſociation was obſcurely perceived by Hobbes, and even by Ariſtotle; the true theory of abſtract ſigns was almoſt in poſſeſſion of the ſchoolmen; ſome of the French grammarians had nearly approached that intereſting fact in the hiſtory of language which Mr Horne Tooke has the full merit of having aſcertained; and, not to multiply inſtances too much, the two great diſcoveries by which Mr Hume and Biſhop Berkeley have effected ſuch a memorable revolution in metaphyſics, the correct analyſis of our ideas of cauſe, and the preciſe limitation of our knowledge of external ſubſtances, may be traced, the former in the writings of Barrow and Aquinas, the latter in the ſceptical ſyſtem of Democritus. The political economiſt might produce ſimilar inſtances from the hiſtory of his ſcience. That doctrine of commercial freedom, the rapid progreſs of which ſheds ſo much luſtre on the enlightened practice of the preſent age, preſented itſelf to the mind of Fenelon, ſecluded, at a vaſt diſtance from the vulgar details of buſineſs, in the retreats of literature and religion: by a ſtill more remarkable coincidence, the ſame truth was diſtinctly apprehended and zealouſly maintained by Sir Dudley North, * who had paſſed his life in the practical occupations of trade, at a time when the commercial ſyſtem was loudly and ſucceſsfully recommended to all the legiſlatures of Europe,

* We allude to a very remarkable paſſage in the life of Lord Keeper Guildford, by Roger North, p. 167.

rope, both by merchants and by ſpeculative economiſts. That principle, with regard to the primary and eſſential ſource of wealth, the elucidation of which has given political economy a new form, or rather firſt gave a ſtrict ſcientific form to that ſubject, has been detected in ſome obſcure authors, whoſe names and writings are now only ſought after on account of this caſual anticipation: it is likewiſe ſtated in a much more remarkable manner by a philoſopher of antiquity, whoſe name once exerciſed a deſpotic authority, and whoſe writings have for ſome time ſunk into unmerited neglect *. The curious fact alſo which ſuggeſted theſe reflections, that of the ultimate incidence of all taxes upon the neat produce of land, was very diſtinctly perceived by Mr Locke. It may be conſidered, we have already ſaid, as a ſort of preſumption for the truth of the economical theory, that the two propoſitions of which it conſiſts, and which are intimately connected with each other, had thus ſeparately and independently occurred to the moſt cultivated underſtandings, by which, in former times, the relations of political economy were examined.

The moſt correct and regular demonſtration, therefore, of the territorial incidence of taxes, would conſiſt in a deduction of that evidence on which the fundamental principle of Queſnai's ſyſtem exiſts. As the full developement of this analyſis, however, would occupy a larger ſpace than is conſiſtent with the plan of the preſent article, we ſhall preſent the ſubject in an indirect form, which, within the limits to which we are confined, may be better adapted to the majority of our readers. We intend to ſhew, that, in the celebrated treatiſe of Dr Smith, though that author denies the ultimate incidence of taxes upon land, the principles which he has eſtabliſhed involve this concluſion. That Smith did not preciſely diſtinguiſh the real import of the economical ſyſtem, is now confeſſed, we believe, even by thoſe who agree with him in rejecting it. We are further ſatisfied that he derived a much larger portion of his reaſonings from them, than he himſelf perhaps recollected; that his principles on the formation and diſtribution of national riches approached more nearly to thoſe of Queſnai, than he was himſelf aware; and that, to have recogniſed an entire coincidence, it was only neceſſary for him to have followed out his analyſis a few ſteps farther.

In that amuſing, but not very inſtructive part of the Wealth of Nations, which treats of taxation, it is admitted, in the firſt place, that no tax can fall upon the wages of labour: though even advanced by the labourer, it muſt be replaced to him by his employer, and is therefore finally paid either out of the profits of ſtock, or out of the rent of land. It is farther admitted,

* *Vid.* Ariſtot. de Repub. I. 8.—12.

that no tax can fall upon the profits of ſtock: though advanced by the employer of ſtock, it muſt be replaced to him either by the conſumers in an augmented price, or by the landlord in a diminiſhed rent, or by the monied capitaliſt in a diminiſhed rate of intereſt. But the intereſt of money differs in no reſpect from the immediate profits of ſtock; it is preciſely of the ſame nature; and, in the operations of national wealth, is governed by the ſame rules. All taxes, therefore, whether impoſed upon the wages of labour, or upon the profits of ſtock, are finally paid, either by the conſumers in an increaſe of price, or by the landlord in a diminution of rent. Now, the conſumers compoſe the whole population of the ſtate; they can only pay taxes, as they pay all the other parts of price, out of their reſpective revenues; and theſe revenues muſt be derived from wages, from profit, or from rent. But no taxes can ultimately fall, either on profit or on wages; wherefore thoſe, which are levied on conſumers, are all ultimately paid from rent. We are thus led, from the admiſſions of Dr Smith, to conclude, that all taxes, however levied, are finally incident upon the neat produce, and are ultimately paid by the landlord either in a diminution of his rent, or in an increaſe of the wages and prices which, out of his actual rent, he diſtributes among the other claſſes of the community.

The remainder of M. Canard's eighth chapter is occupied with a diſquiſition on the beſt form of taxation, and on the effects with which every new tax is accompanied upon the general ſyſtem of circulation. The obſervations which compoſe this diſquiſition, though in our opinion fundamentally erroneous, will be uſeful in ſuggeſting to the reader ſeveral points of view, from which the theory of finance may, with advantage, be conſidered. The author's concluſions, however, are all derived from that principle of the equal diffuſion of taxes, on which we have already ſtated our opinion. It has conducted him to ſeveral reſults, which, though by no means new, are very different from the ideas in which the moſt judicious writers on finance appear at preſent to acquieſce: ſuch as, that the moſt expedient taxes are thoſe which are impoſed upon the neceſſaries of the poor; that in whatever manner a tax be placed, its effects upon the various branches of induſtry, and employments of ſtock, will ultimately adjuſt themſelves in a perfect equilibrium; that, until this equilibrium is reſtored, every tax muſt be attended with the various inconveniences that reſult from an artificial derangement in the ſyſtem of competition and exchanges; and that, therefore, every old tax is good, and every new tax pernicious. Some of theſe poſitions appear inconſiſtent with each other; and all of them might be ſhewn, from various conſiderations, to be full of error. But it it is unneceſſary, we hope, to enter into a more formal confuta-

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tion of them, than that which is implied in the remarks we have already made on the principles from which they have been derived by our author.

The *laſt* chapter treats of the *Funding Syſtem*, and preſents a mixture of judicious obſervations, with ſome very unſound maxims of policy. The practice of loans, or anticipations of the public revenue, is juſtified by the expediency of diſtributing unuſual advances over a ſucceſſion of years, both in order to equalize the annual expenditure, and to ſecure a prompt ſupply upon occaſions of emergency. With reference to the practicability of the funding ſyſtem, M. Canard conſiders nations under ſeveral different points of view; as territorial, and as commercial ſtates; and, under each of theſe two aſpects, as in a ſtationary, advancing, or declining condition. For the remarks which he has brought together in this diſcuſſion, we muſt refer our readers to the original work, in which they will derive ſome inſtruction, and ſome amuſement, from the geometrical preciſion with which he ſucceſſively conſiders the ſeveral caſes in this ſeries of ſuppoſitions. The moſt prominent and the moſt objectionable of his poſitions is deduced from thoſe reaſonings, contained in the fifth chapter, of which we have already endeavoured to expoſe the fallacy. As nations, according to him, may acquire a ſurplus of wealth above what can poſſibly be employed as capital, and as it is this ſurplus which deſtroys the national ſpirit of accumulation, and undermines the national proſperity, the funding ſyſtem, or the art of loans, preſents itſelf as a moſt ſalutary expedient for abſorbing the ſuperfluity; and, by conſequence, for retarding the commencement of national decline. Every loan, therefore, for (M. Canard cannot refuſe a metaphor), is a wholeſome bleeding, which relieves the political body from a plethoric malady. And he does not ſcruple to deliver it as his opinion, that if it had not been for thoſe financial operations, by which England has accumulated her immeaſurable debt, the ſuperabundance of wealth would long ago have plunged her into that courſe of decline, from which, even in ſpite of her funding ſyſtem, ſhe cannot long be preſerved. After the ſtrictures which we formerly made on the principle from which theſe concluſions are derived, we deem it unneceſſary to offer any further repetition of them. They appear a match to any of the ſpeculative follies to which the national debt has given birth. When we conſider at once M. Canard's attachment to profeſſional forms, and his unqueſtionable knowledge of the principles of political economy, we may reaſonably be ſurpriſed that theſe conſequences, on the ſubject of the funding ſyſtem, did not ſtrike him as a *reductio ad abſurdum* of his theory, with regard to the neceſſary decline of national wealth.

Upon the whole, if we leave this work with a favourable impreſſion, it is leſs from any permanent utility which we conceive it to poſſeſs, than from the ſpecimen it affords of the talents of the author. He ſhews a more extenſive acquaintance with economical ſpeculations, than has always appeared in the books that have recently been brought to this country from France; though we have found it neceſſary, on ſeveral occaſions, to point out errors which more accurate reading would have enabled him to avoid. There is alſo a conſiderable degree of ingenuity in the turn which he has given to certain diſcuſſions; but we do not find that his peculiar mode of conſidering them has conducted him to any new reſults, or has enabled him to make any addition to our ſtock of political truths. Some advantage, however, is gained by a careful, and even minute examination of ſuch publications; becauſe we are forced to recur to our firſt principles, and to undertake a ſcrutiny of the propoſitions in which we have formerly acquieſced. By frequent retroſpects of this kind, we are placed in firmer poſſeſſion of the diſcoveries that have been made; and the boundary of our real acquiſitions is more accurately delineated. It has been the aim of the foregoing criticiſm to aſſiſt ſuch of our readers as may be diſpoſed to examine, in this ſtrict manner, the memoir of M. Canard.

ART. XVI. *The Bakerian Lecture on the Theory of Light and Colours.* By Thomas Young, M. D. F. R. S. Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy of the Royal Inſtitution. From Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1802. Part I.

AS this paper contains nothing which deſerves the name, either of experiment or diſcovery, and as it is in fact deſtitute of every ſpecies of merit, we ſhould have allowed it to paſs among the multitude of thoſe articles which muſt always find admittance into the collections of a Society which is pledged to publiſh two or three volumes every year. The dignities of the author, and the title of Bakerian Lecture, which is prefixed to theſe lucubrations, ſhould not have ſaved them from a place in the ignoble crowd. But we have of late obſerved in the phyſical world a moſt unaccountable predilection for vague hypotheſis daily gaining ground; and we are mortified to ſee that the Royal Society, forgetful of thoſe improvements in ſcience to which it owes its origin, and neglecting the precepts of its moſt illuſtrious members, is now, by the publication of ſuch papers, giving the countenance of its high authority to dange-

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rous relaxations in the principles of phyſical logic. We wiſh to raiſe our feeble voice againſt innovations, that can have no other effect than to check the progreſs of ſcience, and renew all thoſe wild phantoms of the imagination which Bacon and Newton put to flight from her temple. We wiſh to recal philoſophers to the ſtrict and ſevere methods of inveſtigation pointed out by the tranſcendant talents of thoſe illuſtrious men, and conſecrated by their aſtoniſhing ſucceſs; and, for this purpoſe, we take the firſt opportunity that has been preſented to us, of calling our readers' attention to this mode of philoſophizing, which ſeems, by the title of the paper now before us, to have been honoured with more than the ordinary approbation of the Council.

The author of this paper introduced himſelf to the literary world, by a few deſultory remarks upon a theory which he appeared to think new, but which had been previouſly expoſed and refuted—the muſcularity of the chryſtalline lens. Soon after this, he retracted his opinion; and a year or two ago he again brought it forward. We do not know whether or not he has once more abandoned it; but we ſeriouſly recommend to him a due reflection upon the fact in the hiſtory of his opinions, which we have juſt now ſtated. Let it teach him a becoming caution in the *publication* of his theories. A diſcovery in mathematics, or a ſucceſsful induction of facts, when once completed, cannot be too ſoon given to the world. But as an hypotheſis is a work of fancy, uſeleſs in ſcience, and fit only for the amuſement of a vacant hour; as its excellence depends upon its ſimplification and agreement with every fact that can occur; as it requires continual poliſhing, touching, and retouching, in order to adapt it to the phenomena, the inventor comes preciſely under that deſcription of perſons to whom the Roman ſatiriſt uttered thoſe memorable injunctions, '*Sæpe vertas ſtylum*'—and '*Nonum prematur in annum.*' To juſtify the apparent ſeverity of theſe ſtrictures, we quote, in the author's own words, a few ſpecimens of his vibratory and undulatory mode of reaſoning.

In the preſent paper, page 43. we meet with the following ſentence:

'I am ſorry to be obliged to recal, here, the aſſent which I was induced to give, at firſt ſight, to a late author.' Vide *Phil. Tranſ. for* 1800, p. 28.

And, in another paper of Dr Young in this very volume, we meet with the following paſſage, page 393.

'The colours of mixed plates ſuggeſted to me an idea, which, it appears, leads to an explanation of the diſperſion of colours by refraction, more ſimple and ſatisfactory than that which I advanced in the laſt Bakerian lecture.'

And again, in page 395, there is another correction or modification, as our author is pleaſed to call it, of another ſuppoſition in the ſame paper. It is difficult to argue with an author whoſe mind is filled with a medium of ſo fickle and vibratory a nature. Were we to take the trouble of refuting him, he might tell us, '*My opinion is changed, and I have abandoned that hypotheſis: but here is another for you.*' We demand, if the world of ſcience, which Newton once illuminated, is to be as changeable in its modes, as the world of taſte, which is directed by the nod of a filly woman, or a pampered fop? Has the Royal Society degraded its publications into bulletins of news and faſhionable theories for the ladies who attend the Royal Inſtitution? *Prob pudor!* Let the Profeſſor continue to amuſe his audience with an endleſs variety of ſuch harmleſs trifles; but, in the name of Science, let them not find admittance into that venerable repoſitory which contains the works of Newton, and Boyle, and Cavendiſh, and Maſkelyne, and Herſchell.

Theſe remarks lead us to obſerve, that perpetual fluctuation and change of ground is the common lot of theoriſts. An hypotheſis which is aſſumed from a fanciful analogy, or adopted from its apparent capacity of explaining certain appearances, muſt always be varied as new facts occur, and muſt be kept alive by a repetition of the ſame proceſs of touching and retouching, of ſucceſſive accommodation and adaptation, to which it originally owed its puny and contemptible exiſtence. But the making of an hypotheſis is not the diſcovery of a truth. It is a mere ſporting with the ſubject; it is a ſham-fight, which may amuſe in the moment of idleneſs and relaxation, but will neither gain victories over prejudice and error, nor extend the empire of Science. A mere theory is in truth deſtitute of all pretenſions to merit of every kind, except that of a warm and miſguided imagination. It demonſtrates neither patience of inveſtigation, nor rich reſources of ſkill, nor vigorous habits of attention, nor powers of abſtracting and comparing, nor extenſive acquaintance with nature. It is the unmanly and unfruitful pleaſure of a boyiſh and prurient imagination, or the gratification of a corrupted and depraved appetite.

If, however, we condeſcend to amuſe ourſelves in this manner, we have a right to demand, that the entertainment ſhall at leaſt be of the right ſort—that the hypotheſis ſhall be ſo conſiſtent with itſelf, and ſo applicable to the facts, as not to require perpetual mending and patching—that the child which we ſtoop to play with ſhall be tolerably healthy, and not of the puny, ſickly nature of Dr Young's productions, which have ſcarcely *ſtamina* to ſubſiſt until their fruitful parent has furniſhed us with a new litter; to make way for which, he knocks on the head, or more barbarouſly expoſes the firſt.

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Our readers are well acquainted with the name of Euler. They probably know alſo how inadequate his ſucceſs as a natural philoſopher was to ſuſtain the high fame which his mathematical achievements had gained to him. His optical hypotheſis of vibrations has been univerſally rejected, ſince the moment it was firſt publiſhed. But, in an evil hour, it fell in Dr Young's way, ſome time during the year 1800; and, that it did not light in a barren place, we are entitled to conclude, from the Doctor having already produced no leſs than three huge papers upon it. The object of the one now before us, as well as the author's notions of philoſophiſing, may be conveniently gathered from the following paſſage.

'The object of the preſent diſſertation is not ſo much to propoſe any opinions which are abſolutely new, as to refer ſome theories which have been already advanced, to their original inventors, to ſupport them by additional evidence, and to apply them to a great number of diverſified facts, which have hitherto been buried in obſcurity. Nor is it abſolutely neceſſary, in this inſtance, to produce a ſingle new experiment; for of experiments there is already an ample ſtore, which are ſo much the more unexceptionable, as they muſt have been conducted without the leaſt partiality for the ſyſtem by which they will be explained. Yet ſome facts, hitherto unobſerved, will be brought forward, in order to ſhow the perfect agreement of that ſyſtem with the multifarious phenomena of nature.'

We read this paſſage without much emotion, unleſs perhaps we might be inclined to pity the miſguided purſuits of an ingenious man, who ſeems to have ſyſtematized into a ſort of theory the method of waſting time. The following paſſage, however, excited ſomewhat of a livelier intereſt.

'A more extenſive examination of Newton's various writings has ſhown me, that he was in reality the firſt that ſuggeſted ſuch a theory as I ſhall endeavour to maintain; but his own opinions varied leſs from his theory, than is almoſt univerſally ſuppoſed: and that a variety of arguments have been advanced, as if to confute him, which may be found, nearly in a ſimilar form, in his own Works, and this by no leſs a mathematician than Leonard Euler, whoſe ſyſtem of light, as far as it is worthy of notice, was either, or might have been wholly borrowed from Newton, Hooke, Huygens, and Malebranche.'

Thoſe who are attached, as all may be with the greateſt juſtice, to every doctrine which is ſtamped with Newtonian approbation, will probably be diſpoſed to beſtow on theſe conſiderations ſo much the more of their attention, as they appear to coincide more nearly with Newton's own opinions.

A little farther acquaintance, however, with the Doctor's paper has convinced us, that he is as little ſcrupulous in his quotations, as in his theories; that he delights as much to twiſt

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an authority, as to torture a fact; and, according to his uſual vibratory method, after a ſecond examination of the Newtonian writings, has changed the opinion which his firſt peruſal gave him of their ſignification: a ſtill farther examination of thoſe difficult and ſublime ſpeculations of a real philoſopher, will make the Doctor acquainted with the nature of his theory, and induce him to abandon the Eulerian hypotheſis, if he continues to admit it on the ſuppoſition of its being ſtamped with Newton's authority. Whilſt we ſtate this, we are far from meaning to admit the criterion of authority appealed to by our author. We hold the higheſt authority to be of no weight whatever in the court of Reaſon; and we view the attempt to ſheker this puny theory nuder the ſanction of great names, as a deſperate effort in its defence, and a moſt unwarrantable appeal to popular prejudice. But nothing can be more manifeſt than that Dr Young groſsly miſtakes the opinion of Sir Iſaac Newton, in order to obtain the apparent ſanction of his authority for his theory. In what light that modeſt and cautious philoſopher viewed the hypotheſis of an ether, we have had an opportunity of ſhewing in our laſt Number *. It is evident from his own words, which we have there quoted, that the exiſtence of this medium is only ſtated by him as a vague hypotheſis, which deſerved no credit, unleſs for its applicability to a few facts. If the moſt elaborate theory had been detailed by Newton upon this ſubject, ſtill it would have become Dr Young to have conſidered, whether Newton ranked it among his propoſitions or his queries; whether he placed it among thoſe things which he gave as proof, or amongſt the hints which he threw out for farther inveſtigation. Now, it will be obſerved, that almoſt all the quotations made by Dr Young are from the Queries ſubjoined to the 3d Book of the Optics; a few only are taken from his earlier papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions; none are to be found in the Principia; and the only mention of ſuch a thing, which we meet with in the Optics, is accompanied with an expreſs caution againſt believing that this is given as any thing but a mere hypotheſis, intended to aſſiſt the imagination of thoſe who, as Newton obſerves, can conceive nothing without ſuch ſuppoſitions.

Let us attend to the concluding words of the Principia, where, talking of this hypotheſis, he ſays, '*Neque adeſt ſufficiens copia experimentorum, quibus leges actionum hujus ſpiritus accuratè determinari et demonſtrari debent.*' Lib. 3. Schol. Gen. In the ſame memorable paſſage he tells us, *hypotheſes non fingo; ſeu metaphyſicæ, ſeu phyſicæ, ſeu qualitatum occultarum, ſeu mechanicæ in*

* P. 163.

in philoſophia experimentali, locum non habent. And in the introduction to the Queries in the third book of the Optics, he tells us, that *he leaves them as materials for further ſearch to others.* It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a wider difference than that which ſubſiſts between the philoſophy of Newton and the philoſophy of Dr Young. While the former utterly rejects hypotheſes, and aſſerts that our ſtock of facts upon the ſubject of the ether is inſufficient; the latter ſays, that we have enow of experiments, and that we only require to have a ſtock of hypotheſes. Newton propoſes queries for the inveſtigation of his ſucceſſors. Dr Young claims the inheritance, and vainly imagines that he fulfils this deſtination, by ringing changes on theſe hypotheſes, arguing from them, as if they were experiments or demonſtrations, twiſting them into a partial coincidence with the clumſy imaginations of his own brain, and pompouſly parading, what Newton left as hints, in a ſeries of propoſitions, with all the affectation of ſyſtem. After all, it may be ſaid, Newton amuſed himſelf with hypotheſes, and ſo may Dr Young. Admitting that the Doctor's relaxations were the ſame with his predeceſſor's, it muſt be remembered that the queries of Newton were given to the world at the cloſe of the moſt brilliant career of ſolid diſcovery, that any mortal was ever permitted to run. The ſports in which ſuch a veteran might well be allowed to relax his mind, are mere idleneſs in the raw ſoldier who has never fleſhed his ſword; and though the world would gaze with intereſt upon every ſuch occupation in the former, they would turn with diſguſt from the forward and idle attempts of the latter to obtrude upon them his awkward gambols.

We ſhall add but one remark upon the abſurdity of ſuppoſing that the idea of an ether, thrown out at random by Sir Iſaac Newton, has the ſmalleſt affinity with the clumſy theory of Euler, and of his commentator Dr Young. After demonſtrating the properties of the rays of light conſidered as hard and minute bodies, in order to explain the theory of viſion, and the colours of thick and thin plates, or to ſhow how the law of the *fits* diſcovered by induction, might be fancifully reſolved into a ſtill more general law without any induction—he amuſes himſelf by conjecturing how the rays of light would act upon, and be affected by, an etherial, ſubtile medium, were the exiſtence of ſuch a fluid aſcertained. That the conceſſion of ſuch an exiſtence would enable us to reſolve a variety of facts, apparently anomalous, into one general, and uniform, and ſufficiently ſimple law, no one can entertain any doubt, who has read the paſſages in which this fanciful ſuppoſition is purſued by that great genius—great even in his moſt playful relaxations. But the clumſy hypotheſis of Euler and Dr Young is, that the ether itſelf conſtitutes light; and their object is to twiſt the facts into ſome ſort of an agreement with

with what they conceive might be the laws of this fluid. From ſuch a dull invention, nothing can be expected. It only removes all the difficulties under which the theory of light laboured, to the theory of this new medium, which aſſumes its place. It is a change of name; it teaches no truth, reconciles no contradictions, arranges no anomalous facts, ſuggeſts no new experiments, and leads to new inquiries. It has not even the pitiful merit of affording an agreeable play to the fancy. It is infinitely more uſeleſs, and leſs ingenious, than the Indian theory of the Elephant and Tortoiſe. It may be ranked in the ſame claſs with that ſtupid invention of metaphyſical theology, which, in order to account for the exiſtence of evil, ſuppoſed the independent exiſtence of an evil ſpirit; or that other notable contrivance, which, to explain the power of the Deity over matter, ingeniouſly ſuppoſed that all matter was the Deity.

Having, in general, ſtated our opinion of the merit which the theory may be allowed to poſſeſs, and endeavoured to ſhow that it finds no ſupport whatever from the Newtonian writings, we ſhall not detain our readers with entering into any farther argument upon the paper now before us. The Doctor ſupports what he is pleaſed to call his propoſitions, partly by looſe and ſtrained reaſoning, partly by reference to the demonſtrations to be found in other authors. By a ſingular figure of ſpeech—a ſort of licence which we preſume is peculiar to the dealers in hypotheſes, the Doctor refers to an unpubliſhed work of his own, under the title of '*Young's Syllabus.*' By a ſtill more ſingular condeſcenſion, he tells us, in p. 48, that it would be invidious, without neceſſity, to enumerate all the unſurmountable objections to the Newtonian theory of light; and although he inſinuates that Sir Iſaac Newton was but a ſorry philoſopher, and that he, Dr Young, has ſuddenly overthrown his ſyſtem, he candidly admits that Sir Iſaac was a tolerably good maker of experiments.

We take our leave of this paper, with recommending it to the Doctor to do that which he himſelf ſays would be very eaſy; namely, to invent various experiments upon this ſubject. As, however, the ſeaſon is not favourable for optical obſervation, we recommend him to employ his winter months in reading the *Optics*, and ſome of the plainer parts of the *Principia*, and then to begin his experiments by repeating thoſe which are to be found in the former of theſe works. If, after that, the making of diſcoveries and building of ſyſtems ſhould appear as eaſy as he ſeems at preſent to think it, he may proceed to apply the ſkill which he has learned, with that caution which becomes a true philoſopher; and give the reſults to the world with a no leſs becoming modeſty, of which the Newtonian writings may have afforded him the moſt ſignal examples.

ART.

ART. XVIII. *An Account of some Cases of the Production of Colours not hitherto described.* By Thomas Young, M. D. &c. From Philosophical Transactions for 1802. Part II.

WE are sorry to find that Dr Young is by no means more successful in making observations and experiments, than in forming systems. The new case of colours, which he affects to have discovered, has been observed a thousand times; and he has only the merit of giving an absurd and contradictory explanation of it. They are the coloured images which appear to surround a luminous body, when a hair is interposed near the eye. The Doctor says, that they arise from the interference of two portions of light, the one reflected from the fibre, the other bending round its opposite side. How this could ever produce colour, we have not sufficient fancy to discover; but this we know, that it is mathematically impossible for any portion of light to bend round one side of a hair, so far as to cross the shadow, and interfere with, or come near the light reflected from the other side. Indeed, it is absurd to talk of reflection in this case. For any reflection would manifestly carry away the light to a very different quarter. It is equally ridiculous to talk of flexion; for how should it happen that, according to the Doctor's own account, (page 388.), a black hair did not produce the appearance? The Doctor's singular explanation should apply to this, as well as any other hair. In fact, these images are produced by refraction; and, accordingly, any opaque body is incapable of forming them. The observation in page 389, we have reason to think accurate, that the fringes or images extend across the image of the hair, dilated by indistinct vision. This is manifestly inconsistent with any idea of reflection or flexion; it will apply to refraction only. Now, Dr Young seems altogether to have forgot that there is such an operation as refraction: for he ascribes the halos in the atmosphere to inflection among the particles of water. It is evident that the light must be refracted in passing through these particles; nor has this ever been doubted since the days of the famous Archbishop of Spalatro.

We are next presented with some observations upon what the Doctor calls the colours of mixed plates. These are certain fringes produced by the interposition of air or water between plates of glass. Why this should be reckoned a new case, and dignified with a peculiar name, when it is only an inelegant form of the Newtonian experiment, we are utterly at a loss to comprehend. It is referred, however, to what the Doctor calls his '*general law of interference*;' a part, he says, of the undulatory system. He tells us, page 393, that he predicted the appearance of a white, instead of a black spot, if a medium of a middle density

denſity between that of the true ſurrounding *media* were uſed by reflected light. He adds, that he verified this prediction in a manner which he announces with no ſmall pomp.

'And I have,' ſays he, 'now the pleaſure of ſtating that I have fully verified this prediction, by interpoſing a drop of oil of ſaſſafras between a priſm of flint glaſs and a lens of crown glaſs: the central ſpot ſeen by reflected light was white, and ſurrounded by a dark ring. It is, however, neceſſary to uſe ſome force, in order to produce a contact ſufficiently intimate; and the white ſpot differed, even at laſt, in the ſame degree from perfect whiteneſs, as the black ſpot uſually does from perfect blackneſs.'

Can any thing be more evident than that this appearance is preciſely the one deſcribed, at leaſt a dozen of times, in the Optics? When two optic glaſſes are gently preſſed upon one another, we are told by Newton that the point of contact is white, ſurrounded with a dark ring: the ſame appearance happens, when a thin plate of water is viewed by reflected light. In ſuch caſes, a greater preſſure makes the rings of colours emerge, by altering the thickneſs of the plate; and a ſtill greater degree of preſſure, by rendering the plate thinner and thinner, produces blackneſs: *Vide* Optics, B. ii. part 1. Obſ. 1. & 4.—Indeed, the firſt words that ſtrike our eye, upon turning to this celebrated induction of facts, are, '*Next to the pellucid central ſpot, ſucceeded,*' &c. Obſ. 4. parag. 2. That it ſhould not be perfectly white, we may eaſily expect, when we conſider that ſome of the light is tranſmitted by a thin plate, in the ſame manner as total blackneſs is prevented by the partial reflection which takes place from the thinneſt ſort of plate. The two appearances are, in fact, preciſely the ſame. For the ſame ſpot which appears blackiſh by reflected, is found to be whitiſh by tranſmitted light, and *vice verſa*.

From what he calls the *priſmatic analyſis*, the Doctor explains the blue colour of the lower part of a candle flame. The following ſentence contains a ſingular ſpecimen of confuſion, and of vague reaſoning.

'We have only,' ſays he, 'to ſuppoſe each particle of tallow to be, at its firſt evaporation, of ſuch dimenſions as to produce the ſame effect as the thin plate of air, at this point, where it is about one ten-thouſandth of an inch in thickneſs, and to reflect, or perhaps rather tranſmit, the mixed light produced by the incipient combuſtion around it; and we ſhall have a light completely reſembling,' &c. p. 396.

The colours of flame are, it appears to us, ſuſceptible of the moſt ſatisfactory explanation, from the doctrine of the different flexibility of light now univerſally admitted. The leaſt refrangible rays being the moſt flexible, are moſt ſtrongly attracted, and adhere with greateſt force to thoſe of the inflammable body, or of the

the oxygen, whichever we ſuppoſe to be the origin of the light given out during combuſtion. When the application of heat, and the union of the oxygen, precipitates the light, it is obvious that thoſe particles will be firſt given out, which adhered with the leaſt force: therefore the colour of the flame will firſt be violet or blue. A greater force will drive off the yellow and green alſo, and the flame will then aſſume a colour compoſed of a mixture of theſe five, violet, indigo, blue, green, and yellow. Laſt of all, by a ſtill greater heat, thoſe particles will be diſengaged which adhere the moſt ſtrongly, namely, the orange and red; and the flame will now aſſume a colour which is compoſed of a mixture of all the ſeven, that is to ſay, white, in which the yellow predominates. Such appears to us to be the ſimple explanation of this intereſting phenomenon, of which the colours of the candle-flame form a particular caſe. We have no objection to ſubmit to the judgment of our readers, whether Dr Young's ſolution, or ours, is the moſt entitled to their favour; and ſhall at preſent conclude with remarking, that our explanation will apply to the different colours of flame produced by different mixtures, as, the barytic ſalts, which tinge flame red—cupreous ſalts, which give it a green and blue colour—nitrates, which tinge it yellow and red; and alſo to the predominance of particular permanent tinges in the flames of certain combuſtible bodies. As bodies of different colours always reflect and tranſmit, moſt copiouſly the rays that produce thoſe colours: ſo, it may perhaps be found, that the general law of relative flexibility receives modifications from the particular affinities between the particles of light, and thoſe of inflammable bodies, as the powers of gravitation and adheſion are affected by the force of elective attraction. A wide field of diſcovery may thus be opened, and our knowledge infinitely extended, of the nature of the minute particles of bodies, and the chemical properties of light.

We cannot conclude our review of theſe articles, without entreating, for a moment, the attention of that Illuſtrious Body, which has admitted, of late years, ſo many paltry and unſubſtantial papers into its Tranſactions. Great as the ſervices are which the Royal Society has rendered to the world, and valuable as the papers have been in every volume, (not leſs valuable, ſurely, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent excellent Preſident), we think on the benefits which it has conferred, with feelings of the warmeſt gratitude. We only wiſh that thoſe feelings ſhould be unmingled by any ideas of regret, from the want of ſelection, to which we are adverting; and that it ſhould ceaſe to give its countenance to ſuch vain theories as thoſe which we find mingled, in this volume, with a vaſt body of important information.

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The Society has, indeed, been in the habit of ſtating, that the truth and other merits of the ſpeculations which it publiſhes muſt reſt with their reſpective authors; but we are afraid this is not ſufficient. The Society publiſhes theſe papers, meets for the purpoſe of reading them, calls them its Tranſactions; and, in fact, exerciſes, in many caſes, the power of rejecting the papers which are offered. It is in vain, therefore, to diſavow a reſponſibility which ſo many circumſtances concur in fixing. The public will always look upon the Society as immediately reſponſible for the papers which compoſe its Tranſactions, unleſs, indeed, it ſhall wiſh to be degraded into the rank of a mere mechanical contrivance for the printing of miſcellanies. We implore the Council, therefore, if they will deign to caſt their eyes upon our humble page, to prevent a degradation of the Inſtitution which has ſo long held the firſt rank among ſcientific bodies. Let them reflect on the mighty name which has been tranſmitted to them—

——— '*Clarum et venerabile nomen*
'*Gentibus, et multum noſtræ quod proderat urbi.*'

Such a name may indeed ſhelter them in their weakneſs, and make us venerate, even in the frailty of old age, an Inſtitution illuſtrious for its ancient virtue: But is it impoſſible to ward off the encroachments of time, and to renovate, in new achievements, the vigour of former years? It is more honourable to ſupport an illuſtrious character, than to appeal to it for ſhelter and protection.

ART. XIX. *Petri Camperi Icones Herniarum.* Editæ à Sam. Thom. Sæmmering, Francofurti ad Mænum, apud Varrentrapp è Denner. 1801. 14 Plates, Royal folio. 3l. 3s.

PROFESSOR Camper was one of the few anatomiſts who ſeem to have perceived diſtinctly the very intimate relation which ſubſiſts between a minute knowledge of Anatomy, and the Pathology and Practice of Surgery. Of this he has given numerous proofs in his valuable writings. His plates of the human *pelvis*, publiſhed in 1760, ſtill remain the moſt perfect ſpecimen of ſurgical anatomy which has yet been given to the world. The reputation which this author had ſo juſtly acquired during his lifetime, by the bold, accurate, and ſcientific delineations of his pencil, will not ſuffer any injury from the appearance of this poſthumous publication.

In commencing the preſent work, it ſeems to have been originally the intention of Camper, to have given the pathology and chirurgical treatment, as well as the anatomical hiſtory of *Herniæ*. His attention, however, had been diverted from that object; for the

he appears to have proceeded but a little way, even in the anatomical deſcription.

The only ſpecies of *Hernia*, delineated in theſe plates, is the *Inguinal*, or Bubonocele; and of this diſeaſe, beſides the more uſual appearances, Camper has exhibited ſome very curious, and, it would ſeem, by no means uncommon varieties. As the merit of the preſent work reſts chiefly, if not ſolely, on the fidelity, accuracy, and judgment, with which the parts concerned in Bubonocele are repreſented, it becomes neceſſary to enumerate the contents of each particular plate, and to point out whatever appears to be uſeful or new in this graphical hiſtory of the diſeaſe.

Plates I. & II. exhibit a view of the abdomen of an ape *(cynocephalus)* laid open, to ſhow the entrance of the ſpermatic veſſels into the upper and external aperture of the abdominal ring.

Plate III. A view of the origin of the cremaſter muſcles in the ſame animal, and of their diſtribution on the outſide of the *tunica vaginalis*, with the cavity of the *tunica vaginalis* laid open, to ſhow the manner in which this membrane is reflected over the *teſtes*.

To a ſtudent of human anatomy, thoſe three plates are very unintereſting. They increaſe greatly the expence, while they add little, if any thing, to the value of the preſent work. Plates of this kind would more properly have had a place in a work on comparative anatomy; and we regret much, that, inſtead of theſe plates, Camper had not given ſimilar views of the parts concerned in Bubonocele in the human ſubject; as ſuch a repreſentation would have formed a more natural, and, at the ſame time, much more uſeful introduction to the morbid appearances delineated in the preſent work. The paſſage of the ſpermatic veſſels through the abdominal ring, and their relative connexion with the ſurrounding parts, have never been well delineated; and plates, exhibiting the diſtribution and attachments of the different parts of the tendon of the external oblique muſcle, ſtill remain a *deſideratum* of no ſmall importance in the anatomy and pathology of femoral *hernia*. Camper, indeed, has given a view, ſomewhat of the kind we require, in his *Demonſtrationes Pathologicæ*, plate I. fig. 1. of the *Pelvis*; but it ſeems to have been his intention, in that plate, to repreſent the courſe of the blood-veſſels and nerves in the cavity of the *pelvis*, rather than to trace the ſpermatic veſſels along their courſe out of the abdomen, or to mark the more common outlets of the inteſtines or omentum in *Herniæ*.

Plate IV. exhibits a view of a *Hernia* of the right ſide, complicated with Hydrocele. The ſkin of the groin and ſcrotum is diſſected off, and turned aſide, to ſhow the dilatation of the abdominal ring, and the membrane into which the cremaſter muſcle is inſerted. A portion of this membrane is removed at the lower

part, to bring the hernial ſac into view, where it reſts on the *tunica vaginalis.*

Plate V. fig. 1. The ſame *Hernia* as in Plate IV. with the parts diſſected, ſo as to ſhow the mouth of the hernial ſac, and the ſituation of the ſpermatic and epigaſtric veſſels. It is by marking preciſely the ſituation of theſe veſſels with regard to the mouth of the ſac, that Camper has given to this plate no common degree of value. The epigaſtric veſſels are ſeen paſſing along the poſterior part to the internal angle of the ſac, where they are reflected upwards, to be diſtributed on the *Rectus* muſcle.—This view of the neck of the ſac would have pleaſed us ſtill more, had it been entirely from within, and had it exhibited the parts ſurrounding the neck of the ſac in their connexion and relative ſituation. Fig. 2. of this plate, a very uſeful little diagram, to ſhow ſtill more diſtinctly the courſe of the epigaſtric arteries behind the mouth of the hernial ſac, and at the ſame time behind the ſpermatic veſſels. This ſituation, Camper remarks, occurred in all the ſubjects he diſſected.

Plates VI. and VII. The *Parietes* of the abdomen, cut and turned downwards on the right ſide, ſo as to bring into view the courſe of the epigaſtric veſſels ou the *Rectus* muſcle, and the entrance of the ſpermatic veſſels into the upper and internal aperture of the abdominal ring. On the left ſide, a ſcrotal *hernia* is ſhown, with the integuments removed, ſo as to bring the ſac into view, over which, at the upper part, the external pudical artery is ſeen paſſing. The diſtribution of the aponeurotic fibres, covering the tendon of the external oblique muſcle, is extremely well repreſented in this plate, together with the ſhare which theſe fibres have in forming the upper and outer part of the external aperture of the ring, and in producing the ſtricture in caſes of ſtrangulated *hernia.*

Plate VIII. fig. 1. The ſame *Hernia* as in the former plate, but with the parts more diſſected. In the ſubject from which this plate is taken, a variety occurs in the ſituation of the ſpermatic veſſels, with regard to the Hernial ſac. While the *vas deferens* runs, as uſual, at the back and inner part of the ſac, the ſpermatic veſſels are ſeen ſeparated from this veſſel, and running on the fore and outer part of the ſac. Fig. 2. a ſimilar view, from a different ſubject; in which the ſituation of the ſpermatic veſſels and *vas deferens* is reverſed; the *vas deferens,* in this caſe, lying before, and the ſpermatic veſſels behind the Hernial ſac. From the appearances in theſe two figures, Camper very juſtly infers, that the inciſion in operating for Bubonocele ſhould not be carried down to the bottom of the ſac; otherwiſe, when this diſtribution of veſſels occurs, the ſpermatics, or *vas deferens,* or both, may be wounded by the knife.

Plate

Plate IX. contains two figures, exhibiting a view of the diſtribution of the cremaſter muſcles upon the cellular membrane covering a Hernial ſac of the right ſide. The formation on the ſtricture at the ring, from the decuſſation of the fibres of the *aponeuroſis*, becomes ſtill more evident from this, than from any of the former plates.

Plates X. and XI. The oblique and tranſverſalis muſcles, with their tendons, removed from the fore part of the abdomen, to ſhow that the Hernial ſac is a proceſs of the *peritoneum*. The epigaſtric artery and vein are ſeen coming from the back part of the neck of the ſac to its internal angle. Camper remarks, that he had often obſerved the peritoneum thickened and contracted in the part forming the neck of the ſac; ſo that the ſtrangulation ſeemed, in thoſe caſes, to have been occaſioned, partly by the ſtricture in the ring, and partly alſo by that in the neck of the ſac. It is obvious, from the inſpection of the firſt figure in plate XI. that the ſtricture at the ring may be removed, by cutting in one of three directions; namely, by carrying the knife upwards, in a direction parallel to the *linea alba*, inclining towards the ſpine of the *ilium*, or inwards to the *linea alba*; and it is equally obvious, from the inſpection of the ſame figure, that if the ſurgeon, in dilating the ring, carries his inciſion towards the *linea alba*, that the epigaſtric veſſels would be in hazard of being cut; but that, if the inciſion be directed upwards, or outwards, theſe veſſels are, by their local ſituation, ſecure from danger.

Plate XII. exhibits a view of the ſame *Hernia* with the two former plates; but, in this view, the ſac is raiſed and turned outwards, to ſhow that the ſpermatic veſſels lie before the epigaſtric, at the back part of the neck of the ſac.

Plate XIII. contains two figures; the firſt, repreſenting a Hernia of the right ſide, complicated with Sarcocele, in which the blood-veſſels of the groin, and the origin and courſe of the external pudicals, are more fully traced than in any former plate. The pudicals are ſeen coming off about two inches below the epigaſtrics; the artery from the trunk of the femoral artery, and the vein from the ſaphena. Camper imagined, that the diviſion of theſe veſſels had often been miſtaken by ſurgeons for a wound of the epigaſtric artery. Fig. 2. of this plate exhibits a ſketch of the relative ſituation of the crural veſſels, and of the external aperture of the abdominal ring. One can ſcarcely view this ſketch, without regretting that Camper had no opportunity, as he himſelf acknowledges, of making a careful diſſection of a caſe of Femoral *Hernia*. The ſituation of the Crural ring below the pillar of the tendon of the external oblique muſcle, and on the inſide of the crural veſſels, is moſt accurately repreſented in

this diagram. We were much pleaſed to obſerve exhibited in this ſketch alſo a peculiarity in the diſtribution of ſome of the tendinous fibres of the inferior pillar, which we imagined had eſcaped the notice of former anatomiſts. Camper has repreſented theſe fibres as croſſing the back part of the external aperture of the ring. In the ſubjects we have examined, this appearance is more evident in females than in males; and the peculiarity of this ſtructure ſerves obviouſly to ſtrengthen the parietes of the abdomen, and to prevent the occurrence of *Hernia* at this part.

Camper has thrown into the 10th and 11th plates four ſmall figures which illuſtrate ſome collateral points relative to Congenital Hernia and Hydrocele of the *tunica vaginalis*: But as theſe figures appeared, during his lifetime, in an Eſſay which he publiſhed on the cauſes of rupture in new-born children, it becomes unneceſſary to give any particular account of them in this place.

Plate XIV. contains figures of different kinds of pads for herniary bandages. There are none of the contrivances in this plate either very new or very uſeful. It ſeems, however, but juſt to add, that the proper conſtruction of herniary bandages, and the mode of applying them, ſo as to produce the greateſt poſſible effect in preventing the deſcent of *Herniæ*, were points upon which Camper had at different times beſtowed much time, reflection, and labour.

From the very full enumeration which we have given of the contents of the *Icones Herniarum*, it muſt be apparent to every one acquainted with the hiſtory of Bubonocele, that the moſt important practical concluſion, or rule of conduct, with regard to operating in this diſeaſe, to which theſe plates lead, relates to the direction in which the ſurgeon is to make his inciſion in dilating the abdominal ring. The uncertainty which has prevailed among operators with regard to the relative ſituation of the Epigaſtric artery, and the neck of the Hernial ſac in Bubonocele, and the very contradictory directions which have been given, down to the preſent day, by authors and by public teachers, as to the courſe in which the inciſion ought to be made, in order to avoid this artery, render theſe poſthumous plates of Camper extremely valuable and intereſting. In his *Demonſtrationes Pathologicæ*, publiſhed in 1760, Camper had indeed deſcribed, in the moſt accurate manner, the ſituation of theſe veſſels with regard to the neck of the ſac; and this diſcovery has been claimed, ſo late as 1799, by an author, under a borrowed name, whom it would be unjuſt to ſuppoſe ignorant of what Camper had written: but ſtill the point was not made ſo obvious to our ſenſes, as it is in the preſent plates.

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We cannot omit to mention, that Camper has been led into a ſingular inconſiſtency, by denying, in that work, the poſſibility of wounding the Epigaſtric artery in dividing the neck of the ſac, though ſome ſurgeons of great eminence had been candid enough to acknowledge, that this very fatal accident had actually happened in their practice. How the poſſibility of wounding the Epigaſtric artery ſhould have been queſtioned by Camper in his *Demonſtrationes Pathologicæ*, ſeems very unaccountable; ſince it is not only apparent, from the inſpection of the preſent plates, and which, it may be remarked, were engraved before the publication of that work, that this artery comes round from the back part to the inner ſide of the neck of the ſac: but Camper has even given a plate, to ſhow, that if the inciſion be directed towards the *linea alba*, the epigaſtric artery muſt of neceſſity be divided. It is alſo not a little ſingular, that, in this miſtake, Camper ſhould have been copied by the author to whom we formerly alluded, who ſeems not to have been ſatisfied with having taken from him the merit of a more valuable obſervation.

Of the diviſion of the Epigaſtric artery in the operation for Bubonocele, there are, as has been already remarked, ſeveral well authenticated inſtances upon record; and it may be preſumed, that, for one inſtance which has been acknowledged, many have occurred that have been altogether overlooked, if not carefully concealed. Rougemont, the learned tranſlator into French of Richter's very valuable treatiſe on Hernia, very juſtly remarks upon this ſubject, that the caſes of divided Epigaſtric artery, of which we have an account, occurred to thoſe ſurgeons who, in dilating the neck of the ſac, were in the practice of directing their inciſion towards the *linea alba*.

Before concluding our account of Camper's moſt valuable work, we think it right to obſerve, that though the relative ſituation of the Hernial ſac, and of the Epigaſtric artery, be, in general, ſuch as is repreſented in his plates, yet caſes ſometimes occur, in which this ſituation is reverſed, and in which the Epigaſtric artery is placed on the outſide, inſtead of the inſide of the neck of the ſac. This ſituation, which has been repeatedly noticed, occurs in a variety of Bubonocele, that has not, ſo far as we know, been accurately deſcribed by any author; a variety, in which the inteſtine included in its Hernial ſac, does not enter into the upper and internal aperture, nor paſs along the canal of the abdominal ring, but where it appears to come directly out of the abdomen, at the lower and external aperture of the ring. This caſe, which has been much oftener obſerved than properly underſtood, occurs, it is true, but ſeldom. Camper, in the eſſay to which we formerly alluded, mentions, that in opening, in 1759, the body of a perſon who had been murdered, he perceived a *Hernia*, which

paſſed out of the abdomen, between the upper and internal aperture of the ring and the *linea alba*, but which ſeemed to him to proceed externally from the ring. Michaelis, in the ſixth volume of Richter's *Chirurgiſche Bibliothek*, mentions, that he had ſeen, in London, a preparation of Inguinal *Hernia*, in which the Epigaſtric artery was ſituated on the outſide of the neck of the ſac. And Erlich, in his *Beobachtungen*, alſo mentions, that he had ſeen a ſimilar preparation in the poſſeſſion of Mr Cline. This ſituation of the artery had ſo often occurred to Deſſault, that he actually gives marks by which to aſcertain its exiſtence. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to remark, that, in this variety of Bubonocele, the Epigaſtric artery muſt neceſſarily be divided, when the inciſion is directed towards the ſpine of the *ilium*. If we are not miſtaken in our conjecture, it was this deviation from the uſual courſe of nature, and the caſual diviſion of this artery, which has occaſioned all that diverſity, and even contrariety of opinion, which has hitherto prevailed among ſurgical writers, with regard to the real ſituation of the Epigaſtric artery in Bubonocele; and, of courſe, with regard to the direction in which the inciſion ſhould be made in dilating the abdominal ring.

Art. XX. *Gulielmi Heberden, Commentarii de Morborum Hiſtoria & Curatione.* Commentaries on the Hiſtory and Cure of Diſeaſes. 8vo. Payne. London. 1802.

IT may be ranked among the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the preſent age, that the authority of preſcription is openly diſavowed, and that inquiry is carried on without any regard to great names, or eſtabliſhed reputation. That the *practice of medicine* ſhould partake of this liberal ſpirit of inveſtigation, cannot ſurpriſe any one acquainted with its hiſtory; and it ought not to be regretted by any, ſince the abilities diſplayed, and the diſcoveries which are made, moſt ultimately tend to its improvement. Phyſicians no longer perplex themſelves in fruitleſs attempts to reconcile the inconſiſtencies of ſyſtematics and ſectariſts, but each one is content to read with his own eyes in the book of Nature, which lies open before him. It ſeems now beginning to be underſtood, what indeed reaſon and example might have taught us long ago, that the ſcience of medicine can only be improved by obſervation and experience, by attending to the particular phenomena in the animal body, both in health and diſeaſe, and tracing their general laws. Syſtems are eaſily framed, and quickly multiply; hence, in every age, the number of theoriſts has been great, while that of accurate obſervers has been very ſmall. Hence, we have had innumerable theories of diſeaſes, of the action of remedies, of digeſtion, ſecretion, and other

functions

functions in the body, without their authors being acquainted with the connexion, or ſucceſſive ſeries of changes, in any one inſtance, all of which they pretended to explain. The new hypotheſes which have been propoſed, and the old and forgotten, which have been revived at different periods, have all been found inadequate to explain theſe phenomena; and they have all had the common characteriſtics of being unfounded, or unintelligible.

In oppoſition to theoretical ſpeculations, much has been ſaid on the value of *experience*; but this term has been frequently miſapplied. The name of experience is commonly given to that knowledge which is acquired by frequent intuition of the ſame object. If this principle in the practice of medicine were well-founded, it would only be neceſſary to viſit all the hoſpitals in Europe, to become a good practitioner; and an old nurſe would be preferable to an intelligent phyſician. But a diſtinction has properly been made between what is called *true* and *falſe* experience. The former ſuppoſes, for its attainment, an hiſtorical knowledge of its object, a capacity for obſervation, and a genius to draw proper concluſions; whilſt the latter conſiſts only in following a blind routine, without reaſon, and without reflection, in this reſpect, the enlightened phyſician is diſtinguiſhed from the ignorant pretender; and the rational empiric from the miſchief-working, contemptible quack. Partial as we are to facts and obſervations, yet there appears to be ſome danger in the preſent faſhionable doctrine of inculcating an excluſive attention to them, by which means we loſe the advantages of a regular induction, and legitimate theory: and the practice of phyſic, inſtead of being ſtudied as a ſcience, will be conſidered only as a mechanical art; and perhaps only followed as a trade.

Theſe reflections were ſuggeſted by the peruſal of the work now before us, in which the venerable and learned author has given us many valuable and uſeful obſervations, both general and particular. Yet the utility of theſe would have been increaſed, if they had been more ſyſtematically arranged, by the execution of that comprehenſive and regular deſign, which the author mentions in his preface. It is much to be regretted, that this part of the work has been left unfiniſhed: But obſervations recorded with ſuch accuracy and preciſion, as thoſe now under our conſideration, are ſo rare and important, that we are highly indebted to thoſe who collect them, and can only lament that the number of theſe collectors is ſo ſmall.

> 'Nec minimum meruere decus, veſtigia Græca
> Auſi deſerere, & celebrare domeſtica facta.'

Theſe commentaries are publiſhed in Latin and in Engliſh, each apparently written by the original author. In the Latin copy, ſome account is given of Dr Heberden's life, and alſo a dedication; both of which are omitted in the Engliſh copy, and this omiſſion is ſupplied by a preface.

Moſt of Dr Heberden's remarks on the hiſtory of diſeaſes are ſuch as are to be found in the writings of our beſt practical authors; but they are nowhere more plainly ſtated, or more free from uſeleſs and irrelative matter. The remedies which he mentions are few; and he beſtows very ſlight commendations upon any. His practice, for the moſt part, ſeems to have been feeble and inert, or what is uſually called *palliative*. His confidence in the powers of medicine was limited, whilſt he relied much on the powers of nature. When we conſider the ſituation in which Dr Heberden was placed, and notice the claſs of patients among whom he practiſed, perhaps we may be able to account for the origin of his opinions. For the diſeaſes among the higher orders of ſociety are leſs frequent and leſs violent, than amidſt the lower ranks; and, in the former, a dietetic plan of treatment will often effect what muſt be attempted, and is often produced by the powers of medicine among the latter. As the plan of this work is ſo general, it is impoſſible to abridge it, or give a connected view of all its contents. A few ſpecimens of the author's ſtyle and reaſoning will therefore be ſelected, and ſome remarks offered upon thoſe points, where there is room left for a difference of ſentiment.

In the *firſt* article Dr Heberden has given ſome remarks on '*Diet*,' and the regimen to be attended to in moſt diſeaſes. His obſervations appear judicious and valuable, and form a ſtriking contraſt to the abſurd rules and hurtful reſtrictions formerly laid down by medical writers, who ſeem to have endeavoured to pervert Nature by their miſapplied attention to thoſe circumſtances, which they characteriſed by the perverted appellation of *Non-naturals*.

Under the title of '*Ratio Medendi*,' we find ſome obſervations on the employment of Peruvian bark in inflammatory diſeaſes, which, being ſomewhat peculiar, deſerve to be quoted.

'The Peruvian bark has been more objected to than any other of thoſe medicines in caſes of conſiderable inflammation, or where a free expectoration is of importance; for it is ſuppoſed to have, beyond any other ſtomach medicine, ſuch a ſtrong bracing quality, as to tighten the fibres ſtill more, which were already too much upon the ſtretch in an inflammation; and its aſtringency has been judged to be the likely means of checking or putting a ſtop to expectoration. All this appeared much more plauſible when taught in the ſchools of phyſic, than probable

bable when I attended to fact and experience. The unqueſtionable ſafety and acknowledged uſe of the bark in the worſt ſtage of an inflammation, when it is tending to mortification, affords a ſufficient anſwer to the firſt of theſe objections; and I have ſeveral times ſeen it given in the confluent ſmall-pox, without leſſening, in any degree, the expectoration.' P. 11.

This opinion is contrary to the general ſentiments and experience of our beſt practitioners, whoſe concurrent teſtimony on the bad effects of bark in inflammatory complaints has led them to relinquiſh altogether its exhibition in ſuch caſes. To ſay that bark is ſerviceable in the worſt ſtage of inflammation, when it is tending to mortification, is no argument in favour of its utility in the earlier ſtages of inflammatory diſeaſes. Such are the changes and endleſs variations in the human body, that a remedy which is dangerous one day, may be the moſt proper to be adminiſtered the next. If we adopted our author's mode of reaſoning, we might condemn bleeding, as hurtful in *pneumonia*, becauſe it haſtens the death of the patient, when employed in the advanced ſtage of the diſeaſe; and we might condemn the employment of cold water in fevers, becauſe it is injurious when employed during the cold fit. The controverſy reſpecting the identity of *Scarlatina* and *Cynanche Maligna*, ſeems now nearly decided. The moſt general opinion is, that theſe two ſtates are only modifications of the ſame diſeaſe; and our author's teſtimony muſt be conſidered as no ſmall corroboration of the truth of that idea.

'From the foregoing deſcription of the ſcarlet fever and malignant ſore-throat, it ſeems highly probable that they are both names of the ſame diſtemper, with ſome little variety in a few of the ſymptoms: and this opinion is confirmed by our finding that they are both epidemical at the ſame time. Even in the ſame family, where a number of children have been ill, either together, or immediately after one another, ſome have had the diſtinguiſhing ſymptoms of the ſcarlet fever, and others of the malignant ſore-throat.' P. 28.

On the ſubject of '*Gout*,' there are many remarks, particularly intereſting and important. Dr Heberden had numerous opportunities of marking the varieties of this ſingular affection; and he has opened ſome new views which well deſerve attention. The following obſervations, though inculcating a doctrine which is ſomewhat unpopular, appear juſt and well-founded, and will be deemed important by all unprejudiced phyſicians and patients.

'Strong wines, and in no ſmall quantity, have the reputation of being highly beneficial to gouty perſons: which notion they have very readily and generally received, not ſo much perhaps from a reaſonable perſuaſion of its truth, as from a deſire that it ſhould be true, becauſe they love wine. Let them conſider that a free uſe of vinous and ſpirit-

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ous liquors peculiarly hurts the ſtomach and organs of digeſtion, and that gout is bred and foſtered by thoſe who indulge themſelves in drinking much wine; while the poorer part of mankind, who can get very little ſtronger than water to drink, have better appetites than wine drinkers, and better digeſtions, and are far leſs ſubject to arthritic complaints. The moſt perfect cures, of which I have been a witneſs, have been affected by a total abſtinence from ſpirits and wine and fleſh; which, in two or three inſtances, have reſtored the helpleſs and miſerable patients, from a ſtate worſe than death, to active and comfortable life; but I have ſeen too few examples of the ſucceſs of this method, to be confident or ſatisfied of its general utility.' P. 47.

In the method of cure, our author thinks that gout ought to be treated more as an inflammatory complaint; that evacuations may ſometimes be employed with advantage; and that it is unneceſſary to cover the limbs ſo cloſely with flannel as is uſually done.

Of the medicinal virtues of the 'Bath and Briſtol waters,' Dr Heberden ſpeaks with an academical kind of faith: he conſiders the former as uſeful in ſome caſes of *Dyſpepſia*, &c.; but thinks their powers have been much overrated. In treating of '*Calculus Veſicæ*,' ſome rules are given for forming a diagnoſis between a ſtone in the bladder, and a diſeaſed ſtate of the proſtrate gland. The beſt criterion between theſe two maladies, our author thinks, is the effect which a ſchirrus of the proſtrate has upon the general health. Thoſe afflicted with it have many conſtitutional ſymptoms, ſuch as, loſs of ſtrength, want of appetite, quick pulſe, &c.; whereas ſtone-patients have frequent remiſſions of pain, and ſhow no ſigns of their general health being affected when the paroxyſm is off. Another diagnoſtic mark is mentioned, p. 391, that, in a diſeaſed proſtrate, the pain precedes, and in the ſtone it follows the making water. In page 86, our author remarks, that the pain ariſing from a ſtone, depends more upon its figure and poſition, than upon its ſize. From what we have obſerved, we are inclined to think, that the degree of pain felt depends not ſo much upon the figure or poſition of the ſtone, (the latter of which will probably in moſt caſes be the ſame), but upon ſome peculiarity in the conſtitution of the patient, and upon the chemical compoſition of the *calculus* itſelf. In ſome patients who have ſuffered exceſſive pain, the ſtone has been found, on operating, to be very ſmall and ſmooth; while in others, who have not ſuffered ſo much uneaſineſs, the ſtone has been large and uneven, or ſeveral ſtones have been extracted. The *calculi*, conſiſting of earthly phoſphates, are obſerved to occaſion leſs pain than others; and it is thoſe which are generally very large, and have been known to remain many years in the bladder, producing little or no uneaſineſs. Dr Heberden

berden does not ſeem to have been acquainted with the late ſucceſsful chemical inveſtigations into the nature and compoſition of urinary *calculi*. His commentaries were probably finiſhed before the diſcoveries of Dr Wollaſton, Vauquelin, and Fourcroy, were made public. Although no *ſpecific* has been diſcovered againſt this formidable complaint, yet our lately acquired knowledge will be ſufficient to guard us againſt the deceptions of ignorant quacks, and to point out at leaſt a rational mode of attempting the cure. It is obvious, that the ſolvent power of alkalies is not to be depended on in all caſes, but can only be ſucceſsful when the ſtone conſiſts of *uric* acid, while the acids are to be employed to diſſolve the earthly phoſphates. It may be neceſſary, alſo, to vary the exhibition of both acids and alkalies in different ſtages of the ſame complaint, ſince the ſeveral ingredients which theſe ſubſtances can diſſolve, enter into the compoſition of the ſame ſtone.

We cannot allow ourſelves to paſs over the article '*Carbuncle*,' without offering a few remarks; becauſe we conceive that the nature and treatment of this diſeaſe is not well underſtood; and becauſe our author's opinion ſeems liable to ſeveral objections.

'Carbuncle is a large, red tumour, uſually appearing in the back, with a ſpongy baſe, loaded with a purulent liquor, oozing out plentifully at any cracks or openings which it finds. Soon after the tumour begins, there comes on a conſiderable degree of fever, with great inquietude and loſs of ſtrength, of appetite, ſleep, and fleſh: ſo that it has many marks of being the cauſe or effect of ſome extraordinary derangement of the health. Old perſons, and ſhattered conſtitutions, are the uſual ſubjects of this malady..... As much bark ſhould be given as the patient can take without loathing, and as much of an opiate as the inquietude and want of ſleep may require.'

That carbuncle is either the *cauſe* or the *effect* of ſome derangement in the ſyſtem, no one can deny, becauſe it is always accompanied by ſome ſuch derangement: but the queſtion is, whether we are to conſider the conſtitutional ſymptoms as producing, or produced by, the local affection? and upon this determination our method of treatment muſt depend. In moſt caſes, the diſeaſe is certainly, in its early ſtage, entirely local, and to be treated by topical remedies and the antiphlogiſtic plan. The practice of making patients ſwallow large quantities of bark and wine, from the idea that carbuncle is always a malignant diſeaſe, has often proved prejudicial, eſpecially in full and plethoric habits, in which this complaint frequently occurs; whilſt the oppoſite plan of treatment has been attended with complete ſucceſs. But perhaps it is impoſſible, on this, as well as upon many other diſeaſes, to lay down any general rule of conduct, applicable to all caſes.

Dr

Dr Heberden conſiders '*Diabetes*' as a complaint which ſeldom occurs; but the melancholy experience of late years has ſhown, that it is by no means ſo rare as was formerly ſuppoſed. His remarks refer chiefly to *diabetes inſipidus;* and his conjecture appears well-founded, that the peculiar ſtate of the urine is only a ſymptom of ſome other diſtemper; becauſe this ſtate may be abſent or entirely removed, and yet the other ſymptoms continue, and the patient falls a victim to the diſeaſe. In the method of cure, there is little novelty of remark: we find no mention made of animal diet, which has lately been ſo triumphantly recommended. The ſucceſs of this plan, however, has not been confirmed by more ample experience; and a rational theory of *diabetes*, and a ſucceſsful mode of curing it, muſt ſtill be reckoned among the *deſiderata* in medicine.

'*Eryſipelas*,' our author conſiders, as partaking more of a malignant than inflammatory nature, and as not requiring evacuation. His opinion, no doubt, was formed by long and extenſive practice; but it muſt be received with ſome limitation. The hiſtory of *eryſipelas* affords a ſtriking inſtance of the contradictory opinions of medical writers, occaſioned by their obſervations being confined to the places where they practiſe. Diſeaſes are influenced and modified by a variety of circumſtances; by local ſituation, by the habits and condition of patients, &c.; which ought always to be conſidered when judging of the proper mode of cure. Thus, to give an example in the preſent inſtance. *Eryſipelas*, in Edinburgh, is almoſt conſtantly attended with ſtrong inflammatory ſymptoms, and is cured by bleeding, purging, and the antiphlogiſtic remedies; whilſt, in London, the fever which attends it, is of the low typhoid nature, and requires the moſt powerful tonics and ſtimulants to prevent the acceſſion of gangrene.

In treating of the method of cure in fevers, particular ſtreſs is laid upon the advantages of bliſters.

'A headach is a very diſtreſſing ſymptom in the beginning of fevers; for which a bliſter between the ſhoulders as an almoſt certain ſpecific. In the inflamed ſore-throat, pleuriſies, and peripneumonies, bliſters are likewiſe of great uſe in abating (perhaps by diverting) the inflammation; and in all ſtages of low fevers, where they act as cordials, and ſtimulate the powers of life to exert themſelves, and to ſhake off the languor by which they are oppreſſed.' P. 176.

With reſpect to the uſe of bark, our author ſeems to have formed his opinion many years ago, when the minds of practitioners were ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of the febrifuge qualities of this valuable medicine; but which have ſince diminiſhed. The free admiſſion of cool air is ſtrongly recommended; but no notice is taken of the employing cold water, as an external or internal

ternal remedy. It was left to the boldneſs and judicious experience of modern times, to adduce the affuſion of cold water in continued fevers. A remedy which may fairly be put in competition with all the febrifuge compounds in our pharmacopœias; and only requires to be more generally employed, to have its value and importance more highly appreciated.

Under the article '*Ileus*,' are ſome remarks on hernia, which we apprehend are no leſs falſe in theory, than unfounded in fact, and appear deduced from very limited obſervation. We ſhall quote our author's words:

'When the inflammatory colic is joined with a rupture, it is right to reduce the rupture, if it can be eaſily done: But it is doubtful, whether ſuch pains ſhould be taken about it; for it is uncertain, that the rupture is the ſeat, or the cauſe of the inflammation. An ileus is often ſeen without a rupture, and a rupture without an ileus; and, conſequently, the ſymptoms may go off, though the rupture continue; juſt as, without this, they often come on: and the ſymptoms have continued and ended in death, notwithſtanding the reduction of the rupture. Be the caſe as it will, all violent means to reduce the hernia will be more likely to aggravate, than to relieve the diſeaſe. We know that a hernia does not neceſſarily hinder the operation of purges; and if their effect be but copious, the patient may be ſecure of his recovery. The operation of dilating the ring with a knife, and by that means freeing the gut from the ſtricture by which it is ſuppoſed to be ſtrangled, is, as far as I have obſerved, very rarely, if ever, adviſeable; as well upon other accounts, as for all the reaſons which have been juſt mentioned.' P. 273.

This opinion is not merely a matter of ſpeculation, as it leads to important practical concluſions; and the adoption of it may prevent recourſe being had to thoſe means of relief, ſo neceſſary in a diſeaſe, where aſſiſtance by art is ſo much and ſo often required. Can one read the caſes recorded by Pott, by Arnaud, and by Richter, and ſay that the greateſt attention ought not to be paid to the reduction of hernia, in the caſes of ileus with which it exiſts? Strangulation of ſome part of the inteſtines is one of the moſt general cauſes of inflammation of the bowels, and ought always to be ſuſpected, as, from a ſpecies of falſe delicacy, it is often concealed. To the reduction of this, all our efforts ſhould be aſſiduouſly and ſtrenuouſly directed. The operation by the knife is not ſo hazardous or painful as ſuppoſed; and the only reaſon to be aſſigned for the ill ſucceſs which ſo frequently attends it is, that it is uſually had recourſe to, only, when all other means, after repeated trials, have failed, and too often, probably, when ſymptoms have ariſen, which the reduction of the inteſtine is not able to remove.

There are ſome valuable facts ſtated under the article '*Phthiſis Pulmonum*,' which well deſerve the attention of thoſe who are daily

daily publiſhing their premature triumphs, of having diſcovered the grand arcanum for curing conſumptions. It would be well, if thoſe authors paid more attention to the diagnoſtic marks of tubercular pthiſis, and not flatter us with the hopes of removing the diſeaſe by thoſe remedies which they employed to cure another.

Many other paſſages might be ſelected: But enough, we truſt, have already been quoted, to ſhow that theſe commentaries contain a rich fund of curious and valuable facts, and muſt be conſidered as a very acceptable legacy to every tyro and every ſtudent of practical medicine. Before concluding, however, this article (already protracted to a great length), we muſt obſerve, that ſome traces of a peculiar phraſeology are to be diſcovered in the courſe of Dr Heberden's work, which the improved ſtate of our knowledge might have been ſuppoſed to have removed. The following paſſage, which forms the author's laſt reflection in his concluſion, appears ſo ſingular, that it deſerves to be tranſcribed.

'The art of healing, therefore, has ſcarcely hitherto had any guide, but the ſlow one of experience, and has yet made no illuſtrious advances by the help of reaſon: nor will it probably make any, till Providence think fit to bleſs mankind, by ſending into the world ſome ſuperior genius, capable of contemplating the animated world with the ſagacity ſhewn by Newton in the inanimate; and of diſcovering that great principle of life, upon which its exiſtence depends, and by which all its functions are governed and directed.' P. 483.

If no progreſs can be made in the art of healing, till another Newton ariſes to proclaim that *great principle of life*, and determine its laws, our expectations of improvement muſt ſurely be very hopeleſs. The diſcovery of Newton was not the diſcovery of a cauſe, but the generalization of a particular fact; and the term, *gravity*, is employed to expreſs that law by which the planets are regulated, and bodies fall to the ground, in the ſame manner as the word *life* or *vitality* is employed as a general expreſſion for the phenomena obſerved in certain bodies which we call *organized*. The laws which regulate theſe bodies are equally fixed, and ſome of them equally well known as thoſe of the motions of the ſolar ſyſtem; and the cauſes of the changes which take place in the one, are not more inexplicable than the motions obſerved in the other. The queſtions concerning vitality bear the ſame relation to the ſtudy of phyſiology, and the practice of medicine, as the metaphyſical diſcuſſions concerning the materiality, or immateriality of the ſoul, to the phenomena of mind; and as ſpeculations have been wiſely abandoned in the latter caſe, we may readily relinquiſh them in the former, and confine ourſelves to the humbler and more uſeful province of inveſtigating particular phenomena.

Art.

ART. XXI. *Elements of the Philoſophy of the Mind, and of Moral Philoſophy.* By Thomas Belſham. One large volume 8vo. Johnſon. London.

IN the preface to this work, it is ſaid to contain 'the ſubſtance of a courſe of lectures, which the author delivered to his pupils, upon ſome of the moſt intereſting ſubjects which can occupy the attention of the human mind.' It is, however, from the preface only, that we receive this information; for the moſt intereſting ſubjects which can occupy the human mind, are afterwards treated with the ſame drowſy mediocrity and tameneſs of ſentiment, as if they had related to a fly or a fungus, or to any thing but the great intereſts of man. A *compendium*, like that of Mr Belſham, is not addreſſed to the profound metaphyſician, who, poſſeſſing already the zeal which rewards itſelf, needs no other incitement to the inveſtigation of truth, than the knowledge that truth is to be diſcovered; but to the diffident, though aſpiring ſtudent, whoſe eagerneſs is checked by every unexpected obſtacle, and who requires to be often warmed by new proſpects, before he can feel that ardour of perſevering purſuit, which afterwards finds a ſpecies of pleaſure in the very reſtraints and difficulties of the courſe. We know that, in many ſciences, it is impoſſible to furniſh ſuch incitements; and we own, that, in that which Mr Belſham profeſſes to illuſtrate, they have uſually been furniſhed ſo very ſparingly, that the term by which it is denoted is to many a name of terror or diſguſt. But, in that great and comprehenſive philoſophy, which leads us to the ſource of all our *knowledge*, of all the *relations* which bind us to our fellow men, or to a ſuperior Being, and of all the *emotions* which ariſe, in thoſe various relationſhips, from the circumſtances of every hour, there is ſurely no want of ſubjects, to add intereſt and animation to the truths it unfolds. Were it neceſſary to give an inſtance of the *effect*, which, when thus happily delivered, the philoſophy of the Mind is capable of producing, we could name a work, which ſcarcely differs, in title, from the volume before us. But it is in the title only that any reſemblance is to be found: for, in the compoſition of the volume itſelf, Mr Belſham has ſtudiouſly imitated the ſyllogiſtic minuteneſs of an old logical treatiſe, and, by dealing out his brief paragraphs, without one epiſodic reflection, and talking of crimes and virtues, as if they were properties of a triangle, has ſacrificed all the intereſt of which, independently of its truth, a metaphyſical work is ſuſceptible. In an elementary work on the phyſics of external matter, the tedious minuteneſs of the compoſition is in a great meaſure compenſated by the novelty

velty of the experiments. But, in the *mind*, there are few *experiments* which can have the charm of novelty even to the moſt unacquainted ſtudent; and hence, whatever ſparingneſs of ornament may be allowed, and even be requiſite, in *diſſertations* that are addreſſed to the practiſed inquirer, the ardour of intereſt, excited by any 'elements of the philoſophy of mind,' muſt depend chiefly on the ſkill of the writer, in connecting the known phenomena with the objects of our habitual emotion, and thus rendering even our gentleſt feelings of taſte or of ſocial regard auxiliary to the progreſs of the ſevereſt ſcience.

The work of Mr Belſham may be conſidered as an apology for three great doctrines, Materialiſm, Neceſſity, and the ſelfiſh ſyſtem of Morals.

'The author flatters himſelf that he has ſtated the evidence for the doctrines of Neceſſity, and Materialiſm, in a form ſo obvious and ſuccinct, and that he has ſuggeſted ſuch anſwers to the popular objections, as, if they fail to convince, will at leaſt abate the clamour of ignorance and prejudice againſt theſe principles, as if they were unfavourable to virtue, and ſubverſive of religion.' P. 4.

As we cannot therefore examine minutely the ſeparate doctrines of a general compilation, our attention ſhall be chiefly directed to that which the author profeſſes to have been a principal object of his work, and which would have given it the merit of originality, had the object been attained.

We own, that it was to us no favourable omen of the acuteneſs of the compiler, to find that, in adopting the ſyſtem of materialiſm, he had involved it in all the unneceſſary complication of the Hartleyan theory. The exiſtence of vibrations and vibratiuncles is ſo completely hypothetical, and even in apparent oppoſition to ſo many circumſtances of the nervous ſyſtem, and would prove ſo little, were it admitted, that we did not expect it to be adopted by an author, who, from the nature of his work, muſt have ſtudied, at leaſt with ſome degree of attention, the chief ſyſtems of ſceptical as well as of dogmatical philoſophy. To the truth of the doctrine itſelf, however, though our oppoſite faith be completely unſhaken, it is not our intention to object: it is its moral tendency only that we wiſh to conſider.

For this, indeed, Mr Belſham has one ſhort argument, that whatever is true cannot be hurtful. It is the motto of his title-page, * and is afterwards repeated, with equal emphaſis, at every time of need. 'If the doctrine be true,' he contends, 'the diffuſion of it can do no harm. It is an eſtabliſhed and undeniable principle, that truth muſt be favourable to virtue:' p. 312. To us, however, this principle, inſtead of being undeniable, has always appeared

* Αληθειαν ζητω, ὑφ' ης ουδεις πωποτε εβλαβη. Marcus Antoninus.

fuſion of it can do no harm. It is an eſtabliſhed and undeniable principle, that truth muſt be favourable to virtue:' p. 312. To us, however, this principle, inſtead of being undeniable, has always appeared the moſt queſtionable of poſtulates. In the declamation of Plato, or the poetry of Akenſide, we admit it with little ſcruple, becauſe we do not read Plato or Akenſide for the truths they may chance to contain; but we always feel more than ſcepticiſm, when we are aſſailed by it in a treatiſe of pure philoſophy: nor can we account for the almoſt univerſal aſſent it has received, from any other circumſtance, than the profeſſion and habits of the firſt teachers of morals in our ſchools, and of the greater number of their ſucceſſors. It was a maxim of religion, before it became a maxim of philoſophy; though, even as a religious maxim, it formed a very inconſiſtent part of the optimiſm in which it was combined. The Deity wills happineſs; he loves truth: truth therefore muſt be productive of good. Such is the reaſoning of the optimiſt. But he forgets, that, in his ſyſtem, error too muſt have been *beneficial*, becauſe error *has been;* and that the employment of falſehood, for the production of good, cannot be more unworthy of the Divine Being, than the acknowledged employment of rapine and murder for the ſame purpoſe. There is, therefore, nothing in the abſtract conſideration of truth and Deity, which juſtifies the adoption of ſuch a maxim; and as little is it juſtified by our practical experience. In the ſmall events of that familiar and hourly intercourſe, which forms almoſt the whole of human life, how much is happineſs increaſed by the general adoption of a ſyſtem of concerted and limited deceit! for it is either in that actual falſehood, which muſt, as falſehood, be productive of evil, or in the ſuppreſſion of that truth, which, as truth, muſt have been productive of good, that the chief happineſs of civilized *manners* conſiſts; and he from whoſe doctrine it flows, that we are to be in no caſe hypocrites, would, in mere manners, reduce us to a degree of barbariſm, beyond that of the rudeſt ſavage. In the greater events of life, how often might the advantage of erroneous belief be felt! If, for example, it were a ſuperſtition of every mind, that the murderer, immediately on the perpetration of his guilt, muſt himſelf expire by ſympathy, a new motive would be added to the ſide of virtue; and the only circumſtance to be regretted would be, not that the falſehood would produce effect, ſince that effect could be only ſerviceable, but that perhaps the good effect would not be of long duration, as it would be deſtroyed for ever by the raſhneſs of the firſt daring experimenter. The viſitation of the murderer by the nightly ghoſt, which exiſts in the ſuperſtition of ſo many countries, and which forms a great part of that complex and unanalyſed horror, with which the crime continues to be conſidered, after the belief of the ſuperſtition itſelf has ceaſed, has probably

bably been of more ſervice to mankind than the truths of all the ſermons that have been preached on the correſponding prohibition in the Decalogue. It is unfortunate, that, with this beneficial awe, unneceſſary horrors have been connected; for the *place* continues to be haunted, as well as the *perſon;* and the dread of our infancy is thus directed, rather to the ſupernatural appearance, than to the crime. But if ſuperſtition could exiſt, and be modified, at the will of an enlightened legiſlator, ſo as to be deprived of its terrors to the innocent, and turned wholly againſt the guilty, we know no principle of our nature on which it would be ſo much for the intereſt of mankind to operate. It would be a ſpecies of prohibitive religion, more impreſſive, at the moment of beginning crime, than religion itſelf; becauſe its penalties would be more conceivable and immediate. Innumerable caſes may be imagined, in which other errors of belief would be of moral advantage; and we may therefore aſſume, as *eſtabliſhed and undeniable*, that there is nothing in the nature of truth which makes it *neceſſarily* good; that, in the greater number of inſtances, truth is beneficial; but that, of the whole number of truths and falſehoods, a certain number are productive of good, and others of evil. To which number any particular truth or falſehood belongs, muſt be ſhewn, in the uſual way, by reaſonings of direct experience or analogy; and hence, *in a queſtion of utility*, the demonſtration of mere logical truth cannot juſtly be adduced as ſuperſeding the neceſſity of other inquiries. Even though the contrary of that poſtulate, which Mr Belſham has aſſumed, could not have been ſhown from *other* caſes, it would not *therefore* have been applicable, without proof, to the great queſtions which he diſcuſſes; for theſe queſtions comprehend all the truths that are of moſt importance in human life, which are thus the very truths from which the juſtneſs of the aſſumed principle is moſt fully to be demonſtrated or denied.

In conformity, then, with the preceding reaſoning, the doctrines of *materialiſm*, *neceſſity*, and *the ſelfiſh obligation to virtue*, may be true, and the general belief of theſe doctrines be yet of important detriment to the intereſts of our race.

The effect of the belief of *materialiſm* is undoubtedly, as far as it operates, to weaken our confidence in a ſtate of future being. When the whole material flame is evidently diſorganiſed, the thinking being is to the perception of the materialiſt annihilated; and, by the frequent view of this temporary annihilation, the idea of *annihilation* is ſo cloſely connected with that of *mind*, that the belief of the immortality of the ſoul requires, in the materialiſt, as great an effort of faith, as would be neceſſary in the immaterialiſt, to the belief of its poſſible annihilation. We are told, indeed, that to ſay 'that immateriality neceſſarily implies indeſcerptibility,

indeſcerptibility, incorruptibility, and natural immortality, is an aſſertion perfectly gratuitous.' P. 346. The juſtneſs of this remark we will not ſtop to examine. Let the opinion be, as Mr Belſham terms it, a *fancy*. It is enough for us, that it is the fancy of every one who believes the abſolute ſimplicity of the percipient being, and cannot therefore apply to it in his conception thoſe changes of decay, which neceſſarily imply compoſition of parts. He may have no foundation for his belief of its incorruptibility; but that belief is neceſſarily connected with his immaterialiſm: and hence, as he has no difficulty, in this reſpect, to be overcome, the *religion of immortality* is more readily received by him, and the idea of continued exiſtence, with all its reſponſibilities, is more conſtantly preſent to his mind. In no circumſtance does materialiſm aid this belief: we muſt therefore hold it, as far as it operates, to be a weakener of our confidence in a future ſtate, and to be thus, as far as the motive of a future ſtate has influence, prejudicial to the cauſe of Virtue.

But there is another view of this doctrine, in which its influence, though more ſecret and refined, is perhaps of equal effect. It is not by precepts, delivered with the force of authority or of reaſon, that moral character is chiefly formed. It is by a multitude of emotions, ſlight in their ſeparate effect, but powerful when combined, which give a general elevation or ſordidneſs of ſentiment, while they ſeem to act more upon our taſte than on our morals. A taſte for the fine arts, and a taſte for virtue, have thus been conſidered by ſome philoſophers as modes of the ſame internal ſenſe; and, though the *direct connexion* is too ſtrongly urged, we muſt allow, at leaſt, the force of the *analogy*. The habits of poliſhed life, and the elegance of a cultivated underſtanding, where they are not counteracted by other circumſtances, are, in like manner, favourable to benevolence; not by informing us of new duties, but by acting through our taſte, and ſoftening rather than inſtructing us. It is thus, when moral ſentiments have been delivered in all the ſublimity of poetry, we feel their influence remain, for a time, beyond the conviction of mere logical reaſon; as if the dignity and majeſty of the verſe had transfuſed themſelves, with their whole power, into the truth and perſuaſion of the maxims it delivered. Whatever, therefore, gives ideas of general elevation, though it may not directly ſuggeſt any moral motives, is favourable to virtue; whatever gives ſentiments more abject, though its practical influence may not be immediate, is favourable to vice: and Mr Belſham will ſurely allow, that there is more ſublimity in the conception of mind, as raiſed by its own principle of immortality above the changes of material being, than in the belief, that the moſt heroic virtue we admire is but a certain aggregation of particles, which

one other particle, by the new affinities it introduces, may wholly diſarrange, and which muſt rot in the grave, with the other parts of the withered or ulcerated body. The contemplation of a putrefying ſoul does not make the living man, who is to be the object of our ſympathies of regard and veneration, a more intereſting ſpectacle. We may ſtill feel compaſſion for his miſeries, as we feel it for thoſe of the loweſt animal that ſuffers; we may even be capable of much of the eſteem, and of many of the ſacrifices of friendſhip: but it will have leſs of that generous devotion, the ſpirit of which requires to be nouriſhed by higher thoughts. Mr Belſham will perhaps ſay, that the difference we have imagined belongs to poetry, rather than to philoſophy. He will tell us *with truth*, that the actual miſery relieved, and happineſs conferred, are preciſely the ſame on either hypotheſis. But poetry has the ſame effect as philoſophy, when it is the poetry of every heart: and in the whole ſcale of life, when other circumſtances are the ſame, we know that our ſympathies are raiſed or depreſſed, according to the *ſentiments* which have been aſſociated with the object: to theſe, in their relation to man, materialiſm adds no ſublimity; and its influence therefore, as far as it acts through our feelings, is detrimental to virtue.

The unfavourable influence of the doctrine of *neceſſity* is ſtill more evident. Mr Belſham indeed affirms, that it has *beneficial conſequences*; that it leads us to be cautious of truſting ourſelves to ſituations of temptation,—as if the Neceſſarian, to whom every paſt repentance is an increaſe of power, and who relies on his calculations of greater good, would not be more confident of eſcaping, than he who believes that an accidental temptation, in oppoſition even to his long eſtabliſhed views of the greater advantage of virtue, may ſeduce his will to too eaſy obedience. He affirms, that it leads us to lay a greater ſtreſs on the formation of moral habits;—as if it did not lead us rather to acquieſce in that degree of virtue which has, in one inſtance, prevailed, from the full conviction that it muſt ever after prevail. He tells us, that 'it ſupplies the moſt powerful motives to virtue, by exhibiting the inſeparable connexion between natural and moral good and evil;'—as if a headach did not follow the nocturnal debauch of the drunkard, as readily, on one hypotheſis, as on the other. It is beneficial alſo, he contends, as 'being inſeparably connected with optimiſm, and teaching us to ſee God in every thing, and every thing in God;'—as if optimiſm were not itſelf moſt fatal to morality. There needs no cautious dread of future action, where the event, whatever it be, muſt be the beſt of poſſible events: and hence, inſtead of producing that 'ſelf-annihilation or complete and habitual conformity of the will of man to the will of God,' which is ſtated as another conſequence of the belief

lief of this doctrine, it must produce a complete carelessness as to the expressed will of God, by convincing us, that it is impossible to disobey, by any caprice or apparent rebellion, that secret but supreme will, which contradicts its own precepts; conformity to the expression of which would be therefore, if we may be allowed to suppose an impossibility, the greater disobedience. The guilt, which we abhor as destructive of happiness, is, in this system, as productive of it, as the most heroic virtue; and a Borgia and a Catiline are instruments as beneficial as a Titus or a Trajan. To see God in all, is to see him in the workings of every bad passion, in the private assassination, and the public conspiracy: and our devotion and gratitude owe much to him, who, even though he should violate a few forms of reasoning, is successful in placing to our view the will of man, between the crime which we detest, and the Creator whom we adore.

But the doctrine is not merely without beneficial consequences. In equalizing the virtues and vices of all men, as parts of one immense machine, it leaves no virtuous emotion unimpaired. The bread which nourishes the mendicant becomes as much an object of his gratitude, as the benefactor who bestowed it; and the oppressor of an empire is to be looked on, with no other loathings, than the sword or the bowstring, which has ministered to his will. This very indifference is by Mr Belsham considered as an advantage, because 'it conciliates good-will' even to the most detestable of our race.

'By teaching us to look up to God as the prime agent, and the proper cause of every thing that happens, and to regard men as nothing more than instruments which he employs for accomplishing his good pleasure, it tends to suppress all resentment, malice, and revenge.' P. 316.

If, indeed, it tended to suppress that resentment only, which, in injuries to ourselves, exceeds too often the slightness of the offence, its influence would be beneficial. But to suppress all resentment, is, in education at least, to suppress virtue itself. There is a virtuous *wrath;* we could almost say, a virtuous *malice* and *revenge;* which, we trust, will ever be excited by the tale of successful oppression: for though they may spring indeed without philosophy, they grow and blossom into all the virtuous resolutions of maturer character. If we must not feel resentment to man, because 'God is the prime agent,' there is as little *reason*, in gratitude, or esteem. When every emotion, then, of the infant mind has been checked by a syllogism as it arose; when it has been taught, with complete precision of proof, that every one is irresistibly impelled to what he does, and that merit and demerit are either words without meaning, or appli-

cable to human beings, only as they are applicable to the rod and the ſweetmeat; from a child thus educated without love or indignation, what early reſolutions of excellence, and what virtues of maturity, may we reaſonably hope! It is not enough to appeal to the conduct of Neceſſarians in general, ſince, fortunately for the world, the doctrine has not yet eſtabliſhed itſelf in our nurſeries, or in the hearts of our mothers; and there is therefore no one, who, in the moſt important period of his life, has not been taught, rather than forbidden, to revere and to deſpiſe. It is ſtill more fortunate, that, by the aſſociations of pleaſures and ſympathies, which are formed without will or precept, a proviſion is made by nature againſt the chilling influence of future ſyſtems of philoſophy; and that, hence, though theſe ſyſtems may diminiſh our virtuous emotion, they cannot wholly deſtroy it. The influence, however, though limited, is in every reſpect unfavourable to morality. We own, indeed, that the *actual exiſtence* of neceſſity is of much importance, as being the only ſource of the power of motives, and, conſequently, of all moral education. But truth, and the belief of truth, are different; and it is of much more importance, that men ſhould not be vicious, than that they ſhould, in every inſtance, reaſon with exact conſiſtency.

In ſaying of the ſyſtem of ethics which Mr Belſham recommends, that it is, in the higheſt degree, 'unfavourable to virtue,' we do not think, that we are joining 'in the clamour of ignorance and prejudice.' To *virtue*, indeed, in the ſenſe in which he uſes the term, it is not unfavourable; becauſe, in that ſenſe, as far as motives are concerned, it is impoſſible for any one not to be *perfectly* virtuous. But of the more generous morality, to which we have been accuſtomed to look with reverence, his ſyſtem is deſtructive. The relations of *virtue* to others are, according to him, *accidental*. It is *valuable*, and indeed *exiſts*, only in relation to the agent: for the happineſs of others is not neceſſarily our own; and 'the only valuable end of exiſtence is happineſs.' Virtue, then, he defines, 'the tendency of an action, or affection, habit or character, to the ultimate happineſs of *the agent*.' There is an ambiguity in the word *ultimate*, which Mr Belſham might eaſily have avoided, as, in conformity with his reaſoning, it can have no reference to *time*, but to *degree*, and ſhould therefore be exchanged for *greateſt*. He, then, is *virtuous*, who ſeeks his own greateſt happineſs; and as this is, at no moment of exiſtence, preciſely the ſame in all individuals, and no one is entitled to ſubſtitute his own judgment to that of the agent, every one muſt be allowed, by the Neceſſarian at leaſt, to be perfectly virtuous, becauſe every one, at the moment of volition, conſtantly prefers that which appears

appears to him the greateſt good. The poſſibility of vice is thus a contradiction; becauſe it ſuppoſes the agent to have deſired that which appeared to him leſs deſirable. He may indeed be miſtaken in his choice; but, in his unremitting ſearch of the greateſt good, he is always moved by that preponderance of motives which is relative to him alone; and, even if the choice were poſſible, Mr Belſham would ſurely call him mad, rather than virtuous, if he willed that which really tended to his greateſt happineſs, when, in his own opinion, it tended to his miſery. Such a choice would, according to the definition, be actual vice; and it is only in ſuch imagined impoſſibilities, that vice can be found. If then, he alone be vicious, who prefers a *leſs* good, the diſtinction which Mr Belſham has attempted to make is nugatory, and guilt is a juſt object of moral approbation.

In this ſtrict ſenſe, the ſelfiſh ſyſtem *muſt* be unfavourable to virtue; becauſe it is, in truth, a general licence to vice. But we will forget the inconſiſtency, and allow that, where the perceived happineſs of the agent is the ſole ſtandard of morals, there may yet be a diſtinction of actions, as morally *right* or *wrong*.—How much, however, muſt our better emotions be deadened, by that reference to ſelf, which *ought* continually to be made! for, if ſelfiſh happineſs be the eſſence of virtue, it is the *duty* of every individual to have that happineſs conſtantly in view; and he is leaſt virtuous, as to *motive*, who forgets it moſt. Is it by ſuch a reference, made with cautious deductions, in every ſituation of public feeling, that generoſity, patriotiſm, and all the devotions of benevolence, are to be foſtered into habits? We blame the ſyſtem of thoſe calculators of the general good, who prohibit the indulgence of any ſentiment of affection, till we have compared it, as to its reſult, with every other feeling. But even theſe, though they deprive us of many pleaſures, ſtill leave us ſomething, beyond ourſelves, to which our hearts may turn. If we blame, then, as diminiſhing our moral ſympathy, thoſe eſtimates, in which our own happineſs is ſacrificed to that of others, with an extravagance of generoſity, what ſhall we ſay of the moral influence of a ſyſtem, in which ſelf is the ſole ſtandard; which calculates with equal caution, but which, in its calculation, lays out of account, as things of no eſſential moment, the happineſs and the miſery of every other being; and allows us to relieve the moſt preſſing want of him who has waſted his fortune or his health in our ſervice, only when we have found, that, by the caſual connexion of things, his miſery cannot continue a moment longer, without ſome evil to ourſelves? The word *ſelfiſh* has, we know, two very different meanings, in the philoſophic and the vulgar acceptation. But

we fear, that the ſtate of mind which in the one caſe it denotes, will, in many inſtances, very ſpeedily follow, when the other has become the ſtandard of our moral regard.

In our examination of the moral tendency of theſe doctrines, as aſſerted by Mr Belſham, it is not our wiſh to turn againſt him his own *undeniable principle;* and to ſay, that, becauſe their influence is pernicious, they are neceſſarily falſe. But we ſtill ſay, that, on the *ſuppoſition* of their truth, their tendency is not *therefore* beneficial. We love truth much, but we love virtue more; and there is no degree of knowledge, which would not, in our opinion, be too dearly purchaſed, if, to obtain it, we were to ſacrifice all the pureſt pleaſures, and beſt affections, of the uncorrupted heart.

The Scotch philoſophy, as it is termed by Mr Belſham, is treated with very little favour. He diſdains to make uſe of its ſupport, and is content, in preference, to ſtep boldly into any difficulty. Thus, after ſtating the doubt as to the exiſtence of external things, he ſays, 'The Scotch philoſophy again refers us to inſtinctive conviction, a doctrine already ſufficiently exploded' What then is the more convincing argument, which he oppoſes to Berkeley? He allows the hypotheſis to be *poſſible:*

'But, if it be admitted,' he continues, 'we have no evidence of the exiſtence of any beings in the univerſe, but the Deity and ourſelves. All that we ſee, or perceive by the ſenſes, and every perſon with whom we converſe, are mere *entia rationis*, having no real exiſtence: and, for the loſs of theſe, it is a poor compenſation, that we may infer from the benevolence of God, that there are in the univerſe other ſolitary individuals like ourſelves, ſubject to the ſame illuſive impreſſions.

'The exiſtence of an external world is not often made the ſubject of inquiry, and cannot therefore be called the proper object of belief or diſbelief. To thoſe who ſpeculate upon the ſubject, the ſuppoſition of the real exiſtence of external objects commonly appears more pleaſing in itſelf, and therefore more agreeable to divine benevolence, than to ſuppoſe that we are ſubjected to a perpetual illuſion; and no caſe has ever occurred which can lay a foundation for doubting the truth of this concluſion.' P. 131. 132.

The chief part of this objection to Berkeley is the mere ſtatement of conſequences, which Berkeley himſelf had drawn, and which are, in truth, eſſential to the theory; and of the reſt, we ſcarcely can perſuade ourſelves, that Mr Belſham ſeriouſly propoſes it, as the ground of our belief in an external world. Did man believe in that world, only after he had found out, that a ſociety of *ſubſtances* would be more pleaſing, than the exiſtence of mere *entia rationis*, and therefore more ſuitable to the benevolence of Deity? Did the idea of an all-perfect Creator precede our firſt idea of an external creation? Is a metaphyſical truth to be computed from tables of profit and loſs? Does the poor man believe

believe himſelf rich and healthy, becauſe poverty and ſickneſs are evils, and do the compaſſionate deny the exiſtence of murder and miſery, becauſe the production of virtue and happineſs appears to them more agreeable to divine goodneſs? We are convinced, that Mr Belſham himſelf believed in an external world, as ſtrongly, before he felt the force of the ratiocination he has given us, as he did afterwards; and we fear, that, when he queſtions again his own belief, he muſt trace it to that very inſtinctive conviction, which it is his boaſt that he has himſelf exploded. To ſay of an opinion, that, becauſe it has not often been made a ſubject of inquiry, it is not a proper object of diſbelief, is either without meaning, or expreſſes ſtill more ſtrongly that *faith* for which the Scotch philoſophers contend. To them univerſal aſſent is neceſſary; but to Mr Belſham it is ſufficient that inquiry *has not often been made*. His argument, from the circumſtance that no caſe has ever occurred in oppoſition to our concluſion, is a truly happy inſtance of a *queſtion aſſumed*. The *real ſucceſſion of our ideas* is not affected by the controverſies of philoſophers. Unleſs, therefore, we have previouſly believed in an external world, no *caſe can* occur to diſprove it; and, if we have previouſly believed in it, the ſame *caſes* which ſeem to the idealiſt to juſtify his faith, *muſt* ſeem to us to juſtify our own.

In the general execution of the work, there are many traces of that haſtineſs of compilation, by which expreſſions and opinions vary in force, according to the author laſt read. Of this a ſtriking example occurs, in the Syſtem of Ethics before examined; in which, though virtue be the willing of our own good, and ſelf-intereſt its ſole obligation, it is afterwards conceded to the advocates of benevolence, that 'ſelf-annihilation is eſſential to perfect virtue,' and that even 'that moſt refined ſelf-intereſt, by which we practiſe virtue and piety with a view to ultimate reward, is inconſiſtent with the perfection of virtue:' ſo that we ceaſe to have any virtue, the moment we feel its *obligation:* and are then moſt virtuous, when the very eſſence of virtue is wholly diſregarded or deſpiſed. For this want of correctneſs and of intereſt, we may, as critics, blame the work; but we confeſs that we do not regret it. We know what faſcination it is in the power of eloquence to give to errors the moſt dangerous; and it is therefore better, when ſuch evils are to be ſhed abroad, that they ſhould not come from the hand of a maſter.

ART.

ART. XXII. *Reflexions ſur le Divorce.* Par Madame Necker. Nouv. Edit. Paris. Chez Pougens. An X.—1802.

AMONG many inſtances of raſh and inconſiderate legiſlation which the French Revolution has furniſhed, the law which occaſioned the work before us is not the leaſt ſtriking. Legiſlators, intruſted by their fellow-citizens with the care of the private rights, the domeſtic happineſs, and the morality of the nation, ought to ſhow ſome ſenſe of the importance of the duty they are to diſcharge; and, if they have not wiſdom enough to adopt proper meaſures, they ought at leaſt to ſhow a degree of caution correſponding to the value of the object at ſtake. As Madame Necker could not be ſuppoſed very lenient in criticiſing the errors of the French Legiſlature, our expectations were raiſed by the ample opportunity which was here afforded; and both the nature of the ſubject, and the high reputation for talents which has always accompanied her name, made us regard this work with no ſmall degree of intereſt. We muſt, however, confeſs, that our expectations, as to the general ſtyle and execution of the work, have been by no means fulfilled. In almoſt every page, we were oppreſſed with a load of ſimilies and compariſons, and of Greek and Roman names, of all ſorts and deſcriptions. The whole treatiſe is compoſed like a ſchool-boy's theme, where the plaineſt thing that he ſtates muſt be illuſtrated by a ſimile; and he muſt alſo at every ſtep undergo the labour of turning up his claſſical dictionary, to find out ſome virtuous Greek or Roman, who did ſomething or other, which had either ſome or no reſemblance to what he is writing about. Theſe 'Reflections' are ſo extremely fruitful in illuſtrations of this ſort, that, if the ſubject was not a very plain one, the very illuſtrations would make it obſcure. Where it is neceſſary to talk of filial reſpect to aged parents, and the delight which it affords to its objects, this ſufficiently plain idea is illuſtrated by the crops of violets * which grow on the Alps, at the ſide of mountains of ice, and perfume them with their ambroſia. Now, every perſon will be ready to acknowledge, that filial reſpect and duty muſt be the greateſt conſolation of old age. But it is not ſo eaſily diſcovered, that Glaciers derive any advantage from violets growing in their neighbourhood. A few ſuch ſimilies, though not in the beſt taſte, might be tolerated. But a conſtant ſucceſſion of illuſtrations, of one ſort or other, is infinitely more tireſome than the moſt plain and homely language. Madame Necker, however, is ſtill more productive in examples than in ſimilies. She, ſomehow or other, acquired an immenſe ſtock of Greek and Roman names, and thought proper

* Page 43.

proper to muſter them all on the occaſion. There is hardly a common-place ſtory we have heard ſince we went to ſchool, that is not mentioned or alluded to. The conduct of Helen is conſidered as an inſtance particularly in point. Aſtyanax and Andromache, Clytemneſtra, Oreſtes, Jaſon, Medea, Meleagre, Polyxena, Ruth and Naomi, Æneas and Cæſar, Moſes and Hymen, with the more humble names of Baucis and Philemon, form a part of the numerous aſſemblage to which the reader is introduced. The learned authoreſs muſt have determined to terrify her countrywomen into modeſty and good behaviour, by her ſuperior knowledge and erudition. With what ſuperior reſpect and reverence muſt we look to a book, which, every ſecond line, talks of the lyre of Orpheus, the fate of Pygmalion, the picture of Timanthes, and the death of Arria and Pætus? We ſhould not object much to all this diſplay of ſecond-rate erudition, were we not convinced that it is a mode of writing, of all others, the leaſt adapted to the ſubject treated of. Such a work can never be popular; becauſe a great proportion of thoſe to whom it is addreſſed, can neither underſtand it, nor derive any amuſement from the peruſal; and perſons of better information require ſomething more than a mere enumeration of Greek and Latin names on a ſubject of this kind. Though a great many of the ancients, who are introduced on this occaſion, merely make their appearance for ornament or parade, ſome of them, however, have a more important part to perform. The wicked moderns are deſired to take example from the pure conjugal fidelity of the ancients. Madame Necker ſays, that, in Greece, divorce was neither permitted by the laws, nor by the cuſtoms of that country. But the manner in which ſhe arrives at this concluſion is rather curious. She obſerves that the Greek poets have painted the fatal conſequences of domeſtic quarrels in the moſt lively colours—

'And if divorce has not been directly mentioned in their moral fables, it is, without doubt, becauſe it was not permitted, either by the laws or cuſtoms. For the faults of women are ſo ſeverely puniſhed in them, and the bonds of marriage appear ſo ſacred, that we muſt *conclude that they were indiſſoluble;* and that this people had decided, along with Jeſus Chriſt, that divorce and adultery were ſynonymous. The Greeks had placed the purity of female manners under the ſecurity of a vague and undefinable terror, produced by the awful connexion of crime and puniſhment. Helen is unfaithful, and Troy is in aſhes. Clytemneſtra betrays her huſband, and ſoon afterwards ſhe aſſaſſinates him. Oreſtes kills his mother, to avenge the death of his father; and he is delivered up to the furies. Let us here obſerve, *that an infallible way of aſcertaining perfectly the opinions and manners of a nation, is to judge by the aſſociation of ideas.* By diſplaying the unhappy cataſtrophe, the Greeks increaſe the horror which they wiſh to inſpire

inſpire towards perjured women. Guilt appears more heinous, from the dread with which it is regarded; and remorſe is, in their tragedies, the exceſs of deſolation.' P. 59.

Madame Necker's infallible mode of judging has not been very ſucceſsful on this occaſion. She concludes, becauſe ſome of the events, related in the Greek poets and tragedians, turn upon adultery or inceſt, without any divorces being mentioned, that no divorces were permitted. It happens, however, unfortunately for her argument, that, in moſt parts of Greece, divorce appears to have been permitted by the laws. In Crete, any perſon might diſmiſs his wife, who was afraid of having too many children *. At Athens, divorce was ſanctioned by the chief magiſtrate, under the authority of the laws, upon very trifling grounds. And, in Sparta, the Lacedemonians appear to have conſidered adultery as rather laudable. Madame Necker muſt at leaſt have read through a French tranſlation of Plutarch; and, if ſhe did, ſhe muſt have ſeen in the life of Pericles, that a divorce took place between him and his wife, who was his near relation, by mutual conſent, upon which he married Aſpaſia. And as for the purity of Grecian morals, the great moral philoſopher Socrates is ſaid to have accommodated his pupil Alcibiades with the uſe of his wife Xantippe; and, notwithſtanding the very refractory temper which that lady is ſaid to have poſſeſſed, ſhe is believed to have been obedient to her huſband, at leaſt in that inſtance.

Although our authoreſs appears to have been rather better acquainted with Roman hiſtory and manners, ſhe is not very fortunate in her remarks. She obſerves—

'Can we believe that Cornelia or Veturia would have formed new engagements—I do not ſay during the life of their firſt huſbands (for that ſuppoſition alone would outrage their memory)—but, even after their death, would they have driven from their *penates* the noble and cheriſhed ſhades which they continually held out as examples to their children? Would Coriolanus have yielded to the tears of Veturia, if he had not been brought up by her in the ſanctuary of conjugal love, in the preſence of the manes of his father? And could Rome have filled the univerſe with the noiſe of her exploits, without the influence of filial reſpect? Such are the important conſequences of the ſanctity of marriage. What dangerous conſequences muſt ariſe to the children, from the ſeparation of the authors of their exiſtence! What deſtructive diſcord muſt not the ſtrange combinations attending divorce produce upon their opening underſtandings!' P. 48.

We are not to ſuppoſe, that the idea of divorce was altogether unknown in the time of Veturia, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has

* Archbiſhop Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 296.

ment of death, in which view they were conſidered as ſlaves, and to the ſuffering of ſhame, or rather diſgrace, which could only be felt by thoſe who were free; and this combination is perhaps peculiar in ſocial order. The Roman ladies, who were ſubjected to ſo ſevere laws, gave few ſubjects of complaint to their huſbands; and there is no reaſon for being ſurpriſed, that centuries ſhould elapſe, without producing one inſtance of repudiation. But what connexion can be found between divorce, as eſtabliſhed among the Romans, and that which is now adopted? The one was at once a law of ſlavery and modeſty; the other, a law of liberty and audacity. At Rome, divorce was the guardian of decency; in France, it will be the corrupter of decency: and if repudiation had been introduced among us, as it was among the Romans, women would always be the victims. The only object of affection would be charms, which ſo ſoon paſs away; and, amidſt the depravity of our manners, the firſt trait of old age would have been the ſignal for ſeparation. The duration of marriages would have been limited to the ſpring-time of life; and the faded roſe would be cruelly ſeparated from its prop, and delivered up to all the ſtorms of life. Notwithſtanding, however, the partiality of the law, which only gave men the freedom of divorce, this form will be leſs injurious to the purity of manners, which, in uniſon with nature, afford women an opportunity of exerciſing one additional virtue.'

The knowledge which Madame Necker here diſplays of Roman cuſtoms, is not very profound. She does not appear even to have underſtood what they meant by *repudiation;* * and, if ſhe did, it is perfectly clear, from the law of the Twelve Tables, already referred to, that both ſexes had the power of diſſolving the marriage, even at that period of the Roman commonwealth. The eulogiums, therefore, which ſome very reſpectable hiſtorians have paſſed upon the purity and ſanctity of the ancient Roman marriages, muſt be received, ſubject to many limitations. A great miſtake, into which they appear to have fallen, has already been pointed out by Monteſquieu †; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that divorces by mutual conſent were unknown, when, in their very limited code of laws, there was one which allowed it to either party. There is, however, no reaſon to ſuppoſe that huſbands would be very apt to diſmiſs wives who were entirely ſubject

* *Repudium*, in its appropriate meaning, applied to the caſe of *ſponſalia: divortium*, to marriage. The words of form were different, from that circumſtance. *Vide* Heinec. Antiq. Rom. vol. 1. p. 311. Roſin. Antiq. p. 458.

† Eſprit des Loix, L. 16. c. 16. That profound and acute writer explains the reaſon why Carvilius Ruga, divorcing his wife at the deſire of the Cenſors, on account of ſterility, although he loved her himſelf, might make him odious to his countrymen, who dreaded ſuch interference: but it cannot be believed that that was the firſt inſtance of divorce among the Romans.

ſubject to their authority, at a time when their perſonal labour was of ſome value. The huſband, after conſulting with his friends, might put his wife to death, if he choſe, for an act of drunkenneſs; and if he was tired of her, he might oblige any of his friends, by making her over to him. Where a huſband had all this power, it could hardly be his intereſt to diſſolve the marriage. If he did ſo, it might perhaps, even among the virtuous Romans, be regarded as an act of folly, if not cruelty. We muſt therefore regret very much, that Madame Necker has ſo much weakened her argument, by conſtant reference to manners and laws with which ſhe was altogether unacquainted, and which certainly cannot be held out as models for reforming the corruption of modern marriages. No ſpecies of adultery can appear more offenſive, than the tranſaction of the virtuous Cato with his friend Hortenſius; and we are moſt decidedly of opinion, that if Madame Necker had employed the talents ſhe appears to poſſeſs, in delivering her ſentiments without all that parade of learning, her work would have been much better calculated to promote the cauſe, which ſhe ſeems to have eſpouſed, from the moſt amiable and virtuous motives.

After the obſervations we have already made, it is hardly neceſſary to give a minute analyſis of the arguments uſed by Madame Necker. She conſiders the queſtion in four points of view: 1. The individual happineſs of married perſons in their youth: 2. The bad effects of divorce with regard to children: 3. The effect of divorce upon manners: and, *laſtly*, The comfort and conſolation which old age derives from the married ſtate. All thoſe objects of marriage are defeated, according to our author, by the law permitting divorces. She views the reproduction of the ſpecies as a very ſecondary object in marriage; and that the primary object is the union of affections, ſentiments, and intereſt, which ought to take place; and which marriage, according to Scripture, was inſtituted to promote. It is rather ſingular, that Milton, arguing in favour of the liberty of divorce, reſts his argument on preciſely the ſame foundation as Madame Necker oppoſing it.—'For although God, in 'the firſt ordaining of marriage, taught us to what end he did it, 'in the words expreſsly implying the apt and cheerful converſa- 'tion of man with woman, to comfort and refreſh him of the evil 'and ſolitary life, not mentioning the purpoſe of generation till 'afterwards, as being but a ſecondary end in dignity, though not 'in neceſſity; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the 'church, and have taſted in any ſort the nuptial bed, let them find 'themſelves never ſo miſtaken in their diſpoſitions through any er- 'ror, concealment, or miſadventure, that through their different 'tempers,

'tempers, thoughts, and conſtitutions, they can neither be to 'one another a remedy againſt lonelineſs, nor live in any union 'or contentment all their dayes, yet they ſhall, ſo they be but 'found ſuitably weapon'd to the leaſt poſſibility of ſenſual enjoy-'ment, be made, ſpight of *antipathy*, to fadge together, and 'combine as they may to their unſpeakable weariſomneſs, and 'deſpair of all ſociable delight in the ordinance which God eſta-'bliſht to that very end.*' Milton's great object is to ſhew, that, according both to the Moſaic code and the Chriſtian diſpenſation, divorce was permitted for other cauſes beſides adultery, particularly 'indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, and contrariety of mind.' The motive which urged him to compoſe theſe treatiſes is well known. With all their paradoxes, they abound in eloquent paſſages; but neither theſe, nor the great name of their author, have preſerved them from almoſt total oblivion. Even at the time they were publiſhed, they do not appear to have made any great impreſſion upon his countrymen. No Legiſlature, however raſh and inconſiderate, will venture to make ſuch a change on the laws of a country, unleſs ſome preparation has been made for it in the cuſtoms and manners of the people in France. Long before the Revolution, the marriages of perſons of a certain rank were little better than nominal. This fact is acknowledged by Madame Necker. The mere formal diſſolution of marriages, which, in point of fact, no longer exiſted, is not perhaps to be much regretted. But this is no vindication of the law permitting divorce. Its influence might not be material, either on marriages which were ſupported by the firm bond of mutual affection, or on thoſe already diſſolved by the profligacy of the huſband, or the infidelity of the wife. Such laws have little effect on either extremes; but, in every nation, there is a large claſs of perſons who are neither determined in vice, nor reſolute in virtue. A ſudden innovation on the laws of a country, opens a career to their wavering diſpoſitions, and is likely to produce the worſt effects. Milton appears to have been ſenſible, that, in his time, the oppoſition he had chiefly to dread, was that ariſing from the influence of habit and cuſtom. After entreating Parliament to adopt, without delay, the reformation he propoſes,† 'leſt ſome other people, more devout and wiſe 'than we, bereave us this offer'd immortal glory, or wonted 'prerogative, of being the firſt aſſertors in every great vindica-'tion,' he ſays, 'For me, as far as my part leads me, I have 'already my greateſt gain, aſſurance, and inward ſatisfaction to 'have done in this nothing unworthy of an honeſt life, and 'ſtudies well employ'd. With what event, among the wiſe and

* Milton's Works, vol. i. p. 280. † Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce.

'right underſtanding handful of men, I am ſecure. But how 'among the drove of cuſtom and prejudice this will be reliſht 'by ſuch whoſe capacity ſince their youth run ahead into the 'eaſy creek of a ſyſtem or a medulla, ſails there at will under 'the blown phyſiognomy of their unlabour'd audiments; for 'them, what their taſte will be, I have alſo ſurety ſufficient, 'from the entire league that hath been ever between formal 'ignorance and grave obſtinacy.*' With whatever contempt even Milton may attempt to treat cuſtom: in matters of this kind, it muſt ever be conſidered as the ſovereign authority. The relation which laws bear to the cuſtoms and manners of a nation, is the real ſecurity for their endurance. Where there is this double ſecurity, the raſheſt innovators will heſitate. But where, as in France, eſtabliſhments of every kind have been long undermined, by changes in manners and cuſtoms, to which they were not accommodated, the firſt ſhock deſtroys the crazy ſuperſtructure, and, in the general ruin, the morality of the country is deſtroyed, along with the fantaſtic decorations which formerly concealed its imperfections, without affording it any real ſupport. The arguments on which this queſtion muſt turn, have long ago been brought forward by Hume, Eſſay 19. Part 1.; and Madame Necker does not appear to have made any addition to them.

We have already pointed out the moſt ſtriking defects in this work, which are of a nature that we ſhould be ſorry to ſee imitated. We have no doubt, that if Madame Necker had reſiſted her fondneſs for learned names, her love of ſimiles, and the admiration ſhe appears to have felt for Rouſſeau's writings, to which ſhe frequently refers, ſhe would have been a very pleaſing writer. Almoſt every page reminds us of theſe defects; and the reputation of the author makes it more neceſſary to point them out. In the laſt part of the work there are ſome pleaſing paſſages on the conſolation which conjugal affection and happineſs afford to old age. Another part of it contains an addreſs to Madame Cuſtine, which would be entitled to the praiſe of eloquence, if it were not overloaded with rhetorical and poetical ornament. It is introduced, after mentioning the example of Ruth and Naomi; and we quote it in the original, as a tranſlation might give but a very imperfect idea of the merits or defects of Madam Necker's ſtyle.

'Dans un temps où les mœurs étoient ſi ſimples et ſi pures, les femmes même dont les vertus avoient le plus d'éclat, ſuivoient cependant la pente naturelle de leur ſiècle ſans y faire époque. Mais vous, gloire de votre ſexe, charmante et ſublime exception à tous ſes déſordres, à toutes ſes

* Milton's Works, vol. i. p. 280.

ſes inconſéquences, à toutes ſes independances, à toutes ſes fauſſes exaltations pour de faux devoirs, je baiſe les traces de vos pas ; je les couvre de fleurs jusqu'à la porte de cette priſon que vos larmes vous font ouvrir chaque jour : puiſſe le charme de vos vertus, pareil à celui de la lyre d'Orphée, fléchir les arbitres de la mort, et préſenter un nouvel argument, plus touchant que tous les autres, en faveur de l'identité des époux et de l'indiſſolubilité du marriage ! ' p. 44. 45.

We have not obſerved that the defects we complain of in Madame Necker's ſtyle have prevailed to any extent in the writings of our fair countrywomen : the example is, however, dangerous. Though we are not diſpoſed to aſſign any limits to female acquiſitions in literature or erudition, the diſplay of them ought to be attended with ſome degree of caution. A woman may have read ſome tranſlations of the claſſics, with the profound notes of Madame Dacier, or even conſtrued part of Virgil in the original, without being able to afford much inſtruction to the world. She may be a ſort of prodigy in her own circle, without having acquiſitions beyond thoſe of a boy of ſixteen. Both will be ready, upon all occaſions, to name every Roman or Greek they ever heard any thing about ; but in their blind and miſtaken zeal they will be apt to praiſe them for thoſe very virtues to which they have leaſt pretenſions.

ART. XXIII. *Tranſactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Vol. V. Part II. 1802.

THE firſt paper in this volume is entitled—

' *Remarks on a Mixed Species of Evidence in Matters of Hiſtory : With an Examination of a new Hiſtorical Hypotheſis in the* Mémoires pour la vie de Petrarque, *by the Abbé de Sade.* By Aexander Frazer Tytler Eſq. F. R. S. Edin. Judge-Advocate of North Britain.'

THE diſcovery of a new ſpecies of evidence is not one of thoſe every-day occurrences in the literary world, which paſs before us with a ſlight noice, or without any obſervation. In fact, we ſcarcely remember any ſuch diſcovery in the hiſtory of human ſcience, unleſs, perhaps, the philoſophy of Bacon may be ranked under this head. The moſt important inventions of art—the moſt brilliant improvements of ſcience—the achievements of Archimedes and of Newton themſelves—were only ſucceſsful applications of kinds of evidence formerly uſed, or happy generalizations of principles previouſly known in detail. So much has been done, too, with the old ſorts of evidence, and ſo great advances have been made ſince the logic of Bacon ſucceeded that of the ſchools, that,

upon opening this volume, and caſting our eyes on the firſt article, our expectations were raiſed to the higheſt pitch. We glanced a delightful eye over the vaſt ſpace of enlarged ſcience, which we conceived was now to be opened. We beheld all obſcurity cleared up, and all doubt removed. We ſaw, or fancied we ſaw, new regions of diſcovery laid open to every induſtrious adept in this new art; and never doubted, that Mr Tytler had fallen upon ſome commodious method for elucidating the Chineſe and Egyptian chronologies; or, at leaſt, for aſcertaining the guilt and the hunchback of Richard, or the innocence of Mary. Amidſt the vaſt choice of objects to which we conceived our newly-acquired lantern might be directed, we were only at a loſs to which it ſhould firſt be turned. It is true, we were ſoon awakened from this reverie, by the candour and fairneſs of our author, who, it muſt be confeſſed, does not indulge his reader with a long dream: For, in the firſt twelve lines, we were mortified to find, that the '*mixed evidence*' is only what we have hitherto been accuſtomed to call preſumptive or circumſtantial proof; and that the canons, in which the deſcription is paraded with no common pomp, amount only to an indiſtinct and imperfect ſtatement of thoſe ordinary and obvious principles, which regulate the admiſſion of that moſt common ſpecies of evidence. The mixture of fact and criticiſm is ſo far from being an original compound, that no modern hiſtorian can proceed a ſingle page without it: it is merely arguing by conjecture, from a ſcanty ſtore of facts, and ſettling by criticiſm the admiſſibility of thoſe facts.

After we had, for a moment, given way to thoſe emotions of diſappointment, that ſo commonly fall to the lot of ſuch reviewers as read further than the title-pages of books, we began to derive conſolation, from the hopes that a common tool, in the hand of a ſkilful workman, might produce a maſterpiece; and that much remained yet to be diſcovered, acceſſible to the kinds of evidence in general uſe. Again we were ſomewhat diſappointed; the uſe to which the '*mixed evidence*' has been applied is, the aſcertaining that the Laura of Petrarch was a modeſt maid. While we thought little of ſuch matters, and were expecting the entrance of a grave inquirer into important affairs, there appears upon the ſtage a courteous knight * (we uſe the language of his own challenge) clad in *new* armour, toſſing down the gauntlet for the fainted Laura, and, muttering a few ſhort ſentences as to the rules of the jouſt, and the greatneſs of the occaſion, he gallantly advances, and, lifting up his beaver, beſpeaks attention, by exhibiting a *miniature* of his fair (but departed) miſtreſs. He ſingles out a certain diſcourteous

* P. 125.

diſcourteous knight, clad in old clerical armour—points his ſpear againſt him—arraigns him of blaſphemy for having injured the fame of Laura—and dares him to try the proof of that new armour in which our laſt knight is attired. In humbler phraſe, the new evidence is circumſtantial evidence; and the new uſe that is made of it, is to prove that Laura was not a coquette, and Petrarch not a ſeducer.

We will not diſſemble the diſappointment which we experienced, upon coming all at once to the full diſcovery of this circumſtance. But, reſigning ourſelves to our fate, we ſlowly proceeded in our melancholy vocation; and began to wade through nearly 90 quarto pages of critical diſquiſition, dictated by the moſt enthuſiaſtic admiration of the ſubject, both male and female indicative of the ſame chivalrous ſoul which induced the enterprize, and ſymptomatic of rather a rancorous ſpirit of controverſy, diſplayed in obſtinate attacks upon the particular principles and morals of the poor Abbé de Sade. *

We acknowledge, however, that we have found the labour lighter as we proceeded. We have been much pleaſed with the acuteneſs with which our author refutes the Abbé's fanciful hypotheſis. We have experienced much relaxation from the agreeable variety afforded by his elegant and accompliſhed talents; we ſoon recognized an old friend, from whoſe claſſical acquirements we had frequently before received pleaſure; and we approve the virtuous principles which he everywhere diſplays, although we cannot ſympathiſe in his zeal for Laura's honour, and Petrarch's piety.

Various opinions have divided the learned world upon the ſubject of Laura. Some have begun at the root of the matter, and queſtioned her exiſtence altogether. Among thoſe who have moſt ſtoutly aſſerted her reality, ſome have contended that ſhe was the virgin Mary, while others have inſiſted, with equal confidence, that ſhe was not only a mere woman, but a ſtrumpet. The Abbé de Sade, again, in later times, has maintained, that ſhe was not exactly a ſtrumpet, but ſomething between a coquette and an adultereſs; and Mr Tytler will have her to have been a moſt pure and unblemiſhed, though a clay-built virgin. For our parts, we are little intereſted in the controverſy, and ſhall not preſume to decide upon it. We have derived much pleaſure from reading the delightful ſonnets of Petrarch. If they were addreſſed to an image of his own brain, fairer than any actual Laura in nature, we ſhould only the more warmly admire the poetical ſpirit of that extraordinary perſonage, and the wonderful command of imagery and fiction which ſhould give ſuch an air of reality and ardour to the expreſſion of a fictitious paſſion. If Laura was a ſtrumpet, or an adultereſs, we ſhould blame both

* *Vide* p. 154, 155, & 156.

her and Petrarch, as moraliſts; yet, though we ſhould call down on our heads all the remnant in the vials of Mr Tytler's wrath (if any remains unexhauſted on the Abbé), we muſt acknowledge that we have received pleaſure from the Lydia of Horace, and even from the Alexis of Virgil. Provided an ancient poem contain no apparent violation of propriety in morals, we care very little about the character of its author, and ſtill leſs about the chaſtity of the fair one to whom it was addreſſed: and of Laura, there does not now remain a veſtige on earth beyond the verſes themſelves. The honour of an obſcure girl, long forgotten, and, if a real perſon, many ages ago dead, rotten, and annihilated, appears to us one of the leaſt intereſting ſubjects upon which a learned Society could poſſibly beſtow its attention. —*De guſtibus*, &c.

The next article in the collection is—

'*A Deſcription of an Extra-Uterine Fœtus.* By Mr Thomas Blizzard, F. R. S. Edinburgh, Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery, and Surgeon to the London Hoſpital.'

This contains a very conciſe and clear deſcription (with two moſt excellent plates) of a ſingular caſe of conception. The ſubject was, a woman of 28 years old, who had ſome full births, and ſeveral miſcarriages, particularly one about five weeks before her death. The diſeaſe which carried her off, was an uncommon pain and ſwelling of the abdomen, accompanied by ſenſations ſo extraordinary, that ſhe deſired her friends to have her body opened after her death. In compliance with this wiſh, Mr Blizzard diſſected her, and obſerved particularly that there had been, in the fallopian tubes, a ſmall pouch formed, and with a rupture and hæmorrhage from it. The uterus was enlarged, and a quantity of jelly was found extending from the os uteri. The embryo had apparently reſted in the fallopian tube, inſtead of paſſing into the uterus; and an extra-uterine geſtation had there taken place, in conſequence of which that tube had burſt. Our author, after remarking the ſingularly ſmall portion of time which had intervened between the laſt miſcarriage, and the new conception of this induſtrious propagatrix of the ſpecies, accounts for the ſtoppage of the fœtus, by ſuppoſing that ſome irregular and caſual contraction of the fallopian tube had taken place, as all the veſſels, and the tube itſelf, were in their natural ſtate.

This intereſting article is followed by a *Meteorological Abſtract* for the years 1797, 1798, 1799, by Profeſſor Playfair, a gentleman fully known to our readers, in various branches of abſtruſe ſcience. Theſe tables are conſtructed on a very excellent plan; and we recommend the improvement to all our readers who may have

have an opportunity of doing—what ſo many perſons do ill—keeping a regiſter of the weather, in different parts of the country.

We are next preſented with a very valuable paper—

A New and Univerſal Solution of Kepler's Problem.
By James Ivory *Eſq.*

Our ſcientific readers are well acquainted with the celebrated inquiry to which Kepler was led, after the diſcovery of the law which bears his name. Having proved that the ſquares of the periodic times are as the cubes of the diſtances, he wiſhed to diſcover a method of finding the true place of a planet at a given time—one of the moſt important and general problems in Aſtronomy. By a ſhort and eaſy proceſs of reaſoning, he reduced this queſtion to the ſolution of a tranſcendental problem;—to draw from a given eccentric point, in the tranſverſe of an ellipſe (or the diameter of a circle) a ſtraight line, which ſhall cut the area of the curve in a given ratio; or, in the language of aſtronomers, 'from the given mean anomaly, to find the anomaly of the eccentric.'

This moſt important problem is evidently tranſcendental; for, in the firſt place, the curve in queſtion is not quadrable; and, in the next place, admitting that it were, the ſolution cannot be obtained in finite terms. As the general queſtion, for all trajectories, is of vaſt importance; and as this paper contains a moſt ſucceſsful application of the utmoſt reſources of algebraic ſkill to the moſt important caſe of it, we ſhall premiſe a few remarks upon the problem, when enunciated in different caſes.

Let d^2 be the given area of any curve, which is the trajectory of a planet or other body, or which is to be cut in the given ratio of m to n. Let x and y, as uſual, be the abſciſſa and ordinate, and c the eccentricity of the given point, through which the *radius vector* is to be drawn, if the equation is taken from the centre; or if it is taken from the vertex, let c be the diſtance of the given point from that vertex—as the focal diſtance in the caſe of the planets or comets, (ſuppoſing the comets to revolve round the ſun in parabolas or eccentric ellipſes, having the ſun in the focus), then, it may eaſily be found, that the following fluxional equation $2\int y\dot{x} + y(c - x) = \frac{2md^2}{m+n}$ if reſolved for the caſe of any given curve, gives a ſolution of the problem for that curve. Inſtead of $\int y\dot{x}$, there muſt be ſubſtituted the general expreſſion for the area found by integration; and y muſt then be expreſſed through the whole equation in terms of x, or x in terms of y: There will reſult an equation to x, or to y, which, when reſolved, gives a ſolution of the problem.

Now, it is manifeſt, that one or both of two difficulties or impoſſibilities may occur in this inveſtigation of the value of x. It may be impoſſible to exhibit $\int y \dot{x}$ in finite terms; and it may be impoſſible, even after finding $\int y \dot{x}$, to reſolve the equation that reſults from ſubſtituting the value of $\int y \dot{x}$ in the general equation above given. Thus, if the given curve is not quadrable, the equation can never be reſolved; but, although the curve is quadrable, it does not follow that the equation can be reſolved.

In the caſe of the *circle* and *ellipſe*, both theſe difficulties muſt of courſe concur. The value of $\int y \dot{x}$ in the circle being $\int \dot{x} \sqrt{a x - x^2}$ and in the ellipſe $\int \frac{b \dot{x}}{a} \sqrt{a x - x^2}$ (where a and b are the tranſverſe and conjugate), neither of which fluents can be integrated in finite terms, the general equations become indefinite or unintegrable.

The *lemniſcata*, (a curve of the fourth order) is quadrable; but the reſolution of our general equation cannot, in this caſe, be performed in finite terms; it leads to an equation of the ſixth order, very complicated and difficult *. But, if the given point is in the centre or *punctum duplex* of the curve, the equation is a cubic one, wanting the ſecond term, and, of courſe, eaſily reſolved.

It often happens, too, that the problem may be reſolved, in general, for a curve; but that, in one particular part of the axis, the

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* The equation is of the following form, a being the lemniſcata's ſemidiameter.

$$\left.\begin{aligned} &+ x^6 \\ &+ 6c(1-a)x^5 \\ &+ \left(9c^2(1+a^2-2a) - a^2\right)x^4 \\ &- 6ca^2(1-a)^2x^3 \\ &+ \left(3a^4 - 9c^2a^2(1+a^2-2a)\right)x^2 \\ &+ 6ca^4(1-a)x \end{aligned}\right\} = \frac{12m}{m+n}a^3d^2\left(a^2 - \frac{3md^2}{m+n}\right)$$

a cubocubic having all its terms ($x^6 + Ax^5 + Bx^4 + Cx^3 + Dx^2 + Ex + F = 0$) in which A, C, and E vaniſh when the centre of motion (or of the *radii vectores*) is in the *punctum duplex*, and then the equation to x is $x^6 + Bx^4 + Dx^2 + F = 0$, reducible to the cubic $z^3 + \Delta z + \varphi = 0$. So that the problem is ſoluble, except when the eccentricity is ſuch that $\left(\frac{\Delta}{3}\right)^3$ is leſs than $\left(\frac{\varphi}{2}\right)$, the irreducible caſe of Cardan's rule.

the ſolution becomes impoſſible. As this is rather a ſingular circumſtance, we ſhall attend a little more minutely to it.

Let it be required to reſolve the problem for the caſe of comets, ſuppoſing thoſe bodies to move in parabolic orbits. The general equation for x becomes $x\sqrt{x} + 3c\sqrt{x} = \frac{6}{\sqrt{a}} + \frac{m d^2}{m+n}$; a cubic wanting the ſecond term, and eaſily reſolved. But, in certain caſes, viz. when c, the diſtance of the given point from the vertex, is leſs than $\frac{1}{3} d \times \sqrt[3]{\frac{m^2 d^2}{4a(m+n)^2}}$ the problem cannot be reſolved; for, in this caſe, the cubic of one third of the coefficient of x is leſs than the ſquare of half the laſt term, which is the well known irreducible caſe of Cardan's rule. In this caſe, therefore, the problem of the comet is reduced to infinite ſeries, or to the arithmetic of ſines. If the given point is in the vertex of the curve, that is, in the perihelion, the problem is always reſolvable, being reduced to the ſimple extraction of a cube root; and this is the caſe of comets which fall into the ſun.

The reſolvable caſe of the *lemniſcata* is in the ſame circumſtances, as may eaſily be ſeen by inſpecting its equation.

In ſubſtituting for $\int y\,x$, its value in our general equation, we may either give it in terms of x, that is, of the abſciſſa; or in terms of $x\,y$, that is, of the circumſcribing rectangle, and neglect any farther ſubſtitution. Thence ariſes a different and more elegant ſolution of the problem, by the interſection of curve lines; for we obtain an equation to a new curve, which cuts the former in the point required. Thus, by ſuch a proceſs in the caſe of the comet, we obtain the equation $y = \frac{6\,m\,d^2}{(m+n)(x+3c)}$ to a conic hyperbola. For brevity's ſake, put $\frac{2\,m\,d^2}{m+n} = \varphi^2$, the equation becomes $y = \frac{3\varphi^2}{x+3c}$: Therefore, taking a point on the axis at the diſtance of $3c$ beyond the given vertex (or perihelion), erect a perpendicular, and between the two lines, as aſſymptotes, deſcribe the hyperbola $x\,y = 3\varphi^2$, it will cut the given trajectory in the point required: If the given point is in the perihelion, then the perpendicular muſt be raiſed at the vertex of the parabola.

The ſolution here given by a *locus*, is evidently general, and has no impoſſible caſe. But there are ſome inſtances, in which ſuch ſolutions, although perhaps the only practicable ones, are nevertheleſs attended with an impoſſible caſe. Let us take that of the *lemniſcata*. Inſtead of the irreſoluble equation of the ſixth order,

order, we obtain, by the laſt mentioned method, a cubic equation of this form, $y = \frac{(3\varphi^2 - 2a^2)x}{3cx - x^3 - 2a^3}$, to a curve of the third order, called, if we rightly remember, by Sir Iſaac Newton, in his '*Enumeratio Linearum Tertii Ordinis*,' a *paraboliſm of the hyperbola*. Now, although this is extremely ſimple, in compariſon of the complex equation given by the direct method firſt mentioned, it has manifeſtly one impoſſible caſe, viz. when φ is equal to $a \times \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$, or when the given area is to two thirds of the ſquare of the diameter of the curve, as $m + n$ to m. In this caſe, no paraboliſm of the hyperbola can be drawn which will interſect the given curve in the point required; and this is an impoſſibility affecting every poſſible value of c, that is, every poſition of the given point, in this particular magnitude of the given area. But this circumſtance makes no difference on the reſolution of the problem by the direct method. Thus, when the eccentricity vaniſhes, or the given point is in the *punctum duplex*, the ſolution is derived from a cubic equation equally reſolvable when $\varphi = a\sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$ as when φ is either $< a \times \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$ or $> a \times \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$.

The method of reſolving this intereſting problem by *loci*, is the ſource of an immenſe variety of the moſt curious propoſitions concerning the properties and mutual relations of curve lines; and, more eſpecially, leads us to the diſcovery of various poriſms, which we otherwiſe ſhould never have found out. In order to generalize and extend theſe, it is neceſſary, that, inſtead of conſidering merely the caſe of Kepler's problem, where an area is cut by a ſtraight line, we ſhould conſider alſo the far more difficult problem of cutting the area of one curve by another curve, in a given ratio; and then the problem may be extended to the ſection, not of one curvilinear area, but of an infinite number of areas, contained between two given lines, or of the areas of all the curves of a particular kind which can be drawn between thoſe given lines. It is eaſy to perceive, that the ſame reſolution before adverted to, will not apply to thoſe more complicated problems. But our readers will find a variety of examples of this ſpecies of propoſition in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of London for 1798, which were inveſtigated chiefly in the manner above deſcribed. It is evident, that the application of ſuch problems to phyſics, does not proceed ſo far; for we have never yet diſcovered an example of a central force acting in a curvilinear direction.

The

The ſolutions which we have now deſcribed, of Kepler's problem, and of ſeveral problems of a more general ſort, are of a theoretical nature. They exhibit the mode of expreſſing by curve lines, or imaginary relations of known quantities, the relation required of the quantities given; they rather vary the difficulty, or ſimplify the relation, than remove the impediments to practical meaſurement. If it be required to exhibit the anomaly of the eccentric, we may indeed adopt the ſolution given by Sir Iſaac Newton (*Principia*, *lib.* i. *prop.* 31. *& Schol.*), or that hinted at by Kepler himſelf. The Newtonian ſolution proceeds upon the deſcription of a cycloid, and an eaſy conſtruction, by which the point required is found in the interſection of a ſtraight line with the given trajectory. In the volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1798, a ſolution is given more directly, by the interſection of a ſpecies of a cycloid of eaſy deſcription with the given curves, without any ſubſequent conſtruction. But theſe ſolutions, though more pleaſing and beautiful in theory, are uſeleſs, when it is required to exhibit a value of the *abſciſſa* correſponding to the anomaly of the eccentric, or its ſupplement, in ſuch a manner that a compariſon may be made of this line with ſome known meaſure of length. It becomes neceſſary, in this caſe, to find a numerical value of the quantity in queſtion. Now, this can only be done by a ſeries: and the two great objects in finding ſuch a ſeries, are, firſt, to give one which may be regulated by a ſimple law; and, ſecondly, to give one which may converge rapidly, ſo that its denominators rapidly increaſing, the quantities may ſoon become ſo ſmall, as not to deſerve attention in our computations.

The approximation given by Mr Ivory in the paper now before us, deſerves the firſt place among thoſe of which we are in poſſeſſion, whether we conſider its ſimplicity, univerſality, or accuracy. The ſeries is of eaſy management, applies to the moſt eccentric orbits, as well as to thoſe approaching nearer to the circle, and to all degrees of eccentricity in the given point, the centre of forces. It has the benefit, too, of a moſt rapid convergence.

He firſt gives a very ſimple and elegant geometrical method of approximation, by an application of the rectangular caſe of the general problem *de inclinationibus* of the ancient geometers. But as this is by no means ſatisfactory to the practical calculator (for reaſons before aſſigned), he proceeds next to the Algebraic ſolution.

He begins with inveſtigating the ſeries for the eccentric anomaly, when the mean anomaly is a right angle. It converges quickly, and the terms err alternately, by defect and exceſs, the difference growing continually leſs and leſs.

Our author then proceeds to the inveſtigation of a ſimilar ſeries, found in the ſame manner, for the other caſes of the mean anomaly.

anomaly. We ſhould in vain attempt to give our readers a more minute idea of this ſolution, without a detail as full as the paper now before us. We ſhall only note an *erratum* that has crept into the twelfth article. After putting $tan.\ A = e \times \frac{sin.\ \varphi}{cos.\ \varphi - m} \times sec.\ 45^\circ$ he infers that $sin.\ \frac{\Psi}{2} = tan.\ \frac{A}{2} \times 45^\circ$, it ſhould be $sin.\ \frac{\Psi}{2} = tan.\ \frac{A}{2} \times sin.\ 45^\circ$.

Our author next gives two examples of the application of his method to geometric problems concerning the circle; the one is, to biſect a given ſemicircular area by a chord from a given point in the circumference. The reſults of the ſeries which he gives for the eccentric anomaly are as follows:

Eccent. Anom. = 47° 4′ (firſt value, and leſs than the truth.)
——— = 47° 40′ 14″ (ſecond value, and greater than the truth.)
——— = 47° 39′ 12″ (third value, and leſs than the truth.)

Our readers will, from this example, perceive the excellence of the method; for, whereas the firſt two terms differ by nearly 36′, the ſecond and third differ only by 1′ 2″; or, in other words, while, by the two firſt trials, we come to a ſpace of above half a degree, in ſome part of which the point required is to be found; by the ſecond and third trials, we obtain a ſpace of about the ſixtieth part of a degree, in ſome part of which lies the reſult. By the third term of the ſeries, then, we obtain a ſolution not more than 31″ diſtant from the truth, and this in circumſtances the leaſt favourable.

The other example is a ſolution of the problem—'to draw from a point in the circumference two chords which ſhall triſect the circular area.' Here the

Eccent. Anom. = 30° 33′ (firſt value leſs).
——— = 30° 44′ 11″ (ſecond greater).

Euler's ſolution (*Analyſis*, *Inſ.* XI. 22.) differs little more than 30″ from this ſolution given by our author's *ſecond* term.

This ſpecimen will ſufficiently ſhow to our readers the ſuperior excellency of Mr Ivory's method. Former analyſts have only reſolved the caſe wherein the eccentricity is ſmall; his ſolution extends to comets as well as planets. For the planets, his rules apply with peculiar accuracy and eaſe; and his ſeries converges with extreme rapidity; ſo much ſo, that we conſider the approximation of one term ſufficient for practice. He has given a table of the values of the errors (or differences) for the different planets, computed in this way. He adds an exemplification for the famous comet of 1682, ſuppoſed to be the ſame which re-appeared

in

in 1759. His firſt approximation for the anomaly of the eccentric, reckoned from the aphelion (16 days four hours and 44′ from its perihelial paſſage), is 173° 51′, and too ſmall. The ſecond approximation is 173° 54′ 36″, exceeding the real eccentric anomaly from the perihelion by only a few ſeconds.

Our author concludes with ſhowing how a remedy may be diſcovered for the difficulties, or rather prolixity, ariſing to his computation, in the caſes where the perihelial diſtance is very ſmall; that is, where the eccentric anomaly, reckoned from the aphelion, is large; and he finds it, from a compariſon of the parabolic and elliptic ones, which coincide ſo nearly in caſes of great eccentricity, like thoſe of the comets. We ſhall here remark an *erratum* in article 17. which has crept into the left-hand ſide of the equation: Inſtead of $y + \frac{y}{3} =$ &c. it ſhould evidently be $y + \frac{y^3}{3} =$, &c. The author will excuſe ſuch minute criticiſm. We addreſs it to our readers, whom we wiſh to introduce to this admirable tract; and ſuch trifles often diſcourage young ſtudents in the mathematics: for it is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that mathematical reading is no paſſive exerciſe of the mind; but requires almoſt as much labour as mathematical writing.

The application of our author's laſt correction, deduced from the compariſon of the parabolic and elliptic trajectories, to the finding of the heliocentric place, and alſo the heliocentric diſtance (or *radius vector* of the cometic orbit), concludes this paper. We have been the more gratified by a peruſal of this laſt branch of Mr Ivory's inquiry, becauſe the ſpeculations have formerly occurred in a ſimilar form to ourſelves. The introduction of the parabola, which admits of quadrative and of definite ſolution, ſo far as regards Kepler's problem, has always appeared to us the ſureſt method of rectifying the computations of the heliocentric places and diſtances of comets, or of their perihelial eccentric anomalies and *radii vectores*, during the ſmall perihelial part of their trajectories which we are permitted to contemplate. In that part, the eccentric ellipſe and the parabola nearly coincide; and, after all, we are not perfectly certain that thoſe ſingular bodies do not move in orbits ſtrictly parabolic.

We cannot ſufficiently recommend this profound and excellent paper to our readers attention. Looking to the *logical formulas* and hiſtorical *demonſtrations* of Mr Tytler, the *mechanical inveſtigations* and *military problems* of Lord Ancram, we again are ſtricken with wonder at the ſingular *melange* which the Royal Society has contrived to bring together. Again, turning to the ſcientific labours of the mathematician, we cannot avoid exclaiming, '*O ſi ſic omnia!*'

The

The article which follows theſe excellent and profound ſpeculations, on a moſt important ſubject of abſtract ſcience, ſeems to have been admitted into this volume, partly becauſe it is the production of a noble author, and partly becauſe great variety is pleaſing in all works. The following is its title:—

'*Deſcription of ſome Improvements in the Arms and Accoutrements of Light Cavalry, propoſed by the Earl of Ancram, Colonel of the Mid-Lothian Regiment of Fencible Cavalry, and F. R. S. Edinburgh, to his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. &c. in a Letter to Captain Taylor, Military Secretary to his Excellency.*'

Where, in the name of order, are we got now? Among colonels of horſe—lord lieutenants—military ſecretaries—light cavalry—arms and accoutrements! We can read no farther. We have nothing to do with the din of arms. We thought of reviewing the ſpeculations of a learned body of peaceful ſages. But ſo dazzling is a title and a command of horſe, that theſe philoſophers, on the noble and gallant inventor preſenting his new firelock to them, and demanding admittance for the record of his fame, ſeem to have anſwered as the philoſopher of old did, upon allowing a great conqueror (a colonel or lord lieutenant of thoſe days) to beat him in an argument, 'What! ſhall I diſpute the point with an opponent who commands 100,000 ſoldiers?' We ſolemnly deny having been acceſſory, even indirectly, to this ſingular piece of authorſhip: we have not ſo much as read more of the paper than the firſt ſentence, in which, however, we find that the noble mechanic is an inventor of words as well as of firearms, and he uſes '*arm*' in the ſingular, to denote a piece of armour. As this comes under our province, we muſt remind his Lordſhip, in the words of an old courtier, (a grammarian or reviewer of Rome, we forget which), that he may raiſe what new recruits he pleaſes for his regiment, but cannot be permitted to raiſe a ſingle new word.

We would propoſe a queſtion, with all poſſible deference to the Society:—If Mr Twigg, in a fit of diſintereſted public ſpirit, had communicated to them his invention of the new breech, inſtead of going to the patent-office with it, would his paper (even if Lord Ancram had clubbed his ſhare of grammar, orthography, and new words) have been publiſhed in this volume?

A New Method, &c. By Mr W. Wallace, *Perth.*

If the preſent volume of the Edinburgh Tranſactions contains abundance of matter in which we cannot feel much intereſted, (perhaps from want of taſte and obtuſeneſs of organs), and if it is defiled by ſome traſh that we lament to ſee admitted among the ſpeculations

ſpeculations of philoſophers, it muſt be acknowledged that the ſcientific part of the collection is exceedingly rich. The papers of Meſſrs Wallace and Ivory, in particular, are ſufficiently valuable to atone for many 'Lauras' and 'gun-breeches.' We obſerve, with ſome patriotic feelings of mortification, that thoſe writers who have, we aſſert it, kept the Society's books in circulation for ſeveral years paſt, are not even members of an Inſtitution, to which they contribute ſo diſtinguiſhed, nay, ſo neceſſary a ſhare of aſſiſtance.

The paper of Mr Wallace we earneſtly recommend to the attention of every reader. We have received the higheſt gratification from a careful peruſal of it; and acknowledge, that we have ſeen few inventions in this favourite department of ſtudy, of which we ſhould ſo much deſire to be the authors. It is impoſſible to give any ſatisfactory analyſis of this tract. The peculiar conciſeneſs and compactneſs of the nobleſt ſcience, to the graſp of which the human powers have aſpired, renders all ornament of diction and ſuperfluous reaſoning or explanation unknown in its various branches. To enunciate the author's propoſitions, and to ſketch a very general view of the ground over which he carries us, muſt be the limit of our exertions in a path where all elucidation is rendered unneceſſary by its own clearneſs—all improvement or abridgement impoſſible, by its own ſolidity and ſhortneſs.

Let a and b denote the heliocentric diſtances of any two planets from the ſun, and φ the angle of commutation. In computing the effects of the reciprocal influence exerted by the reciprocal gravitations of the planets on each other's motions, we are led to an algebraical formula $(a^2 + b^2 - 2\,a\,b\,cof.\,\varphi)^n$; and it is required to develope this expreſſion, by reſolving it into a ſeries of the following ſtructure: $A + B\,cof.\,\varphi + C\,cof.\,2\,\varphi +$, &c. proceeding by coefficients D, E, F, &c. which are required, and by coſines of a regularly increaſing angle of mutation φ. Now, the determining of thoſe coefficients by circles or logarithms, (or of A and B, after which the reſt are eaſily found) has hitherto defied all the reſources of mathematical ſkill; and the ſeries uſed for this purpoſe have been found of the moſt difficult management and ſlow convergence. Mr Wallace here preſents us with a ſolution, the reſult of one of thoſe happy contrivances, which, from their late invention, and admirable ſimplicity, we might be diſpoſed to aſcribe to good fortune, did we not invariably find that they fall to the lot of thoſe only who are poſſeſſed of the powers unqueſtionably required for turning them to good account. Mr Wallace's method conſiſts in reſolving the ſeries into a fluxionary form, and comparing the fluxions with the fluxionary expreſſions of elliptic arches. The calculus is thus reduced to that of the proportions between elliptic arcs, and the correſponding arcs of their circumſcribing circles.

Our

Our author firſt demonſtrates, that A and B being found, C, D, E, &c. may be deduced; and he ſhows how A and B may be ſo expreſſed as to bring their evolution home to the rectification of elliptic arches.

He takes the caſe of $n = -\frac{1}{2}$, the moſt uſual one in phyſical aſtronomy (as our readers well know); but n may be any odd number, poſitive or negative, divided by two, as $-\frac{3}{2}$ (another uſual caſe in aſtronomy) $+\frac{1}{2}$, &c. Then, let $\pi =$ ſemiperimeter of the circle whoſe radius is unity; $\epsilon = \frac{b}{a}$; $\phi =$ angle of commutation; a and b the heliocentric diſtances: he ſhows that $\pi a^3 A = \int \frac{\dot{\phi}}{(1+\epsilon^2-2\epsilon\, cof.\,\phi)^{\frac{1}{2}}}$ and $\pi a^3 B = \int \frac{2\dot{\phi}\, cof.\,\phi}{(1+\epsilon^2-2\epsilon\, cof.\,\phi)^{\frac{1}{2}}}$. The fluents increaſing, as ϕ increaſes from zero to π; and e being put $= \frac{4\epsilon}{(1+\epsilon)^2}$, he deduces the following equation:

$\pi a^3 A = \frac{1}{(1+\epsilon)(1-\epsilon)^{\frac{1}{2}}} \int \dot{\phi} \sqrt{1 - e^2\, cof.^2 \frac{\phi}{2}}$. A circle is now taken, whoſe diameter is $= 2$; and upon this, as a tranſverſe axis, an ellipſe is deſcribed, whoſe eccentricity is $= e$. Now, at this point of the proceſs is perceived the jet of our author's invention; for the circular arch being put $= \frac{\phi}{2}$, the fluxion of the correſponding elliptic arch $= \frac{1}{2}\dot{\phi}\sqrt{1 - e^2\, cof.^2 \frac{\phi}{2}}$ (which occurs in the value found for A); and when $\phi = \pi$, that is, when the arch $=$ the ſemiperimeter, then $\int \dot{\phi} \sqrt{1 - e^2\, cof.^2 \frac{\phi}{2}} =$ ſemiperimeter $= E$, and by reſubſtitution $A = \frac{1}{(a+b)(a-b)^{\frac{1}{2}}} \times \frac{E}{\pi}$; the eccentricity $= \frac{2\sqrt{ab}}{a+b}$, and the ſemiconjugate $= \frac{a-b}{a+b}$.

In like manner, B is found $= \frac{2a}{b} \times A - \frac{2}{b(a^2-b^2)} \times \frac{E'}{\pi}$ E' being the ſemiperimeter of a ſecond ellipſe, and its ſemiconjugate $= \sqrt{\frac{a^2-b^2}{a}}$.

Our author next ſhows how the ellipſes may be choſen of any convenient eccentricity, ſince, indeed, it is not on abſolute, but relative magnitudes of arcs, that his ſolution depends.

He now gives the ſubſtance of his method in plain and ſimple practical rules for computation, which our readers will eaſily deduce from the preceding ſtatement. He then diſcuſſes the mode of finding

finding a convenient rectification of elliptic arches. Euler's ſeries converges by the powers of the ſemiconjugate, and anſwers for caſes of ſmall eccentricity: Mr Ivory's by the difference of the axes divided by their ſum; and this anſwers for conſiderably eccentric curves. Our author adds a new method, of infinite ingenuity, and particularly adapted to his preſent purpoſe, from its rapid convergence in every poſſible caſe, and from its power of expreſſing the ratios of the ellipſes to their circumſcribing circles.

The paper concludes with an Appendix, or rather a ſeparate and valuable tract, containing the inveſtigation of a new formula for the rectification of all elliptic arches. We ſhall only mention the reſult of this long and ſkilfully conducted analyſis.

Let the ſemitranſverſe axis = unity; e = eccentricity; z = any arch reckoned from the extremity of the axis; φ = the correſponding arch of the circumſcribing circle; $e' = \frac{1-\sqrt{1-e^2}}{1+\sqrt{1-e^2}}$; $e'' = \frac{1-\sqrt{1-e'^2}}{1+\sqrt{1-e'^2}}$ &c. ſo on for e''' e^{IV}, &c. Alſo *ſin.* $2\varphi' = \frac{\textit{ſin. } 2\varphi}{(1+e')\sqrt{1-e^2\,\textit{ſin.}^2\varphi}}$ *ſin.* $4\varphi'' = \frac{\textit{ſin. } 4\varphi'}{(1+e')\sqrt{1-e'^2\,\textit{ſin.}^2 2\varphi'}}$, &c. ſo on for *ſin.* $8\varphi'''$; *ſin.* $16\varphi^{IV}$, &c.; e, e', e'', &c. approach quickly to zero, and $\varphi, \varphi', \varphi''$, &c. to a certain limit θ.

Let $P = (1+e)(1+e'')(1+e''')+$, &c.; $Q = \frac{e}{2} + \frac{ee'}{4} + \frac{ee'e''}{8} +$, &c. and $R = \frac{e(1+e')}{4}$ *ſin.* $2\varphi' + \frac{ee'(1+e')(1+e'')}{16}$ *ſin.* $4\varphi''$, &c.; then our author's propoſition is, the arch or $Z = \theta P(1 - eQ) + eR$. When φ = a quadrant, $\theta = \frac{\pi}{2}$, and E being the elliptic quadrant, $E = \frac{\pi}{2} P(1 - eQ)$, and $Z = \frac{2\theta}{\pi} E + eR$. Whence our author deduces *Fagnani's theorem* of aſſignable differences, and ſhows the application of his formula to the demonſtration of various important tranſcendental properties of the circle and ellipſe formerly known, and to the diſcovery of new truths of the ſame kind. He concludes with a numerical calculation, which exemplifies his method of rectification, and proves at once its extreme accuracy and ſimplicity.

We cannot conclude, without expreſſing our ſincere admiration of this excellent performance—excellent in every reſpect; and, trifling as it may appear to mathematicians, remarkable for a pure, perſpicuous, and not inelegant ſtyle. It is a paper, equal, in our opinion, to whatever has been moſt admired of the greateſt ana-

lyſts. We remember nothing in the works of Euler or La Grange which belong to a higher claſs of excellence in this ſcience.

Whilſt ſo much remains yet to be done for the Mathematics by all nations; and, to take a more contracted view, while ſo much is wanting in this country to render us at all fit for competition with the mathematicians of the Continent, any ſuch appearance of high preeminence in this line, as we have now been contemplating, delights us—in a degree, we fear, to which we are not likely to be followed by the ſympathy of all our readers.

The laſt article in this volume is entitled—

'*Chemical Analyſis of an Uncommon Species of Zeolite. By Robert Kennedy, M. D., F. R. S., F. A. S., and Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians, Edinburgh.*'

This Zeolite, found in the rocks of Edinburgh Caſtle, was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by a phoſphoric quality, giving light in the dark when gently ſtruck or heated, like the Tremolite mentioned in the firſt volume of Sauſſure's *Voyages dans les Alpes*. Dr Kennedy examined the compoſition of it; and found, by various experiments which we ſhall not attempt to analyze, that 100 parts of the zeolite contain, of ſilex 51.5; lime 32; argil .5; oxyd of iron .5; ſoda, about 8.5; carbonic acid and other valuable matter 5; with ſome traces of magneſia and muriatic acid.

This ſhort, but excellent paper, is marked by that perſpicuous detail of experiments, and that neat and elegant mode of conducting and deviſing chemical analyſis, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh all the reſearches of this very able chemiſt.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have to return our acknowledgements to a great number of valuable Correſpondents, ſome of whom will perceive, from the preſent Number, that their hints had been anticipated. The offers of others, we are ſorry to ſay, appear wholly unſuitable to our Plan. We may perhaps take more particular notice of ſome articles of correſpondence in a future Number.

No. III. will be publiſhed on Monday 25th April 1803.

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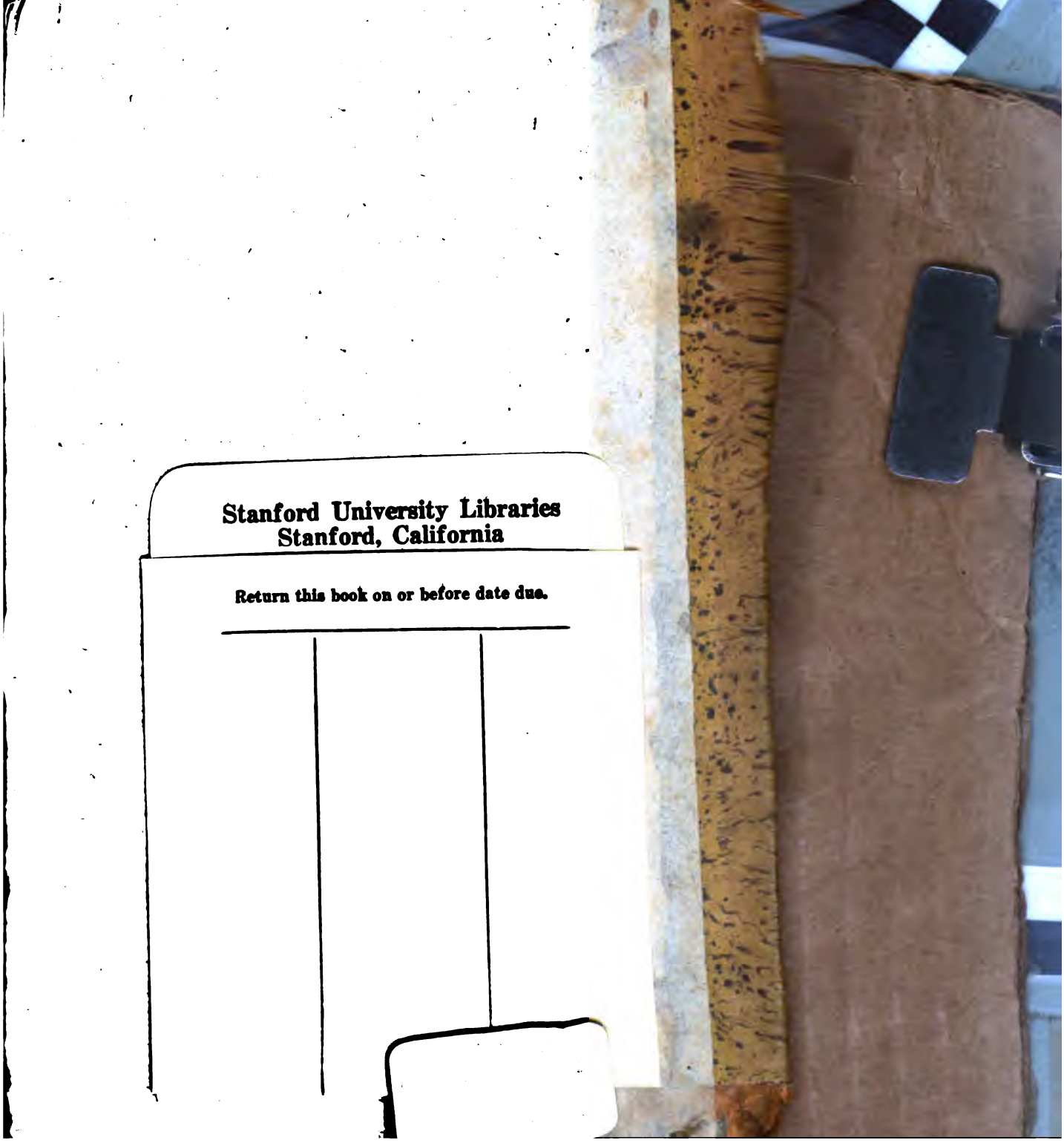

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